

# DHARMA PĀTAÑJALA

A Śaiva Scripture from Ancient Java  
Studied in the Light of Related Old Javanese  
and Sanskrit Texts

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*Ai miei genitori*



*Wahrscheinlich darf man ganz allgemein sagen, daß sich in der Geschichte des menschlichen Denkens oft die fruchtbarsten Entwicklungen dort ergeben haben, wo zwei verschiedene Arten des Denkens sich getroffen haben. Diese verschiedenen Arten des Denkens mögen ihre Wurzeln in verschiedenen Gebieten der menschlichen Kultur haben, oder in verschiedenen Zeiten, in verschiedenen kulturellen Umgebungen oder verschiedenen religiösen Traditionen. Wenn sie sich nur wirklich treffen, das heißt, wenn sie wenigstens soweit zueinander in Beziehung treten, daß eine echte Wechselwirkung stattfindet, dann kann man darauf hoffen, daß neue und interessante Entwicklungen folgen.*

Werner Heisenberg, *Physik und Philosophie* (1959), p. 181.



## PREFACE

I BECAME AWARE of the existence of the *Dharma Pātañjala* when, as a beginning graduate student of Śaivism with an interest in its Javano-Balinese developments, I read ENSINK's article 'Sutasoma's Teachings to Gajavakra, the Snake and the Tigress' (1974). In presenting the Śaiva Ṣaḍaṅgayoga found in Old Javanese sources, the author makes the following remark (p. 198):

We may note, as Mrs. Soebadio (1971:30) has done, that the yoga course of eight stages (*aṣṭāṅga-yoga*) as taught in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*'s (YS 2.29–3.5) is hardly known in Javano-Balinese literature. So far only one text discussing it is known. This is the *Dharma Pātañjala* (Dh.Pāt. 68R–76v, where the order of *prāṇāyāma* and *pratyāhāra* has been inverted). It has been handed down only in Java.

This short remark by ENSINK aroused my interest in the text; however, given the Dutch scholar's silence as to the details and whereabouts of his source, I had to wait some time before I could satisfy my curiosity. That time arrived when, going through *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* by HOOYKAAS (1974), I came across the two folios of the *Dharma Pātañjala* edited and translated by the author, who included them in his book on account of their interesting account of the incarnation of the Lord as Pātañjala, the eldest among the five Kuśika-siblings. The section was introduced and concluded by the following considerations (pp. 166 and 170):

Though I do not as a rule believe in work with a single MS because of the possibility of errors, when one particular single MS promises to be the plum in the pudding of one's book, one may be excused for causing one's readers the inconvenience of having to put up with the imperfections of such a MS. [p. 170:] As is so often the case when one has only a single MS at one's disposal, some words and sentences remain obscure. However, as far as I know there is no other source available from which we can draw any more definite conclusions, on the basis of more direct evidence, as to the existence of the terrifying ash-smearing Pāsupatas in Java. [...] Again as far as I remember there is no other Javanese source available, moreover, that informs us so directly about the existence of old of different methods of care for the dead in that island; [...] I would once more like to urge my friend and younger colleague Ensink, who generously placed his transliteration at my disposal,

to try and complete his work on the *Dharma Pātañjala*; my comments are meant to act only as an appetiser. In conclusion I might direct the attention of those who are in search of a suitable subject for a Ph.D. thesis to the possibilities offered by an investigation of the other 399 volumes entrusted to the care of Dr. R. Friederich and his successors by an inspection of the wealth of MSS present in the Musium & Perpustakaan Pusat, Jakarta.

Tantalized by the contents of the two folios and by these remarks, I made further investigations about the manuscript of the text and its whereabouts. I soon found out that the codex, formerly belonging to the SCHOEMANN collection, was now to be found in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, and also realized that ENSINK's work had never been committed to the print, while none seemed to have worked on the text after him. This was sufficient reason to take up HOOYKAAS' challenge to undertake serious philological work on the text, however corrupt it might be, in the form of a PhD dissertation. With the crucial intermediation of ENSINK's former pupil and successor in Groningen, Prof. HANS BAKKER, I was most kindly entrusted by the widow of the late scholar—whom I never had the pleasure to meet as he had just died a few months before—with his hand-written annotated transliteration of the codex.<sup>1</sup> These materials constituted for me an invaluable guide to the text in the early stages of my research. As I proceeded with the study of its contents, my initial impressions about the importance of the *Dharma Pātañjala* were confirmed beyond my expectations. It became clear to me that the text documented an hitherto unknown commentarial tradition to the Sanskrit *Yogasūtra* that is related, albeit by no means identical, to that of the *Bhāṣya*; and that it yielded precious data that not only filled a gap in our knowledge of Śaiva theology and philosophy in pre-Islamic Indonesia, but also cast light on the origin and development of Śaivism in the Indian Subcontinent.

\* \* \*

This work is the result of four tremendously educative years spent between the Netherlands, Indonesia, India and Australia, during which I have had the opportunity to learn at the feet of many remarkable gurus of different backgrounds, whose teachings have constituted a constant example to be striven after.

1. These original materials, including an unpublished annotated edition of the Buddhist Kakavin *Sutasoma*, are now deposited at the Leiden University Library.

First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Arlo Griffiths, who has been the best Promotor and academic supervisor I could ever have hoped for. His continuous and untiring moral support, scholarly rigor and intellectual stimulus, not to speak about his contagious enthusiasm, have positively influenced anything good that may be found in this book.

I thank Dr. Willem van der Molen, my former teacher of Old Javanese as well as Co-Promotor and supervisor during the two years prior to his departure from Leiden University following a 're-organization', with whom I went through the first draft of my edition and translation of the *Dharma Pātañjala*. Other scholars who were involved, to varying degrees, in the preparation and revision of the same part of my dissertation are the Balinese man of letters Ida Dewa Gede Catra (Amlapura, Karangasem), Dr. I. Kuntara Wiryamartana (Giri Sonta, Central Java), Dr. Suryo Supomo (ANU, Canberra). I am deeply grateful to them all for their valuable help as well as for the wonderful time they have allowed me to enjoy while in their company.

I express my gratitude to Prof. Alexis Sanderson (All Souls College, Oxford) and Dr. Dominic Goodall (EFEO, Pondicherry), with whom I greatly enjoyed reading Śaiva scriptures during my stay of five months in Pondicherry and during the international workshops on early Tantric texts that were held there and in Kathmandu. Without their magisterial works on Śaivism this book could never have been written in the first place. Dr. Goodall is also to be credited for having kindly shared with me his unpublished editions in progress of (parts of) the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and of the *Sarvajñānottara* (with Aghoraśiva's commentary).

I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Hans Bakker (University of Groningen), who helped me to retrieve the transliteration of the *Dharma Pātañjala* made by Prof. Ensink; and to Prof. Dr. Peter Bisschop (Leiden University), who was never short of useful suggestions to improve my writings, which have found in him a most diligent and attentive reader.

Thanks are due to the following mentors: Drs. Undang A. Darsa (Universitas Padjadjaran, Bandung), who introduced me to Old Sundanese codicology and joined me in a project involving the photographing of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Ciburuy scriptorium; Prof. Raffaele Torella (Università di Roma 'Sapienza'), under whom I studied Sanskrit and became interested in Śaivism; and Dr. Thomas M. Hunter (CSA Bali, Denpasar), who has supported me since I was an undergraduate student.

Very special thanks are due to Prof. Em. Andries Teeuw and Dr. Roy



Jordaan, whose friendship I have cherished during my stay in Leiden, and who have entertained me respectively with reading sessions of Old Javanese texts and stimulating discussions about ancient Javanese cultural matters. The latter scholar is also to be credited for the proofreading of this book.

Last but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to my parents for their love and support. It is to them that I dedicate this book.

## Notes on Conventions

*Transliteration* No consensus has been reached yet among scholars about the adoption of a standard orthographic system for the roman transliteration of the varieties of in origin Indic scripts in which Old Javanese texts are written. Previous generations of editors have used different systems, either adopting the conventions used by early Dutch scholars, by ZOETMULDER's monumental *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* (OJED), or introducing their own codifications—often with little or no success in drawing further followers.<sup>2</sup> The majority of those systems, and notably those implemented in OJED and in several post-OJED philological works, are to a large extent based on the transliteration conventions used by Sanskritists, but with a few relevant differences. One finds no less than three renderings for the velar nasal grapheme, viz. *ṇ*, *ng* and *ṅ*, and two for the multipurpose nasal *anusvāra*, viz. *ṇ* and *ng*; the *visarga* is almost universally represented as *h*, just like the fricative *h*; the grapheme representing the phoneme /w/ is represented either as *w* or, less frequently, as *v*; the vocalic *r* and *l* are rendered by their Old Javanese phonetic counterparts, viz. the clusters *rě* (*r* + neutral vowel *pepet*) and *lě* (*l* + neutral vowel *pepet*).

In editions of Old Javanese texts which also contain Sanskrit verses, such as Parvas or Tuturs, there has been the tendency to transliterate the two languages with different systems. Whereas this convention conceals the important fact that the script used in the manuscripts does not make any distinc-

2. Think, for example, of the system used by VAN DER MOLEN (1983) to transliterate the three Javanese codices of the prose *Kuñjarakarna*, which was subsequently used only by WIRYAMARTANA (1990:490–492) and by SEDYAWATI, WIRYAMARTANA and VAN DER MOLEN (2002). In spite of being by far the most analytic one—to the extent of introducing specific diacritics in order to avoid the use of more than one Roman grapheme to transliterate, for example, the single aspirated grapheme *bh* of the Old Javanese—it has the drawback of being of not immediate intelligibility even to the specialist in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese, requiring instead a significant amount of familiarization.

tion as to their orthography, I have chosen to adopt this convention in the critical edition and throughout the book;<sup>3</sup> that is, whenever the attention was on words as abstract entities constituting a language ( $\approx$  *langue*) rather than on words as time-and-place-bound phenomena ( $\approx$  *parole*). Thus, I have rendered *anusvāras* in Sanskrit words ‘quoted’ within the Old Javanese prose or appearing in the śloka with *ṃ*, while I have standardized those appearing in Old Javanese words to *ṇ*, without differentiating the *anusvāra* in this context from the *akṣara* rendering the velar nasal.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, I have maintained the *visarga* (*ḥ*), the vocalic *ṛ* and *ḷ* in the Sanskrit while in the Old Javanese I have collapsed them, respectively, into the fricative *h* and the clusters *rě* and *lē*. Contrarily to this principle, and in opposition to the dominant convention, I have maintained the transliteration for the Indic *ṽ* (instead of *w*) for both languages.<sup>5</sup> The two signs that are not represented in the Sanskrit syllabary, i.e. the short and long *pepet*, I have rendered as *ə* and *ē* (instead of *ě* and *ö*), thus appropriating the (never widely adopted) convention advocated by DAMAIS (1958:10, 1970:11–19).

The aspect of words as time-and-place-bound phenomena being the focus of the diplomatic edition, there—as well as in other parts of this work dealing with palaeographic aspects of the codex—I have implemented a unified system of transliteration that aims at rendering the (one) script of the document with a 1:1 correspondence between original and representation. Thus I have consistently respected the manuscript’s use of the *anusvāra* (*ṃ*)

3. Thus, also the Old Javanese passages I quote from printed editions as well as from secondary sources have been standardized according to my policy.

4. Thus in harmony with the convention implemented in OJED (xiv–xv), except that OJED collapses the two into *ṇ*. It is likely that the two graphemes represented in Old Javanese one and the same (velar nasal) phoneme, a fact that can be inferred from the ‘re-inforcement’ of the *ṃ* into *ṃṇ* in intervocalic position, and also from the outcome of *ṃ* as *ṇ* in intervocalic position (e.g. *saṃ hyaṃ bhaṭāra* vs. *saṃ hyaṇ ātmā*). Furthermore, even though the general tendency to write *anusvāras* at word boundaries is observed, not only do different manuscripts implement different policies, but even within the same manuscript the distribution of *ṃ* and *ṇ* may be quite arbitrary.

5. Indeed the two signs conventionally represent the same grapheme in the script. To defend my choice I point out that a separation between the level of transliteration and phonological transcription is methodologically desirable, and that no claim of preference of *w* over *ṽ* can be made on ground of the argument that the former *grapheme* of the Roman alphabet corresponds more closely to the *sound* of the Old Javanese language it has *conventionally* come to represent. An exhaustive discussion of this transliteration problem may be found in DAMAIS (1958:10 n. 3 and 1970:19 n. 1).

vs. the nasal guttural (*ṇ*), the *visarga* (*ḥ*) vs. the fricative (*h*), and the vocalic *r̥* and *l̥* vs. the clusters *rə* and *lə*. I have also reproduced *virāmas*, rendering them with the raised dot (*·*).<sup>6</sup>

The adherence to the Indic (i.e. Sanskrit) system of transliteration implemented in this book does not aim at ‘Sanskritizing’ the Old Javanese but rather to rationalize and simplify the present situation by favouring a system that both Sanskritists and Old Javanists are acquainted with. The Sanskrit system has also the obvious advantages of being fully standardized and internationally established, and of being in use to transliterate a variety of Indic (languages and) scripts.<sup>7</sup>

*Grammatical terminology* In harmony with the adherence to the international and interdisciplinary system in matters of transliteration, I employ throughout the book a metalinguistic and metagraphic terminology—especially to refer to graphemes of the Old Javanese syllabary—that is in part Sanskrit-derived, and in part of Western origin. In doing so I go against the established practice in philological works of using the terminology commonly employed in the later Javanese tradition, which make use of the Javanese or Balinese terms employed up to modern times. Thus, I refer to graphemes as *akṣaras* either to indicate a consonant or a vowel written as a self-standing grapheme (and not in ligature); to ligatures or clusters (either CC, CCC or CV, CCV, CCCV) rather than to *pasangan* (CC, CCC) or *sandhangan* (CV, CCV); to *anusvāra*, *repha*, *ā-*, (superscript) *i-*, (subscript) *u-*, *e-* vocalization instead of *cĕcak*, *layar*, *tarung*, *ulu*, *suku* and *taling*; to *virāma* rather than *pangkon/paten*. Whenever specific Sanskrit terminology is lacking I use local denominations, e.g. in the case of the neutral vowels *ə* and *ē* (=

6. Adopted from GRIFFITHS (2005) and following publications in Southeast Asian epigraphy.

7. I am aware of only one editor who has previously called for a reconsideration of the Old Javanese spelling system in a way that more closely conforms to the Sanskrit standard, i.e. SOEBADIO (1971:67). Regrettably (and curiously) enough, SOEBADIO’s attempt remained a mere declaration of intents without materializing into real practice, for, in spite of her claim to ‘have chosen to transliterate the Old Javanese according to the Sanskrit system’ in her edition of the Tutar *Jñānasiddhānta*, no real correspondence is found apart from the rendering of *w* as *v*. On the other hand, a completely consistent Sanskrit spelling (including the rendering of *anusvāra* as *ṃ*) was adopted by SUKANDA-TESSIER (1977) to render (Old) Sundanese and (Old/Modern) Javanese words throughout her book (even including the modern place-names, the titles of texts, etc.); the author however, disappointingly enough, discusses or justifies her choice nowhere in her book.

short and long *pepet*), and for punctuation (*pada lungsi* instead of the Sanskrit *daṇḍa*). Rather than seeing the issue in terms of an opposition between ‘indigenous’ and ‘Sanskritic,’ I have implemented this set of conventions in order to be historically more accurate and escape, if only partially, the risk of being anachronistic. It is in fact apparent that the majority of the Javanese and Balinese terminology is not attested in OJED, unlike its Sanskritic counterpart. The latter terminology is also generally attested in such (rare) Old Javanese grammatical texts treating matters of spelling as the *Svaravyaṅjana* (cf. RUBINSTEIN 2000:257–262).

*Referencing* For the references to Old Javanese texts the following principles apply: portions of edited Tuturs and Tattvas are indicated by means of verse, chapter or paragraph number followed, whenever required, by the line number of the corresponding portion of text in either the romanized edition (e.g. in the case of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*) or the Balinese edition when a romanized one is not available (e.g. *Tattvajñāna*, *Vraṭisāsana*, etc.); in the case of all the other edited Old Javanese texts, the references may be either to *sarga*/canto numbers (in the case of Kakavins) or page numbers of the edition, followed by line numbers if the case requires it. The latter convention has also been followed to refer to passages of the *Dharma Pātañjala* itself, which does not present any obvious original subdivisions into sections.<sup>8</sup> Edited Sanskrit sources follow both principles according to the different natures of the texts (i.e. their prose or verse form) and the published editions.

Portions of text in manuscript sources are referred to by means of folio ‘f(f)’ numbers, followed by the sigla *r* (recto) or *v* (verso) and line numbers. The same principle has been applied to both typed romanized / Devanāgarī transliterations and palm-leaf manuscripts. Whenever the division into folios could not be arrived at, the reference is to page numbers and, depending on the case, verse numbers or line numbers.

*Symbols* Besides the specific series of brackets and signs appearing in the Diplomatic and Critical Edition,<sup>9</sup> I have made use of the following symbols throughout the book:

8. In order to further facilitate and simplify referencing, I have also numbered each of Kumāra’s thirty-nine questions to the Lord.

9. Explained respectively on pp. 86–87 and pp. 93–94.

=	‘equivalent to’; in the Introduction: ‘orthographically equivalent to’
≈	‘almost equivalent to’; in the Introduction: ‘orthographically almost equivalent to’
>	‘standardized to’
→	‘emended to’
<	‘from’
« »	enclose Sanskrit portions of text embedded in Old Javanese passages quoted in footnotes in Part III.
† †	the enclosed text is corrupted and/or lacunous.
▷	in Part III, indicates a parallel passage in the critical apparatus appended to quoted original sources
•	in Part III, precedes an emendation or variant reading annotated within quoted original sources (whenever the verse/line number is not indicated)
$x \leftarrow y$	‘ $x$ originates from $y$ ’
$x \rightarrow y$	‘ $x$ gives rise to $y$ ’
$x^*$	indicates an unattested word

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# I

## INTRODUCTION



## The Text and its Place in the Tuttur/Tattva Genre

THE *Dharma Pātañjala* has been preserved in a single complete codex, now held at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, belonging to an old (<16th century AD) and little-documented tradition of manuscripts originating from West Java. Some of these manuscripts, including our codex, contain Old Javanese Śaiva scriptures known as Tuttur or Tattvas. This fact is in itself remarkable, for the overwhelming majority of such scriptures have been preserved only on (much later) Balinese manuscripts.<sup>1</sup>

*The West  
Javanese Tuttur  
Tradition* Collections preserving manuscripts of Old Javanese Tuttur (some with occasional Sanskrit quotations) were found in the course of the 19th century in the Merapi-Merbabu area in Central Java<sup>2</sup> and in few locations in West Java.<sup>3</sup> While the identification and study of such

texts is still very much at a pioneering stage, editions and Indonesian translations of some Śaiva Tuttur from manuscripts recovered in West Javanese locations and now kept in Jakarta have appeared in recent years. These include the texts published as (Serat) *Catur Bhumi* (ms. PNRI 16 L 634) and (Serat) *Devabuda* (ms. PNRI 16 L 638)—which have been shown by DARSA (1998:32–34) to be different redactions of one text, whose original title was *San Hyañ Hayu*;<sup>4</sup> the *Bhuvana Pitu* (PNRI 636, DARSA and EKADJATI 2005).

1. As is the case for the majority of Old Javanese literature tout court: cf. ZOETMULDER (1974:21, 41). For a survey of the Javano-Balinese Tuttur literature, cf. ACRI (2006).

2. On this large collection, preserving texts of various literary genres, cf. VAN DER MOLEN and WIRYAMARTANA (2001) and below, pp. 44–47.

3. The largest West Javanese (Sundanese) collection originates from the pre-Islamic scriptorium of Ciburuy in the Garut regency; the other significant amount of such texts are part of what is known as the ‘Bandung collection’, originally found in the village of Cilegon (cf. NETSCHER 1853), and the Raden Saleh legacy (NBG 1867:155). Apart from twenty-seven manuscripts (twenty-three Lontars and four Nipahs) still to be found in Ciburuy, the bulk of those West and Central Javanese collections is now kept at the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. Rare manuscripts of Tuttur originating from East Java are also known to exist (cf., e.g., LOr 14.492, described in PIGEAUD 1980:210–212).

4. This on account of their incipits, all beginning with the words *ndah san hyañ hayu*; cf. PIGEAUD (1967:55, 1968: 219), who, on account of previous catalogues, names *San Hyañ Hayu* the fragment LOr 4463—an autograph copy by HOLLE of ms. BG 1094. As pointed out by DARSA, another version of the same text is preserved on the Nipah PNRI 16 L 637, referred to as *Serat Sevaka Darma*. Former editors appear to have attributed titles to the above texts in an arbitrary manner: in the case of ms. 634, on account of the last two words of the chronogram, i.e. *caturbumi*; in the case of ms. 637, on account of the last sentence of

Many more manuscripts are to be found in public collections in Jakarta,<sup>5</sup> Europe<sup>6</sup> and in the scriptorium of Ciburuy.<sup>7</sup>

The largest part of the above-mentioned manuscripts, including the co-dex of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, can be regarded as belonging to the same tradition insofar as they bear similar physical features, being written in black ink with a brush on leaves of the Nipah (i.e. thatch palm) in a peculiar kind of Old Javanese script and bearing colophons with dates spanning from the 14th to the late 16th century. The use of Nipah as a writing support is indicative of the area of provenance of the manuscripts: the thatch-palm, generally growing only in a humid climate, has a predilection for muddy coasts, beaches and lagoons—a type of environment that can be found mostly in West Java and that gradually disappears in the central and eastern regions of the island as well as in Bali and Lombok, where the climate becomes drier.<sup>8</sup> This might explain why the number of Nipahs that has survived until today is very small compared to the number of Lontars, and none of them has been recovered from East Javanese or Balinese collections. Further, as noted

the text, i.e. *nahan śabdopadeśa, ṇa, kayatnakna sañ sevaka dharma*; as for ms. 638, nothing in the text justifies the title *Serat Devabuda*. Whereas the two former manuscripts present an almost identical text, a significant degree of variation exists between them and the latter (cf. DARSA 1998:65–92, who prepared an edition on the basis of mss. 634 and 637). The text and its various versions apparently enjoyed a certain popularity in the 16th century Sundanese milieu.

5. Such as the *Bhimasorga* (PNRI 16 L 623, written in Old Sundanese script but containing an Old Javanese text—if somewhat influenced by Old Sundanese), the *Siksa Guru* (PNRI 16 L 628), etc. (cf. BEHREND 1998:347–350 and 383–384).

6. Such as the *Tiga Jñāna* (LOR 2267), ms. Mal. Pol. 161 in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (cf. CABATON 1903:254) and the *Rasa Carita* (thus PIGEAUD 1980:206–208 named Ms. Jav. b.1 from the Oxford Bodleian Library, which was donated by Andrew James as early as 1627—cf. NOORDUYN 1985); the last two manuscripts actually contain very similar versions of the text edited as *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu*.

7. These are a two fragments of leaves (Kropak 23) that I have identified with a version of the *Tattvajñāna* (cf. ACRI 2010); Kropak 22 and 24, containing a version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu*; Kropak 1, seemingly containing a longer version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* referred to as *Bhuvana Pitu*. The latter text ends with the words *nihan śabdopadeśānugraha*; even though a Nipah referred to as *Śabdopadeśānugraha* was described by NETSCHER (1853:471) as ms. IX of the Bandung collection, I have found no trace of this title in the Jakarta mss. that were accessible to me (compare PNRI 637, reading only *śabdopadeśa*), apart from in a 19th-century transliteration into Modern Javanese script (PNRI 89 L 155) labeled as ‘ms. Ciburuy I, which apparently corresponds to the original Nipah (Kropak 1) still found in the scriptorium.

8. Cf. VAN LENNEP (1969:16–17) and VAN DER MOLEN (1983:88).

by VAN LENNEP (1969:29–38), apart from sharing the same support, writing technique and script, the manuscripts bear other uniform features: they have four lines to a page, one single binding hole for which a definite space occupying two lines of text is left blank,<sup>9</sup> and are usually kept in wooden cases (*kropak*) lacquered in red and with black and yellow floral designs—probably derived from China—that are only found in association with Nipahs from the Sundanese area. According to VAN LENNEP, the consistent occurrence of such fixed features during a period of over two centuries suggests that these codices were produced by one and the same school sustained by a central political authority, i.e. the late kingdom of Padjadjaran (ca. 1333–1579 AD).

Also part of the same West Javanese collections described above are several non-Islamic religious texts in Old Sundanese language, most of which were engraved on Lontar leaves in Old Sundanese script.<sup>10</sup> Although their colophons bear dates more or less contemporary to those of the Nipah manuscripts containing Old Javanese scriptures, it is arguable that these texts are younger than the latter, for they mention a series of geographical names that show their awareness of Islam (e.g. Mecca, Madinah, Mesir) (cf. NOORDUYN and TEEUW 2006:142–143). Titles include the prose *Saṅ Hyaṅ Siksa Kandaṅ Karṣian* dated 1518 AD, the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Raga Devata*,<sup>11</sup> *Sevaka Dharma*,<sup>12</sup> and the metrical works known as *Jati Niskala* (or *Jati Raga*) and *Sri Ajnyana*.<sup>13</sup>

Both the Old Javanese and Old Sundanese texts originating from West

9. Except in the Nipahs of the Old Sundanese *Siksa Kandaṅ Karṣian* (PNRI 16 L 630) and of the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Caṇḍakiraṇa* (PNRI 16 L 631), where the blank space occupies all four lines.

10. Reproductions of this kind of script may be found in HOLLE (1877:8, 17, 26 [columns 89–92]) and NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2006:433–435); the latter publication contains a very informative introduction to the corpus of (published) Old Sundanese texts (cf. especially pp. 2–10) and editions and English translations of three unpublished texts, viz. *Sri Ajnyana*, *Bhujaṅga Manik* and *Carita ageung piripiri Mandodari manakmanak saṅ Ravana* ‘The great story of the offspring of Mandodari, of the children of Ravana’.

11. This one is in fact a Nipah written in ink (Coll. Museum Sri Baduga Bandung, ms. 07.106).

12. This is Kropak PNRI 16 L 408, not to be confused with the Old Javanese Nipah referred to with the same title. Another version of the Old Sundanese text may be found in a Lontar kept in Ciburuy (cf. SARDJONO, EKADJATI and KALSUM 1987); preliminary remarks on the relation between the two manuscripts may be found in NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2006:24–28).

13. On the similarities between the latter two, describing the journey of the Soul through the heavens, cf. NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2006:24–25).

Javanese manuscripts—with the exception of the *Dharma Pātañjala*—are characterized by a great degree of intertextuality, which is evident not only with respect of their formal structures but also in terms of largely analogous doctrinal contents.<sup>14</sup> The prose texts are usually shaped in the form of lessons given by a guru to a disciple, consistently called *sevaka dharma* ‘servant of of the Truth’ or ‘[one] fulfilling the duty of serving or worshipping’ (OJED 1754). Contentwise, they feature a ‘localized’ form of Śaivism, where the elements that can be found in the Sanskritic tradition are only superficial.<sup>15</sup> For instance, well-known technical terms of philosophy and yoga belonging to lists originally found in Sanskrit sources appear there in a remarkably corrupt or Javanized/Sundanized fashion, decontextualized and reconfigured along local lines that show a concern for mystical, moralistic and didactic purposes. As far as the Old Javanese texts of the corpus are concerned, the fulcrum of their doctrine is constituted by lengthy speculations on the paramount principle referred to either as *ajñāna*,<sup>16</sup> i.e. the essential or holy knowledge, also called *ajñāna nirmala*, *ajñāna śūnya*, *ajñāna sañ viśeṣa* (cf. NOORDUYN and TEEUW 2006:137–138), or as the triad called

14. Although the mutual influences between the two traditions of scriptures are still waiting to be investigated, it is arguable that Old Sundanese texts drew upon (earlier) scriptures belonging to the Old Javanese tradition. For instance, the *Sañ Hyañ Siksa Kandañ Karāsian* refers to titles of late Old Javanese texts, such as the *Koravāśrama*, *Raṅga Lave*, *Bhoma* (i.e. *Bhomāntaka* or *Kiduñ Bhoma*?) and *Sumana*(*sāntaka*?) (cf. HOLLE 1867:459); the text itself was regarded by PLEYTE (1907:18 and 1914) as a copy of an Old Javanese text dated 1518 AD, which has later been identified on speculative grounds by VAN LENNEP (1969:19) with the *Tiga Jñāna* from West Java (LOR 2267). This is very unlikely, for the contents of the two texts appear to be different. PLEYTE’s hypothesis remains, however, likely, for the *Sañ Hyañ Siksa Kandañ Karāsian* (PNRI 16 L 630) features a great number of Old Javanese words and is written, unlike the overwhelming majority of Old Sundanese texts, in Western Old Javanese quadratic script on a Nipah (cf. below, Table 1, p. 49).

15. I use the term ‘localized’ following WOLTER’s (1982:52) famous definition: ‘Indian materials tended to be fractured and restated and therefore drained of their original significance by a process which I shall refer to as “localization”’. A definition of the word ‘local’ that is relevant to mention here is the one formulated by NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2000:295): ‘The word local [...] refers to non-Indian cultural elements, words and concepts. In some cases these may be typically Sundanese, in others they may be common to the medieval Javanese and Sundanese cultural heritage. Often it is difficult to decide whether we have to do with the former or the latter, as insufficient information is available for such a distinction’.

16. Often spelled *ajnyana*, as in Old Sundanese texts. Note that the initial *a-* is not a Sanskrit *alpha privans* but the Old Javanese stative prefix.

*trikāya paramārtha* or *tiga jñāna*, consisting of *bāyu*, *śabda*, *hiḍap*;<sup>17</sup> whereas the triad is also given a great importance in the late Balinese Tutar tradition, in the texts from West Java it is by far more pervasive. Other features that we also find in the Balinese Tutar corpus, such as cosmology, micro-macrocosmic correspondences and supernatural powers, are illustrated in the texts belonging to the West Javanese tradition by means of concrete examples relating to everyday Sundanese life. Furthermore, one notes a proliferation of names of God in His various aspects that are unknown to the Sanskrit tradition, namely *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu*, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tuṅgal*, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Dharma*, *Saṅ Manon*, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Pramāṇa*, *Bhaṭāra Viśeṣa*, etc., and the presence of a Śaiva-Buddhist coalition evidenced by the references to Bhaṭāra Śiva-Buddha.

A comparable degree of doctrinal ‘localization’ is detectable in relatively late (>16th century) Old Javanese texts such as the *Koravāśrama*, the *Navaruci* and the *Tantu Paṅgalaran*.<sup>18</sup> Certain non-Indic features of these texts are also detectable in Balinese Tuturs, whether the ones which were arguably compiled during (and even well after) the period of cultural influence from Majapahit (late 13th to early 16th century AD) on the basis of older textual materials, such as the *Jñānasiddhānta* and the *Gaṇapatitattva*, or—to a lesser degree—the earlier (and more Indicized) ones, composed mainly in the form of Sanskrit-Old Javanese translation dyads, such as the *Bhuvana-kośa*, the *Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa*, the *Tutar Kamokṣan* and the Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*. The best part of what has remained of the Śaiva scriptural corpora from both geographical areas<sup>19</sup> thus bears witness to a ‘popular’ and embedded variety of Śaivism that is the expression of cultural milieus far removed from the cosmopolitan and deeply Indicized ones

17. Which corresponds to the ‘bodily’ (*kāyika*), ‘verbal’ (*vācika*) and ‘mental’ (*mānasika*) qualifying a given aspect of worship in both Brahmanical and Buddhist Sanskrit sources.

18. Given the peculiarity of their language, these texts are often referred to as ‘Middle Javanese’. It is, however, difficult to apply a clear demarcation between Old and Middle Javanese in a consistent manner: cf. ZOETMULDER (1974:24–36).

19. The lack of research in this direction prevents us to make any definitive statement as to whether the two traditions developed in an independent way along similar lines or mutually influenced each other (at least until the 16th century, in the case of West Java). As a matter of fact no Tuturs have survived in the same form in both areas. Although a few titles of scriptures are identical, i.e. *Sevaka Dharma* (West Jav. PNRI 637 and 408, vs. Bal. LOr 9644, 9697, 9699) and *Tiga Jñāna* (West Jav. LOr 2267, vs. Bal. LOr 9401, 10.084), my preliminary readings suggest that these manuscripts contain different texts, even though they feature comparable motifs.



that seem to have been a common reality during the early Indo-Javanese kingdoms.<sup>20</sup>

This ‘popular’ and embedded character is conspicuously absent from the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The text indeed is characterized by a speculative and argumentative perspective that we only find in rare Old Javanese scriptures, viz. the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (survived on Bali) and—to a relatively lesser extent—the *Tattvajñāna* (survived on both Bali and Java).<sup>21</sup> Both texts have proved to be doctrinally very close to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, sharing parallel passages and treating the same set of doctrinal topics following a similar sequence.<sup>22</sup> It is evident that the three texts—which I shall refer to as ‘Tattvas’ rather than ‘Tuturs’—share a similar agenda of ‘translation’ of Sanskrit elements into a local linguistic and intellectual framework; in doing so, they display a similar degree of faithfulness to what appears to be a common and prototypical Sanskrit canon. This state of affairs constitutes evidence of the fact that they belonged to a scriptural corpus that should not be regarded as a uniquely local (i.e. Javanese or Balinese) phenomenon, but rather as the relic of a once pan-Archipelago corpus that, just as happened with the corpus of Śaiva scriptures in the Indian Subcontinent, has suffered major losses over the last several centuries.<sup>23</sup> Just as the early Śaiva scriptures in Sanskrit

20. Of course, I intend in no way to imply the cultural superiority of the latter over the former, but simply point out a historical fact. Compare NOORDUYN and TEEUW’s (2000:296) remarks on the Old Sundanese (pseudo-)Śaiva poem *Sri Ajnyana*: ‘This poem indeed is a far cry from the systematic philosophical and theological Old Javanese texts which were the main topic of Dr. Sudarshana’s researches [i.e. the *Vṛh* and the *TJ*]. It is an expression of popular religion as it developed in Java in the Middle Ages in *patapans* and *mandalas*, hermitages and abodes of religious community, which were widespread especially in the mountainous areas of Java.’

21. In a recent article (ACRI 2010) I have documented the survival of versions of this scripture, previously known only from Balinese manuscripts, in a complete Lontar from the Central Javanese collection of Merapi-Merbabu and in a short fragment of a Nipah from the West Javanese collection of Ciburuy. The *Tattvajñāna*, besides being characterized by a less argumentative register of language, it features a more indigenous approach to religious experience as it merges the speculative themes found in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* with the kind of esoteric and mystical themes thriving in later Tuturs.

22. The various parallelisms can be appreciated in the comparison of the three texts arranged in tabular form in Appendix B (pp. 619–631).

23. By pan-Archipelago I mean the geographically extended area, stretching westwards from Sumatra to Kalimantan (Borneo) and even Sulawesi, where evidence of Śaiva worship has been found in the form of artifacts, temples, manuscripts and inscriptions from the 5th

called Siddhāntatantras, once spread over the whole Indian Subcontinent, have survived in manuscripts from Nepal and/or South India only, so Old Javanese scriptures like the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna* have survived only in a handful of remote Javanese locations and/or in Bali.

The term Tuttur is used in secondary literature and among the modern Balinese as a general label referring to the genre of Śaiva (and, to a much lesser extent, Buddhist) scriptures bearing either the one or the other denomination in their titles—or even none of them. But there are reasons to believe that Tattvas originally formed a separate, and probably earlier, class of scriptures, which can be distinguished from Tuturs on account of their contents rather than their titles.<sup>24</sup> Whereas the treatment of yoga and soteriology is strongly represented in both categories of texts, Tuturs devote considerable attention to such distinctively Tantric elements of practice as

to the early 16th century.

24. It is arguable that in the course of time their denominations came to largely overlap so as to be regarded as identical—a fact confirmed by the occurrence of the label *tattva* in texts that do not show features attributable to Tattvas (and vice-versa). Evidence suggesting that the word *tattva* may have been used to refer to a speculative religious text and not only to ‘reality, truth’ or ‘knowledge of truth, knowledge of the (highest) reality’ (OJED 1963) is found in Old Javanese literature. For instance, the Old Javanese commentary to śloka 2 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* glosses the word *tattvaṃ sarvaṃ* as ‘the totality of scriptures’ *sañ hyaṇ aji kabeh* (Vṛhaspati laments the fact that ‘there are indeed many kinds of scriptures’ *ikañ śāstra viḥ akveh ata prakāranya*); the *Dharma Pātañjala* (258.4), when discussing one who possesses the supernatural ability to master the scriptures, mentions a *Tattvajñāna* along with the Śāstras and Purāṇas; the *Koravāśrama* (42.13) mentions, among the means of religious instruction (*pañopadeśa*), ‘any kinds of holy scriptures on Dharma’ *salvira niñ sañ hyaṇ dharmatattva*. Besides *-tattva*, also *-jñāna* appears in titles of scriptures, viz. *Tattvajñāna*, *Mahājñāna* and *Jñānasiddhānta*. Examples of the use of both *tattva* and *jñāna* in the sense of ‘text’ or ‘revealed scripture’ are found in early Sanskrit Śaiva literature from the Subcontinent. For the former there is the testimony of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, a compilation of in origin separate textual units called *tattvas* (cf. *Niśvāsamukha* 8.10b, referring to itself as *tattvasaṃhitam uttamam*); for the latter, cf., as pointed out by GOODALL (1998:xxxvi and 2004:139 fn. 5), *Kiraṇavṛtti* 3.20.7–8 and 3.27.8–9; *Kiraṇatantra* VP 7.11a; *Parākhyatantra* 1.5, *Svacchandatantra* 11.188a, *Sarvajñānottara* VP 1.2–5, *Sārdhatrīśatikālottarāgama* 5.6d and *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 4.8 (cf. VASUDEVA 2004:237); furthermore, in *Samśkāravidhi* 54 (cf. ACHARYA 2007:42–43, fn. 95), *Ratnaṭikā* on 1.1ab and 1.5ab and *Niśvāsaguhya* 12.5b the term *pañcārthajñāna/pañcārthavidyā* appears to refer to the *Pāśupatasūtra* (probably along with Kauṇḍinya’s commentary). The element *-jñāna* in the title of various Siddhāntatantras, e.g. *Kārajñāna*, *Candrajñāna*, *Sarvajñāna(-uttara)*, may also be explained in this manner.

interiorized ritual, visualizations and the elaboration of micro-macrocosmic correlations, especially in the form of meditative techniques that link the body of the meditator with the cosmos, viz. ontological principles or levels of reality, deities, geographical features, syllables. Mantric or syllabic mysticism is very prominent, as well as syncretism in the form of incorporation of elements from non-Śaiva traditions, such as the Buddhist-flavoured definition of the supreme reality as Void (*śūnya*), or the equation of the Lord to the universal Brahman or Puruṣa through such distinctively (illusionistic) Vedāntic images as the reflection of sun/moon in the water of many pots.

Tattvas, on the other hand, are more concerned with the systematic and exhaustive exposition of theological, epistemological and ontological matters. Unlike Tuturs, their teachings were not explicitly considered esoteric by their authors, for appeals to secretiveness are found nowhere in them. The two categories of scripture also display different textual structures. Many Tuturs can be regarded as heterogeneous compilations of materials of disparate provenance, while Tattvas are characterized by a more unitary and coherent textual structure.

*Relative  
Chronology of  
Tuturs and  
Tattvas*

Whereas a precise dating of the corpus can not be established given the general absence of compelling internal evidence, such as references to geographical localities or historical personalities,<sup>25</sup> one may at least try to propose a relative chronology of Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas on the basis of doctrinal arguments.<sup>26</sup> One criterion suggesting the priority of a given scripture over another is, I believe, the close reliance on Sanskrit models or specific doctrinal themes and the exhibition of signs of relatively little localization. It is reasonable to suppose that the more strongly Indicized texts date back to a historical period during

25. The only internal evidence of a certain relevance in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is the reference to the ethnonyms Nambi (208.14) and Parasi (210.1), terms which by themselves, however, do not point at a specific date since they are attested in Javanese charters from the 9th to the 15th century (cf. my notes to the translation, p. 209 and 211).

26. Elsewhere (ACRI 2006:111–113) I have also advanced an argument focusing on the formal and linguistic characteristics of the texts, which could be divided (in chronological order from the earlier to the later) into the three following categories: 1) texts arranged in the form of ‘translation dyads’, i.e. Sanskrit ślokas followed by an Old Javanese paraphrase and/or commentary (on which term cf. HUNTER forthcoming); 2) Old Javanese Tuturs with traces of ślokas; 3) works entirely in Old Javanese. On how the *Dharma Pātañjala* fits into this categorization, cf. below, p. 17.

which the socio-cultural and religious ideologies carried through Sanskrit texts were widespread in many regions of the Indonesian Archipelago.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* presents stylistic and doctrinal features that are remarkably close to those found in related Sanskrit sources. Its prose is informed by the techniques of exegesis and dialectic exposition that characterize philosophical Śāstras,<sup>27</sup> while its doctrines closely echo those enunciated in early Śaiva Siddhāntatantras, showing only minimal local developments. It stands apart from all other Javano-Balinese scriptures in that it paraphrases (and re-elaborates) in Old Javanese a Sanskrit source that is traceable to a version of the *Yogasūtra* with a commentary. It aims at illustrating in a clear way, by means of a dialogue, a coherent Śaiva doctrine and at providing persuasive answers to important theological questions and problems. It attempts to justify its doctrines against the criticism of opponents belonging to rival schools through logical argumentation that follows the conventions of Sanskrit commentarial literature based on a debate between a *pūrvapakṣin* and an *uttarapakṣin*. It interprets heterogeneous Sanskrit materials belonging to different—albeit related—religious and philosophical traditions and blends them to form a coherent Śaiva theological system. Even though one may argue that these features have been achieved by the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* with varying degrees of success, there is little doubt that the work is one stemming from a learned scholar who was conversant with the Sanskritic scriptural tradition.

*Tuturs and Tattvas vis-à-vis Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras* In order to distinguish the originally Indic elements from the ‘localized’ developments in (Sanskrit)-Old Javanese Śaiva Tuturs and Tattvas it is imperative to study those texts in comparison with the Sanskrit tradition of Śaiva scriptures. It is to the vast corpus of scriptures traditionally referred to as Āgamas or (Siddhānta)Tantras<sup>28</sup> that the sources from the Archipelago bear the closest similarities, and with which they sometimes even share portions of Sanskrit verses (cf. ACRI 2006:118–131). These texts, such as the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Sarvajñānottara*, *Sārdhatriśatikā-lottarāgama*, *Niśvāsakārikā*, *Kiraṇatantra*, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, *Pa-*

27. The term Śāstra defines a class of Sanskrit texts of philosophical or technical contents, whose style and register of language are strictly fixed (cf. below, pp. 23–28).

28. I accept the latter usage on the basis of the observations made by GOODALL (1998:xxxvi–xxxvii) and WATSON (2006:71–72).

*rākhyatantra*, and *Mr̥gendratantra*, form the textual basis of the mainstream (i.e. mildly Tantric) Śaivasiddhānta widespread in the whole Indian Subcontinent from the 6th to the 10th century AD.<sup>29</sup> Another Śaiva textual corpus that is relevant for the study of Tuturs and Tattvas is formed by the earlier (prob. <5th century AD), and unfortunately scant, scriptures bearing witness to the more ancient form of Śaivism of the Pāśupata stream, such as the *Pāśupatasūtra* with the commentary *Pañcārthabhāṣya* by Kauṇḍinya, the *Gaṇakārikā* with the commentary *Ratnaṭikā*, the *Samskāraavidhi* and Pāśupata-influenced sections that have survived in what is now thought to be the earliest Siddhāntatantra, i.e. the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*.<sup>30</sup> As shown by SANDERSON (1988, 2006a), especially on the basis of data drawn from the latter scripture, the Pāśupata and Saiddhāntika forms of Śaivism were part of, respectively, the Atimārga ('Outer Path') and Mantramārga ('Path of Mantras'), which formed two distinct religious ideologies on account of their different emphasis on gnosis and salvation (Atimārga) or initiation, ritualism and the quest for supernatural powers (Mantramārga); and of the different social categories they were targeting, i.e. male initiated Brahmins (Atimārga) or householders and rulers (Mantramārga).<sup>31</sup>

What makes Tūtur and Tattvas a fascinating and important object of study is the fact that they have retained a remarkably archaic doctrinal character, which points to the possibility that these sources from the Archipelago drew their doctrines in part from the scantily preserved corpus of Pāsupata scriptures, and in part from Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, not in the form as we know them now but rather when they were still in their formative stage, i.e. prior to the activity of systematization they were submitted to during the still little-known period of gestation and emergence of the fully-fledged Śaivasiddhānta.<sup>32</sup> In describing the temporal gap detectable between the

29. An increasing amount of evidence indicates that the beginning of Śaiva Tantric literature may be pushed back to the 5th or 6th century. SANDERSON (2006b) has tentatively suggested that the earliest commentators of Saiddhāntika scriptures known to us, i.e. Sad-  
 yojyotis and Bṛhaspati, were active in, respectively, 675–725 and 650–750 AD. For a relative  
 chronology of Siddhāntatantras, cf. GOODALL (1998:xxxix–xlvi and 2004:xiii–xxiv).

30. Cf. SANDERSON (2001:29–31 and 2006a:163–169, 202–209).

31. As outlined in SANDERSON 1988, the textual corpus that can be ascribed to the Mantramārga stream of Śaivism is vast and characterized by scriptures of very unequal persuasion, spanning from the mildly Tantric, dualist and non-transgressive Śaivasiddhānta to the deeply Tantric, non-dualist and transgressive canon of the Vidyāpīṭha.

32. For the view that the Archipelago texts may be regarded as a sort of 'missing link' be-

manifestation of Mantramārga Śaivism and the earlier Atimārga, SANDERSON (2006a:151) points out that ‘given the very different character of the two kinds of Śaivism that are known to us through surviving texts and the evidence that there might be as many as four or five centuries separating their emergence, one is bound to wonder whether there were not intermediate developments of which all evidence is lost or the evidence for which has not yet been examined and correctly evaluated’. My investigation suggests that Old Javanese sources may provide us with materials to fill this gap, being the only places of attestation of otherwise lost stages in the history of the Śaiva religion.

The doctrinal arguments indicative of relative archaicism that I have uncovered previously (ACRI 2006:125–129) are either positive, viz. the presence of Sāṅkhya and Pāśupata doctrines,<sup>33</sup> the specific form of yoga,<sup>34</sup> the mention of thirty principles of the universe (*tattva*) instead of the more common thirty-six; or *ex silentio*, viz. the absence of terminology or doctrines that are only found in the latest among the relatively early Siddhāntatantras and in the works of Śaiva exhegetes after Sadyojyotis, such as the six-fold division of the cosmos (i.e. the six paths or *adhvas*), the threefold division of stain (*āṇava*, *kārma*, *māyīya*), the division of beings into six classes (i.e. *pralayākālas*, *viññānākālas*, etc.). Additional archaic themes found in the sources are the important role played by the triad of principles (*ātman*, *śiva* and *vidyā/māyā*) in cosmology, and the reliance upon examples and theologemes commonly found in the early Upaniṣads and not well-attested in Siddhāntatantras. Similarly, the stress on analogies and examples rather than abstract logical demonstrations to explain or justify doctrinal concepts finds a counterpart in Sanskrit Śāstras composed before the Buddhist logician Dignāga (c. 480–550), whose work set the standard of philosophical argumentation for many centuries to come.<sup>35</sup> But the most important piece of evidence is that one fundamental and defining characteristic of the Śaiva-siddhānta, e.g. the stress on the salvific role of initiation (*dikṣā*), is entirely

tween the pre-Classic (Upaniṣadic) Śaivism and the Śaivasiddhānta, cf. ZIESENIS (1956:14–15) and GONDA (1970, 1975:16); similar considerations on the antiquity of the Old Javanese Śaiva literature were made by BRUNNER (1992:13–14).

33. Whereas these will be amply discussed in Part III.

34. This aspect is evidenced by the use of the early technical terminology widespread in Siddhāntatantras and the absence of elaborate models of subtle bodily centres (*cakra*) described in later texts.

35. More on this point below, pp. 567–570.

absent from the Old Javanese sources,<sup>36</sup> which rather adhere to the Pāśupata view seeing initiation as a mere rite of passage (*saṃskāra*) on the one hand and yoga-cum-knowledge as valid means of salvation on the other.

It is interesting to note that the same archaic doctrinal outlook has been described by SANDERSON (2001:22–23, fn. 28) with respect to the variety of Śaivism followed by the ancient Khmers, where the Saiddhāntikas ‘remained cut off from the mainstream once their tradition had taken root’. According to SANDERSON (2006a:155–156), ‘that the *Niśvāsa* continued in Cambodia to enjoy the central position revealed by its evidence after its marginalization in India may be seen as an example of the tendency of regions cut off from metropolitan developments to preserve traditions in a relatively archaic form’.<sup>37</sup> Similar conclusions have been drawn with regard to the form of Tantric Buddhism documented in Old Javanese sources<sup>38</sup> and other Tantric (or Tantrified) religious traditions that have survived in Central, East and Southeast Asia.<sup>39</sup>

36. If not openly denied, as in an interesting passage of the *Dharma Pātāñjala* (320.3–10, cf. Part III, pp. 526–527).

37. According to SANDERSON (2003-04:361), Kashmir, Nepal and Bali were ‘cultural zones which received their Śaivism independently. Features that they share are therefore very unlikely not to have been found in their common source and, moreover, in other zones that received the religion, such as Kambujadeśa [i.e. Cambodia]’.

38. Cf. NIHOM (1994:189) who, having pointed at textual evidence documenting the virtual absence of the *vajradhātumaṇḍala* in Old Javanese sources from the Archipelago, has argued that the theological framework of Indonesian Tantric Buddhism appears to go back to an earlier period, i.e. before the codification that took place in the Subcontinent at a later stage of its history, and that the introduction of Buddhist materials from the Subcontinent into the Archipelago is likely to have taken place before the codification of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* at the beginning of the 8th century AD. NIHOM (1994:15) also noted that ‘data retained in Indonesia may greatly aid us in attempting to reconstruct the intellectual history of the Tantras in India itself by providing a control relative to the much better known, preserved and studied traditions of Central and East Asia. In fact, [...] similar conclusions may be reached for the history of Śaivism’.

39. Cf. WHITE (2000:21): ‘What we find, in fact, is that the historical time frame in which the transmission (to China, Tibet, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia) of various Indian tantric paradigms occurred has invariably proven definitive for the structure and content of the ‘export’ Tantric tradition in question. It is as if the original revelation remained fossilized, like an insect in a block of amber, in the export tradition. This is manifestly the case, for example, with Japanese Shingon—founded by Kūkai (774–835 C.E.)—whose core revelations are the seventh-century c.e. *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* and the *Tattvasaṅgraha-sūtra*. [...] Shingon practice remains, in many respects, a preserved specimen of those enshrined in seventh-century Indian paradigms, but with a Japanese overlay. [...] Similarly, Tibetan Buddhism,

Of course, the situation described above does not necessarily imply that the composition of the Tuturs and Tattvas was contemporary to the Sanskrit scriptures that were introduced in the Archipelago at an early date,<sup>40</sup> but may mean that most Old Javanese texts, even when they were composed at relatively later dates, e.g. after the 10th century AD, still adhered to archaic models even though they were aware of new developments from the Sub-continent.<sup>41</sup> Thus, certain theologemes of the Atimārga were incorporated in the scriptures of the Mantramārga, surviving side by side to create the peculiar Pāśupata-Saiddhāntika coalition that Tuturs and Tattvas document.

This view finds a persuasive illustration in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, which exhibits both archaic and innovative elements. For instance, it presents what is by far the most pervasive and ‘mature’ treatment of maculation found in an Old Javanese source, understanding it as an innate (*sahaja*) entity binding the Soul alongside karma; but at the same time it gives equal importance to the defilements and the three qualities (viz. *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*) as factors of bondage—an archaic view documented in some early Siddhāntatantras and non-Śaiva Brahmanical sources, as well as in most Tuturs and Tattvas. Furthermore, its prose is informed by the same ‘Śāstric’ style and interest for doctrinal matters and philosophical argumentation characterizing the latest among the demonstrably early Siddhāntatantras, but at the same time relies upon naive syllogisms and examples rather than complex logical demonstrations to prove its theological dogmas, in just the same way

with its preponderance of Vajrayāna practice based on revelations found in what would later be classified as the Tantras of Yoga and Supreme Yoga, preserves the Tantric status quo of eighth-century India.’

40. Nor must it be necessarily assumed that the absence of a certain doctrine in a given Old Javanese text implies a date of composition prior to the first record of that doctrine in Sanskrit texts. Cf., for example, NIROM’s (to my mind unjustified) assumption that, on account of the fact that *Vṛhaspatitattva* 60–61 holds a view of the ten rules of conduct of yoga (*yamas* and *niyamas*) that is intermediate between the one of the *Sāṅkhyavṛtti* (<5th century AD) and that of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (<7th century AD, probably <5th), ‘the Sanskrit verses of the VT [i.e. *Vṛhaspatitattva*] are substantially older than the PABh [i.e. *Pañcārthabhāṣya*]’ (1995a:218).

41. It is only natural that many different streams of Śaivism were followed in the Archipelago, as documented by significant, although sparse, evidence found in textual and artistic documents. Cf., for example, SANDERSON (2003–04:376–377) on evidence of the (earlier) cults of Tumburu and Khaḍgarāvaṇa, two Rudras venerated in the Tantras belonging respectively to the Vāma- and Paścimasrota division of the Śaiva corpus; and SANTIKO (1995) and HUNTER (2007) on evidence of Śākta and Bhairavika cults in 13th century Java.



that pre-Dignāga Sanskrit sources do.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* was referred to as ‘Lehre des Patañjali’ by its discoverer, the German Sanskritist FRIEDERICH.<sup>42</sup> Although OJED (367–368) does not list ‘book’ among the possible meanings of the term *dharma* ‘sacred teaching’, it is only natural that both meanings converged when applied to a title of a text—hence, akin to either the Old Javanese *aji*, which can also refer to a system of doctrines or a written sacred book, and the Sanskrit word *śāstra*. *Dharma* is not a very prominent designation for Śaiva scriptures of the Tūtur/Tattva genre, but nonetheless features in a number of Old Javanese texts, mostly religious, legalistic or didactic in contents.<sup>43</sup>

That the title means ‘Sacred teaching of Patañjali’, in connection with the legendary author of the *Yogasūtra*, is a possibility suggested by the fact that almost one third of the text is devoted to the exposition of yogic doctrine found in the Sanskrit texts and its commentaries. But the narration in the text dealing with the legend of the incarnation of the Lord as Pātañjala,<sup>44</sup> a prominent figure in Javanese literature from as early as the 9th century AD, suggests the alternative possibility that the title was intended to mean ‘Sacred teaching of Pātañjala’, being the incarnation of the Lord and the foremost of the series of five masters known in Java as Pañcakuśikas or Pañcaṛṣis. It is also not to be excluded that the name of the latter mythical character and the (semi-)historical author converged into a single denomination.<sup>45</sup> A possible explanation of this convergence may be that the section narrating the myth of Pātañjala, which is likely to have originally belonged to a different source,<sup>46</sup> was compiled together with the rest of the text by the author. The insertion of this fundamental, and foundational, Javanized Pāśupata narration might have happened as a way to either give sense to the original title

42. Cf. PIGEAUD (1975:112) and below, p. 44.

43. Such as, e.g., the Śaiva poem *Dharma Śūnya*; cf. also the entries in PIGEAUD (1970:219–221 and 1980:288–289).

44. More on this figure below, pp. 371–373.

45. In support of this hypothesis I have referred to the analogous convergence of a historical author and a divine character occurring in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, where the early historical Śaiva commentator Bṛhaspati has coalesced in the figure of the preceptor of the gods (cf. ACRI 2011).

46. That this section is probably earlier than the rest of the text is suggested to me, besides its contents, by its heavily corrupted state, which sets it apart from the rest of the text and suggests a more complex chain of transmission.

of the text, supposing the author was not aware of Patañjali's authorship of the *Yogasūtra*, or to authorize and enhance the status of his text to the eyes of a local audience, who was also ignorant about the historical Patañjali.

*Structure* Containing only three complete ślokas, one half-śloka and one loose *pāda* quoted within its Old Javanese prose, the *Dharma Pātañjala* belongs to the category of 'Old Javanese Tuturs with traces of ślokas'.<sup>47</sup> I have previously stated in print (ACRI 2006:112–113) that

this type of arrangement, although not as a rule, may be taken as evidence of relative lateness, for works of this kind were probably composed at a time when Sanskrit scholarship was already fading away and the Old Javanese language, beside being the preferred language for literature, acquired a higher status also in the religious sphere. Although the arrangement is not dyadic anymore, a small number of Sanskrit verses, often incomplete, are interspersed within the Old Javanese prose. The Sanskrit seems to be quoted as a proof of authoritativeness, sometimes in a corrupted or Javanized form which makes it scarcely distinguishable from Old Javanese. These treatises in origin were probably shaped in the form of ślokas with paraphrases, which in the course of time underwent various enlargements until they acquired the status of longer chapters or even short independent treatises. It is not excluded that these compilations were directly inspired by some kind of Sanskrit sources, now lost or still untraced.

The features of the *Dharma Pātañjala* correspond with those outlined above. In spite of the fact that Sanskrit ślokas are rare, the text displays a high degree of scholarliness; at least one-third of it closely follows a Sanskrit treatise, namely a version of the *Yogasūtra* provided with a commentary. I also stress that the 'relative lateness' of the text concerns the category of Tuttur consisting in translation dyads, which is likely to have preserved an archaic structure of text-building. That there is a chronological priority of the former over the latter class of scriptures is suggested to me by the comparable development of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras in a more Śāstric direction, which finds a counterpart in the stylistic features and contents of Tattvas. The agenda of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is not to make the rare Sanskrit quotes accessible to

47. To this category belong the *Tattvajñāna* and the first three chapters of the *Jñānāsiddhānta*, written in Old Javanese prose occasionally interspersed with ślokas or half-ślokas; these chapters are evidently later additions since they do not appear in the original core-text constituted by *Tutur Kamokṣan* (cf. HOOYKAAS 1962, SOEBADIO 1971:4–7).

readers through a translation or paraphrase, but rather to provide a higher level of doctrinal exegesis.<sup>48</sup>

The *Dharma Pātañjala* shows no explicit subdivision into sections. However, it treats the topics that are usually covered in the Section of Doctrine (*jñānapāda/vidyāpāda*) and Yoga (*yogapāda*) of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras. The doctrinal part precedes the one on Yoga, even though there are occasional overlaps. This arrangement is mirrored in both the *Tattvajñāna* and *Vṛhaspatitattva*. The latter text, whose contents, as already noted by ZIESEN-  
ISS (1958:13–14), also correspond to those found in the Jñānapāda and Yogapāda of Siddhāntatantras,<sup>49</sup> do not show any sign of a division between the speculative and yogic section into Pādas either. But, in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, traces of attempts at indicating such a division are detectable in two internal references, where the Lord anticipates to Kumāra the imminent treatment of the Yogapāda—a feature which I have found nowhere else in Old Javanese scriptures.<sup>50</sup> Notwithstanding the absence of any explicit indication marking the beginning of the Yogapāda, which starts rather abruptly in correspondence with the introduction to śloka 2, these internal references might be taken as evidence of the author’s awareness of this theoretical division.<sup>51</sup>

48. As it is the case in the longer Old Javanese portions of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which display stylistic and doctrinal features similar to those of the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

49. Both texts treat none of the topics that normally characterize the sections of Ritual (*kriyāpāda*) and Conduct (*caryāpāda*). These matters are treated in two separate classes of (Sanskrit-)Old Javanese texts, often bearing in their titles the words *-śāsana* and *-kalpa* respectively (cf., e.g., *Vraṭiśāsana*, *Ṛṣiśāsana*, *Kalpabuddha*, etc.).

50. For instance, in 250.10–12 Kumāra impatiently asks about the means to perform absorption and the Lord replies that He will soon be teaching the yoga section (*yogapada/yogapāda*), but not before the explanation of the products of the intellect has been finished. In the following question (260.8–10), Kumāra enquires about the means to extinguish the three kinds of pain just explained by the Lord, who again assures him that the exposition of the section of yoga will start immediately after the termination of the description of the conditions of the intellect. The end of the treatment of this topic in 268.2 is clearly marked with the sentence ‘thus far about the conditions of the intellect’ *ñke ri vṛtti niñ buddhi*, followed by a section-ending punctuation mark. Compare the passage where the author coherently refers to a previous passage in the text by placing in the Lord’s mouth an exhortation to Kumāra to recall the beginning of the narrative, where He had explained why a lord of yogins does not achieve perfection immediately (226.12).

51. Of course, these textual stratagems also serve the purpose of retaining the attention of the reader after a long and rather pedantic classificatory section. This remarkable feature, I believe, supports my conviction that the text was composed by a single author.

This state of affairs is mirrored in the Śaiva literature of the Subcontinent. A division into Pādas is indeed generally absent in the earliest among the scriptures belonging to the corpus of early Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras. Most of these scriptures are articulated as one continuum of subsequent Paṭalas often—though by no means as a rule—showing a logical sequence in the treatment of topics but nothing like a clear division into the four sections of Vidyāpāda, Yogapāda, Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda. Such a fourfold classification has been shown by BRUNNER (1986–92, 1992) to be a later, and largely artificial, development that arose to comply with theoretical and prescriptive reasons regarding the ideal structure and contents coverage of a ‘complete,’ hence authoritative, Siddhāntatantra. This division does not indeed appear anywhere before the latest among the early scriptures, namely the *Mataṅga* and the *Mṛgendra*, where it seems to be authorial. However, as GOODALL (1998:lviii–lix; TĀK II 281–282) notes, the names of the four sections are already found in early scriptural literature (such as the *Parākhya* and the *Kiraṇa*), if only occurring either as a group of basic topics of discussion—and not yet as text divisions. It appears that this situation has been preserved in the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

While the *Dharma Pātañjala* appears to be a unitary text, it displays evidence of a complex process of composition. According to the nature of the topics treated, the text can be divided in at least four thematic blocks, each of them traceable back to different doctrinal and scriptural traditions. These, I believe, have been put together by a single mastermind who drew upon materials of different provenance and merged them to form a single and coherent scripture.

The first section (194.2–274.18), conforming to the structure and contents presented in the Vidyāpāda of Siddhāntatantras, expounds the main epistemological, ontological and soteriological tenets of the Śaiva school, including cosmology, gross and subtle human physiology, and the theory of karma. Then, in reply to Kumāra’s question about the presence of the Lord in the cycle of existence and His previous incarnations, the Lord exposes an excursus, containing motifs of Purāṇic mythology and Pāśupata lore, narrating His previous embodiments (276.1–280.20). Although, as I have suggested above (p. 16, fn. 46), this archaic-flavoured section seems to be of a different provenance, the excursus is fully functional in the economy of the text and partly paralleled in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*;<sup>52</sup> yet it constitutes a thematic break,

52. Indeed the *Vṛhaspatitattva* only mentions the mythological episodes surrounding the

roughly dividing (the first part of) the Vidyāpāda from the Yogapāda. Having narrated the vicissitudes connected with His first incarnation as Nīlāhita, the Lord goes on to narrate the ritual of His (re-)incarnation in Pātañjala, one of the five Ṛṣis, in the form of Śrīkaṇṭha. The story of the battle between the Daityas and the Dānavas, the burning of Kāma and the marriage with Umā follows. After this excursus the last part of Vidyāpāda ends with the description of the powers of the Lord, their manifestation in the yogin and the means to salvation (280.21–288.10).

The section on yoga opens in 288.11 with a description of the technique of *prayogasandhi*, followed upon by a śloka giving a definition of yoga as in *Yogasūtra* 1.2 (*yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*). The text then closely follows more or less in parallel the topics treated in a version of the sūtras with a commentary until 332.15, after which it gradually rejoins the teachings of the Vidyāpāda and ends in a long debate between the Lord and the opponent that takes up once again the matters of metaphysics and ontology discussed by the two characters at the beginning of the work. As the debate ends abruptly after a sentence in which the Lord exposed His *siddhānta*, one may get the impression that the debate is still incomplete and, therefore, that the text was not finished or copied in its entirety. This, however, might only be an impression, for there is nothing that undermines the logical coherence of such a (abrupt) conclusion. On the other hand, by comparing the ending section of the *Dharma Pātañjala* with those of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Tattvajñāna*, one may note that the three texts, having treated the main topics they share, end in a similarly ‘abrupt’ manner, without an apparent conclusion.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* is articulated in the form of a dialogic framework of questions and answers between the Lord (*bhātāra*) and his son Kumāra. Such a dialogic arrangement is fairly widespread in *Tuturs* and *Tattvas*, where, besides Kumāra (*Mahājñāna*, *Kumāratattva* I, *Kumāratattva* II, *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 26), the interlocutors of Śiva are Vṛhaspati<sup>53</sup> (*Vṛhaspatitattva*),

life of Śrīkaṇṭha, the burning of Kāma and the begetting of Kumāra, without mentioning the *pañcakuśikas*.

53. Although the identification of Vṛhaspati as the teacher of the Gods results clearly from the text, the Lord in 14.31–32 incoherently addresses him as the son of Bhātārī Umā, who gave birth to Sanatkumāra. This may either suggest that the passage in question is the result of a careless copy-and-paste operation; or that in the author/compiler’s mind Vṛhaspati really assumed the role of Śiva’s son. His being addressed by the Lord throughout the text with the appellative *anaku* ‘my son’ is in itself not conclusive evidence, for such an

Gaṇapati (*Gaṇapatitattva/Īśvara Uvāca Gaṇapati Matakvan*),<sup>54</sup> Bhārgava-Paraśurāma (*Bhuvanakośa*) and the Goddess (*devī, bhaṭārī*) (*Bhuvanakośa, Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa, Jñānasiddhānta* 25–27). This narrative framework and the characters of the Śaiva ‘Holy Family’ are widespread motifs in the Sanskrit, including the Tantric, tradition. As pointed out by GOUDRIAAN (1981:26):

The literary framework of most Tantras is the time-honoured device of the dialogue, or rather the record of oral instruction. In the Tantras, this instruction is given by Śiva to Devī, his spouse and Śakti, or occasionally by the latter to the former. In the oldest period, however, the *ṛṣis* or Śiva’s son Skanda (Kumāra) still play a role in it. [...] It seems therefore probable that the Śiva-Devī dialogue emancipated itself, so to say, from Epic-Purāṇic structures.

That the *Dharma Pātañjala* has preserved an archaic situation, where the Purāṇic universe meets the Tantric, is suggested by the fact that Skanda-/Kumāra/Kārtikeya is a relatively unimportant figure in the Tantras, and one who never appears, for example, in their cosmological accounts. Apart from Purāṇic sources, Kumāra achieved a wide popularity as interlocutor of Śiva only in certain Tantric scriptures from the North of the Subcontinent, being absent from those composed in the South.<sup>55</sup>

In both Sanskrit and Old Javanese sources,<sup>56</sup> the usual setting of the dialogue is the summit of mount Kailāsa, where Śiva, usually in the form of Śrīkaṇṭha, is approached while performing asceticism by an interlocutor asking for spiritual instruction.<sup>57</sup> In the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* this dialogue shows a degree of liveliness and articulation that sets

appellative may generally be used by a religious teacher to address his pupil.

54. The naming of a text after the main interlocutor finds a counterpart in early Sanskrit Śaiva scriptures: cf., e.g., *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* (named after the Ṛṣi Mataṅga); *Rauravāgama* (Ruru); *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (Brahmā), etc. Unlike Old Javanese texts, however, Sanskrit scriptures usually specify a third-party ‘hearer’ of the sacred conversation and identify in him the one who transmitted it to mankind.

55. Tantric texts framed in a dialogue between the Lord and Kumāra are the scriptures belonging to the Vāthula or Āgneya corpus, i.e. the various recensions of the *Kālottara*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, the *Kālaṅjāna* and the *Jñānatilaka*; the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*, a text belonging to the Garuḍatantra class; the *Sāṅkhyāyanatantra* (cf. GOUDRIAAN 1981:89); the *Saurasaṃhitā*, in which sages and other characters also feature as speakers.

56. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* (194.2–194.8); *Vṛhaspatitattva* śloka 1 and exegesis; *Svacchandanatantra* 8.34–38; *Tantrāloka* 1.9; *Śivapurāṇa* 7.31.24; *Liṅgapurāṇa* 50.18; *Rauravāgama* KP 1; *Kiraṇa* VP 1; etc.

57. Śiva appears in the form of Śrīkaṇṭha already in the *Mahābhārata* (12.337.62), in

them apart from the rigid structure that characterizes Tuturs arranged in the form of Sanskrit-Old Javanese translation dyads embedded in a superficial narrative framework. This textual structure too has a counterpart in early non-Śāstric Sanskrit Tantras, in which there is no real interaction among the speakers besides the hearer's merely 'perfunctory requests for knowledge periodically required by the genre' (GOODALL 2004:xliv). WATSON (2006:74–75), having observed that in the early tradition 'a form of Śiva himself is asked questions and responds with sermons whose validity is assured simply through being spoken by him', points out that it is not until the *Kiraṇa* that

we find at least that the questioner, Garuḍa, points to what he perceives as inconsistencies in the sermon he is hearing from the Lord, prompting him to clarify. Then in the *Parākhya*, the *Mataṅga* and the *Mṛgendra* the dialectical dimension becomes more pronounced, and we find the questioners putting objections from the point of view of non-Śaiva traditions [...]; the questioners in these three Tantras challenge fundamentals such as the existence of God and the Self. [...] The mere fact that something is stated to be the case in these texts is thus not always enough: assertions must be judged through

connection with the promulgation of the Pāsupata doctrine; in Tantric scriptures He is the Guru who was responsible for the diffusion of the Śaiva knowledge down to earth (thus in most Siddhāntatantras as well as the Yāmātantras, cf. GOUDRIAAN and GUPTA 1981:26). Aghoraśiva while commenting upon *Sarvajñānottara* KP 1.10ab describes a fivefold mode of transmission of the Śaiva knowledge from Śiva to Śrīkaṇṭha, from the latter to Kārtikeya (e.g. Kumāra), who hands it over to the Ṛsis, who in their turn divulge it to the human beings. Other accounts of the transmission of the twenty-eight Siddhāntatantras, mentioning Kumāra and Bṛhaspati in the line of transmission, are found in *Dikṣottara* and *Paṇṣkara* (cf., respectively, GOODALL 1998:406 and 410); for a discussion of the transmission according to Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Kiraṇa*, cf. GOODALL 1998:163–164, fn. 10. Although the incipits of the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* do not make it clear, the idea that Śrīkaṇṭha is also the form of the Lord appearing as teacher in the Old Javanese sources may be gathered from other passages in both texts, viz. *Dharma Pātañjala* 278.19–280.4: 'The venerable Ananta arrived, inviting me to go back into the plain of non-being. I was not unwilling to be placed in the heaven of the one who is my superior form, that is in the *world of Śrīkaṇṭha*. Above Śrīkaṇṭha, I spent a long time in the plain of non-being. Then I was ordered to take place in the Egg of Brahmā. I eventually became the teacher of the whole world. That is the reason why I taught all the gods here in the Egg of Brahmā'; and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.26–27: 'Śrīkaṇṭha is myself here. Śrīkaṇṭha was my name when I received the orders to impart doctrine in the Egg of Brahmā' *śrīkaṇṭhāku teki / śrīkaṇṭha naraṅku kinon maveḥ aji riṇ brahmāṇḍa /*.

logically respectable means.<sup>58</sup>

Yet, as WATSON (p. 77) points out, the nature of the argumentation in dialectic Siddhāntatantras like the *Parākhya*, *Matāṅga* and *Mṛgendra* appears to be superficial and naive in comparison with the sophisticated dialectics of Śaiva commentators post-dating Sadyojyotis, such as Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha and Rāmakaṇṭha. The impression is that these treatises were meant for the sake of strengthening the convictions of Śaivas rather than casting real dialectical attacks to challenge the convictions of the followers of other schools.

The features found in the more Śāstric among the early Siddhāntatantras are mirrored in the Tattva genre of scriptures, of which the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* constitute the most significant representatives. In both texts the questioner expresses doubts and asks for evidence, being in his turn reproached by his teacher either for asking again and again the same question, for having failed to understand properly his words or for having entertained wrong doctrines. Similarly, the Lord expounds the views of rival schools and anticipates their possible objections.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* defends its theistic standpoint and crucial tenets such as the existence of karma, the valid means of knowledge etc., against its most radical deniers but is not interested in providing an elaborate philosophical justification of them against the views of rival systems. Though it often strives to reply to the opponent's objections by providing explanations based on syllogisms, the arguments sometimes appear to be formulated through apodictic statements and naive demonstrations. As in the case of the mentioned group of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, the degree of naiveté and assertiveness often characterizing the arguments put forward by the Lord betrays edifying and soteriological intents rather than properly philosophical aims.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* appears to use the basic argumentative structure implemented in Śāstric Siddhāntatantras as its main text-building technique. This structure has been divided by Sanskrit exegetes<sup>59</sup> into the categories of *praśna* 'question', which may also articulate a doubt arisen in the mind of the listener from a previous statement, *uddeśa* 'label' or 'preliminary listing' of basic notions that are put on the agenda for explanation, and

58. For similar observations, cf. GOODALL (1998:lxv; 2004:xliv).

59. Cf., e.g., Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka* 1.252 and Jayaratha's commentary thereon.



*lakṣaṇa* ‘definition’ or *parīkṣā* ‘investigation from all sides’, which often end in ‘determination’ (*nirṇaya*). An example of this arrangement is provided by the following passage (308.14–19), in which the Lord, asked by Kumāra, first enunciates the eight ancillaries of yoga and subsequently explains them one by one:

Kumāra spoke:

*praśna* [32] If you please, o Lord, what are the characteristics of the means of realization of yoga, and of the observances?

[The Lord]

*uddeśa* The characteristics of the means of realization of yoga are as follows. You should know them, my son. There are the *eight ancillaries*: *general commandments, particular commandments, postures, withdrawal, breath-control, fixation, visualization, absorption*. Thus is the number of the means of realization of yoga.

*lakṣaṇa / parīkṣā* *General commandments* are: *non-violence, truth, non-theft, continence, renunciation*.

*Non-violence* means: not killing ... [each item is explained].

Further, the Old Javanese prose of the text is informed by characteristics and intents that are comparable to those of a commentary according to the Sanskrit scholastic tradition (cf. TUBB and BOOSE 2007:1–5). The function of paraphrasing (*padārthokti*) is implemented in the Old Javanese commentary, with the fundamental difference that it paraphrases a source written in a different language. As in Sanskrit texts, the function of the paraphrase is not only to reveal the meaning of technical terms through the use of synonyms, but also to make the syntactical structure plain and more transparent. Hence, the functions of word-division (*padaccheda*), the analysis of compounds (*vigraha*) and the rendering of the various elements of a sentence into a straightforward syntactical order (*vākyayojanā*) are subsumed also in the Old Javanese paraphrase. Of course, this operation often involves a more complex operation of exegesis, which is unfolded through the answering of objections (*ākṣepasamādhāna*), a key element of Sanskrit philosophical commentaries. In Old Javanese Tattvas the Lord builds his arguments through the dialectic structure of *pūrvapakṣa* (prior view) and *siddhānta* (demonstrated conclusion), which is frequently implemented in

Sanskrit Śāstras (cf. TUBB and BOOSE 2007:239–240). In so doing He directly replies to the objections of a single opponent (unlike in fully developed Śāstras, which may admit several others), fictively raised by himself or by his interlocutor.<sup>60</sup> Notwithstanding the still rather simple structure of the debate, the degree of importance and articulation it achieves in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is not matched in any other Old Javanese source.<sup>61</sup> For instance, the text contains a number of technical terms, either unattested or scantily documented in Old Javanese, which are borrowed from the Sanskrit argumentative and philosophical register, such as *viruddha* ‘contradictory’ applied to the opponent’s view (334.12; 334.13);<sup>62</sup> (OJ *a-*)*vyāhata* ‘contradictory, raising objections’ (OJED 2346);<sup>63</sup> *dharma* ‘entity’ (338.3; 338.3; 338.3; 338.5); *prasiddha* ‘to recognize as real, acknowledge as being indeed’ (OJED 1404, for the passive form *pinrasiddha*).<sup>64</sup> There are several verbal forms which are evidently used in a special sense that does not find a counterpart in the range of meanings indicated by OJED, e.g. *sumiddhākān*

60. It is often the case that in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese sources the speakers are unmarked, their objections being recognizable only through certain dialectic particles (cf. TUBB and BOOSE 2007:240). In the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the exact circumstances of the verbal debate become unclear, for example when the opponent’s questions are reported by the narrator as a matter of fact and not with the expression *yan kva liña sañ para* ‘if the opponent would say/think so’. This makes it difficult to establish whether the opponent is a real or fictitious character.

61. As our knowledge of the argumentative register and style of Old Javanese is still poor, such a level of sophistication and technicality poses many problems of interpretation and translation, not to mention the retrieving of the correct text of such passages, which have proven to be particularly prone to corruption.

62. The term belongs to the Nyāya stock of technical terminology, and often applied to the middle-term of a syllogism (*hetu*), when it is never found where the major term is.

63. Cf. 204.6, conjecturally emended from *cod. abyavahāta*; since in the passage it is referred by an opponent to a statement of the Lord, I translated the sentence where it appears as ‘Your statement is not a response to my question.’

64. What counts as *prasiddha* in Sanskrit Śāstras is something that can be generally accepted between disputants without requiring additional proof. In *Dharma Pātañjala* 238.16 the form *prasiddha* appears to be used in a transitive sense (e.g. akin to *amrasiddhākān*): *ya matañnyan hana pramāṇa naranya, anuñ prasiddha ri kahiḍapan ikañ vastu tuhutuhu* ‘This being so is the reason why there are the *valid means of knowledge*, which can give certainty with regard to the experiencing of entities that veritably exist’; cf. also 238.3, where *prasiddha* + *anumāna* appear to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound: *anumānaprasiddha irikañ karmaphalān bhinukti* ‘the fruits of karma are determined by inference, as far as their being experienced is concerned’.

‘prove, demonstrate’ applied by the opponent to the Lord’s view;<sup>65</sup> *panid-dhānta* (<*siddhānta*) ‘definitively ascertain’;<sup>66</sup> *amramāṇa* (<*pramāṇa*) ‘use as valid means of knowledge’.<sup>67</sup>

The influence of Sanskrit on Old Javanese syntax is an as yet unexplored terrain. In spite of this, it can be assumed that the Sanskrit influence was not limited to the lexical sphere but that it intervened also in shaping the syntax and style of the argumentative literature represented by the Tattva genre. If studies in this domain are totally lacking it is also because the amount of the material available is small. The *Dharma Pātañjala* fills a gap in this panorama, presenting some evidence that the kind of Old Javanese syntax used in these treatises owes much to the Sanskrit commentarial style. In particular, the technique of debate makes use of the technicalities of the Śāstric tradition of dialectics, from which it may have ultimately derived.

Direct or indirect address of an opponent or his view (cf. TUBB and BOOSE 2007:241–251):

*liṅnya* ≈ *āha/ucyate* — ‘he says/said, his words are, it is said’.

*liṅ saṅ para* ≈ *apara āha/kecid āhuḥ* — ‘the opponent(s) spoke’.

*maṅkana liṅ saṅ para* ≈ *evaṃ ucyate paraiḥ* — ‘thus spoke the opponent(s)’.

*yan kva liṅanta/yan maṅkana liṅanta/nyapan tahan kva liṅanta* ≈ *ity evaṃ ucyate ced* — ‘If you would say so, [I reply:]’ ...<sup>68</sup>

65. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 204.10: *apa pramāṇanta sumiddhākāṇ ika pakṣanta* ‘What is your authoritative means of knowledge in order to prove this position of yours?’ Here, as in *Vṛhaspatitattva* (cf., e.g., 49.4–5), *sumiddhākāṇ* is used in a more technical sense than the one found in Parvas and Kakavins, according to OJED 1756 ‘accomplished, successful’ etc. The meaning applying in Tattvas is akin to that current in Sanskrit argumentative texts: ‘proved, substantiated, demonstrated; settled, established; admitted to be true’, etc.

66. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 238.19: *ya ta mataṅnyan anumānapramāṇa paniddhānta ri hananya* ‘this is the reason why the valid means of knowledge of inference is the means to definitively ascertain their existence (i.e. of the fruits of karma)’. This form is not attested in OJED, where the only meaning indicated for *siddhānta* is ‘= Śaivasiddhānta’; here it is likely to have the technical meaning current in Sanskrit literature, i.e. ‘established truth’.

67. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 238.14: *adva kitānyat amramāṇa pratyakṣa juga* ‘you are wrong in using only direct perception as a valid means of knowledge’ (said by the Lord to the materialist opponent). The form *amramāṇa* is glossed in OJED (1392–1393) only as ‘to have authority or power over’.

68. Numerous instances of this construction are attested in Tuturs. The introduction of

*sugyan mañkana* [*liñ sañ para*], *taham pih/tan mañkana*  $\approx$  *iti cet, na tathā/tan na/tad asat* — ‘if [the opponent speaks] thus, it is not so’

*tuhu(n)/takarin*  $\approx$  *nanu* (at the beginning of a sentence after the *pūrvapakṣa*) — ‘truly, indeed, is it not so that’/‘objection, but then’ (cf. 196.20).<sup>69</sup>

*yan mañkana*, ... *tan* ...  $\approx$  *yady evam/evaṃ ced*, ... *na* ... — (referring to the *pūrvapakṣa*) ‘if so, ... not ...’ (cf. 288.3).

*ñaranya*  $\approx$  *iti* (after the word/sentence to which it refers):

- 1) ‘what is called’ — both single out a specific term, roughly corresponding to quotation marks;
- 2) ‘means/is’ — both follow the word explained and precede the explanation;
- 3) ‘that is to say, i.e.’ (akin to *kaliñanya*) — in this case *ñaranya* somewhat resembles the function of the Sanskrit *iti* when used to explain a sentence.<sup>70</sup>

Particles connecting or introducing sentences:

*nihan*  $\approx$  *atha* — ‘now, next, as follows’ (introducing a topic or a concept, at the beginning of a sentence).

*nihan / kunañ*  $\approx$  *atha* — ‘now, further’ (introducing a work or a section of a work).

the Lord’s reply, which I consistently added in the translation within square brackets, is always understood (except in one instance in *Sikṣa Guru*, folio 16r.2: *nyapan tahan kva liñanta, nihan kami mavarahakāna ri kita* ‘If you would say so, we could reply as follows’). The reply is also left unintroduced in the corresponding Sanskrit construction (cf. above, fn. 60).

69. The Sanskrit *nanu*, which has as its primary meaning ‘not, never’, in philosophical argument it is used to imply doubt or objection (‘now it may be said, well, but then’, MW 526). However, this particle has also acquired the meaning of ‘certainly, surely, indeed, no doubt’, especially in rhetorical or affirmative questions (i.e. ‘is it not?’). A comparable ‘shift’, although going in the reverse direction, seems to have been undergone by the Old Javanese *tuhu*, glossed by OJED (2048) as ‘true, right, sincere; really, in fact, indeed, in the real sense’, and which in argument is used in statements that rhetorically (and temporarily) affirm the *pūrvapakṣa* in a tendentious manner, thereby negating it. This possibility is also supported by the fact that the word *tuhun*, which obviously derives from the same base, is glossed by OJED as (1) ‘but, even so; even if, although’ and also (2) ‘indeed, truly’.

70. For these usages of the Sanskrit *iti*, cf. TUBB and BOOSE (2007:215–220).

*kunaṇ* ≈ *atha* — ‘but’ (in front of a word or sentence).

*nāhan* ≈ *iti* / *evam* / *tathā* — ‘thus, as such, in this way’ (referring to the clause that precedes).

*ya ta mataṇṇyan* ≈ *tasmāt eva*, *tena eva*, *ata eva* — ‘this is the reason why, because of the preceding, for this reason, therefore’ (commonly referring to what precedes, but also to what follows when in combination with the correlative *apan*).

Other particles, pronouns and expressions:

*kadi* ... (+ *apan*) ≈ *katham*, *kva*, *kim*, *kaḥ* ... (+ abl.) — ‘how would be possible that ..., for ...’<sup>71</sup>

*tuvi* ≈ *api* — ‘also, too, as well; even [though]’ (cf. OJED 2087, and 113 *apituvī*); ‘even though’ corresponds to the Sanskrit *api* + loc. abs.

*tathāpi* = *tathāpi* — ‘even so, still, nevertheless’.

*ityevamādi* = *ity evam ādi* — ‘and so on’.

*yāvat* ... *tāvat* = *yāvat* ... *tāvat* — ‘as long as, as soon as, as far as’.

*apa lvirnya niṇ* ... / *ikaṇ* ... *ndya ta lvirnya* ≈ *kiṇrūpam* + gen. — ‘what is the form/appearance/characteristic of ... ?’

71. The standard translation of *kadi* according to OJED (763) is ‘as, like, as if (passim in all texts)’. The hypothetical force of this particle is however admitted (in some unspecified Parvas) by OJED only in the presence of an irrealis verbal or nominal form, to be translated as ‘how would it be possible that ...; certainly not ...’. On account of several instances attested in Tutors it is possible to demonstrate beyond any doubt that *kadi* assumes the meaning of ‘how is it (or would it be) possible that’ also in the absence of any irrealis; cf. *Dharma Pāṭañjala* 200.6, 236.13, 338.1; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 49.13–14.

## Résumé

Kumāra appears before the Lord on the peak of the Kailāsa mountain, pays the customary worship and salutation, and takes a seat.

[1] Kumāra enquires about the Supreme Doctrine (*tattva viśeṣa*), and the right knowledge (*samyajñāna/samyagjñāna*) (194.2–8).

The Lord explains that the right knowledge is difficult to obtain. Without absorption (*samādhi*) there is no right knowledge, in which case it is impossible to know the *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*) (194.9–14).

[2] Kumāra enquires about the characteristics of the *Summum Bonum* (194.15–17).

The Lord enumerates the qualities of the *Summum Bonum* by means of a śloka (1). He goes on explaining that it is beyond the grasp of the human mind, pervasive (*vibhu*), omniscient (*sarvajña*) and omnipotent (*sarvakāryakartā*). Evidence of these qualities is provided. To put an end to the latent impressions in the mind and obtain release it is necessary to practice absorption. That is called right knowledge, as opposed to wrong knowledge (*mithyājñāna*) (194.18–196.14).

[3] Kumāra asks about the characteristics of wrong knowledge (196.15–17).

The Lord explains that wrong knowledge is to use direct perception as the only authoritative means of knowledge. The views of a materialist opponent are introduced: the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence, for it cannot be perceived; non-existence is the cause and effect of the world; good and bad actions have no consequence, as heaven and hell do not exist (196.18–198.11).

[4] Kumāra asks if such views are correct (198.12–14).

The Lord replies that they are not, for the universe and the living beings could not exist if the *Summum Bonum* would be non-existence. Arguments for this statement are given, and the opponent's objections countered. There follows a long and sophisticated debate about the concepts of causality and effect of the universe, creatorship, sentience and insentience, at the end of which the opponent's views are characterized as wrong knowledge (198.15–206.11).

[5] Kumāra asks why such wrong knowledge is wrong (206.12–13).

The Lord explains that it is the knowledge of Kāla, who embodies the Lord at the time of the great destruction. It will come when men of religion will teach false doctrines of this kind (206.14–2).

[6] Kumāra asks what are the means of human beings to prevent being carried away by wrong knowledge (208.3–6).

The Lord introduces the three valid means of knowledge: direct perception (*pratyakṣapramāṇa*), inference (*anumānapramāṇa*), testimony of scripture (*āgamapramāṇa*) (208.7–210.7).

[7] Kumāra asks about the distinctive qualities of a master (*paṇḍita*), and why such a man does not become one with the Lord at once (210.8–11).

The Lord mentions the existence of maculation (*mala*) that, adhering to the Soul already mixed with the mind, covers its omniscience. As soon as maculation disappears, union (*sātmaka*) with the Lord is achieved (210.12–4).

[8] Kumāra asks what is the Soul, and enquires about the origin of maculation (212.5).

The Lord explains that the Soul is the Lord-*Summum Bonum*, i.e. Śiva Parameśvara. He is to be considered as comparable to the Sun spreading its light over the universe. A list of the constituent principles of the universe follows. Below the principle of Śiva (*śivatattva*) is the principle of Māyā (*māyātattva*), just as subtle but unconscious. The coarse principles are: activation (*kalātattva*), attachment (*rāgatattva*), awareness (*vidyātattva*), unevolved matter (*pradhānatattva*), the three constituents (*triguṇatattva*), intellect (*buddhitattva*), self-identity (*ahaṅkāratattva*), mind-stuff (*manaḥtattva*), the ten faculties of sense and action (*daśendriyatattva*), the five subtle elements (*pañcatanmātratattva*), atmosphere (*ākāśatattva*), wind (*vāyutattva*), fire (*tejastattva*), water (*āpyatattva*), earth (*pṛthivītattva*) (212.8–25). All of these are pervaded by the Soul. The Power of Pervasion of the Lord is different from the distinctive characteristics of the Soul; the pervasion is explained as woven crosswise-and-lengthwise (*ūtaprota*): woven crosswise is like the butter within milk, while woven lengthwise is like a string with pearls. The principle of Soul has the power of omniscience, omnipotence, pervading the principle of Māyā; then, because of its closeness to Māyā the Soul loses all its powers and becomes ignorant about its true nature, stained by maculation. At this point, it pervades activation, becoming like a young bee; attachment, desiring to be conscious; awareness, becoming able to perceive the external reality, i.e. unevolved matter, coarse and insentient. The Soul and unevolved matter are caused to meet by the Lord's will. The sentient is remembering, unevolved matter is forgetting. From this union, the three constituents originate, in their turn followed by intellect and self-identity (212.25–216.6). The latter is of three kinds: modified (*vaikṛta*), consisting of passion (*taijasa*), the origin of the gross elements (*bhūtādi*); these are characterized by *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* respectively. From the modified self-identity the ten faculties (of sense and action) come forth, and finally the mind-stuff (216.7–14).

[9] Kumāra asks whether mind-stuff, intellect and self-identity are identical (216.15–16).

The Lord solves this dilemma by asserting their differences, for they possess different characteristics and activities. Prerogative of the intellect are the faculties of ascertainment (*adhyavasāya*) and determination (*niścaya*). The self-identity maintains life and individuality. The mind deliberates (*mamikalpa* < *vikalpa*) (216.17–218.8).

The Lord continues: when the three organs are pervaded with consciousness by the Soul, they grasp the external reality through the five faculties of perception. There follow the five faculties of action. These together are called the ten faculties. When they are provided with intellect, self-identity and mind, they are called the thirteen-fold instrument (*trayodaśakaraṇa*). All these are effects of the modified self-identity (218.8–220.3). From the self-identity which is the origin of the gross elements originate the five subtle elements. While performing a task, the three kinds of self-identity join. There follows a description of the five subtle elements with respective examples. Finally, the five gross elements are listed and their respective characteristics and qualities specified. The elements below are pervaded by those above and combine their qualities, which are described in detail (220.3–224.1).

There follows a description of the Egg-World (*aṇḍabhuvana*). Within it are the Seven Worlds ending with the Earth, where the Seven Islands and the Seven Oceans are located. Below are the Seven Subterranean Paradises, the thirty-two Great Hells, the hell Tāmrāgardabha and finally Kālāgnirudra. The One-hundred Rudras surround the Egg-World. Above the Earth, all the principles are piled up and the subtler ones pervade the coarser according to the following hierarchy: Lord, Soul, Māyā, unevolved matter, intellect, self-identity, mind, ten faculties of sense and action, five subtle elements, five gross elements (224.1–226.11).

The Lord exhorts Kumāra to recall the beginning of the narrative, where He had explained why a lord of yogins does not achieve perfection immediately: the Soul is completely immersed in perceiving consciously because it suffers maculation, hence its nature is ignorance. The Lord desires that the Soul knows about its true nature, hence it causes it to incarnate in a human body, male or female. The six tastes (*ṣaḍrasa*), enjoyed by male and female human beings, turn into sperm and female blood, and these produce a seed through copulation. According to the preponderance of the male or female element, individuals of different sexes are born. Sperm and blood produce the six sheaths (*ṣaṭkośa*) in the body. The different kind of living beings are listed, and the Lord concludes explaining how the five subtle elements form the senses in the body (226.12–228.10).

[10] Kumāra raises the question as to whether the faculties of sense-perception are the same as the organs (*golaka*) (228.11–13).

The Lord dispells Kumāra's doubt by stating that they are different, for the former are subtle while the latter are coarse. The proof is that one who sleep is not able to grasp the external reality, as long as his senses do not carry out their functions (228.14–230.2).

[11] Kumāra asks why one who sleeps still lives in spite of the fact that the nature of sleep is forgetting, hence, unconsciousness (230.3–5).

The Lord explains that the five winds (*pañcabāyu*) serve as means to live. They



circulate through three main vessels (*nāḍī*), which are: *iḍā*, *piṅgalā*, *suṣumnā*. They spread in the body via several other branches. The functions of *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *samāna*, *udāna*, *vyāna* are explained in detail. Another series of five winds is listed, i.e. *nāga*, *kūrmāra*, *kṛkāra*, *devadatta*, *dhanañjaya*, whose respective functions are explained. If the Soul ceases to perceive consciously the winds, or the vessels are damaged, death occurs (230.6–234.9).

[12] Kumāra asks what is the cause of the Soul ceasing to perceive the winds in a conscious manner, and what is the cause of suffering (234.10–12).

The Soul ceases to perceive the winds in a conscious manner because of right-and-wrong (*dharmādharmā*). According to their balance, the good and bad actions may result in causing the experience of either pain or pleasure or both in incarnated beings. The fruits of right and wrong may come into effect immediately or in the future. The Lord illustrates this by means of an example: the actions of farmers, servants and traders will produce, respectively, paddy, a landgrant and a retribution as fruits. When the fruits of right-and-wrong, which shape the body, are finished, a man dies. Indeed, there is nothing left to be experienced by the Soul, just as in the case of a piece of wood being completely consumed by fire (234.13–236.12). An opponent may question the validity of such a state of affairs, for the fruits of karma are not seen by means of direct perception. To such a proposition the Lord replies that the coarse is within the reach of direct perception, while the subtle is within the reach of inference, which recognizes the existence of the fruits of karma (through the recognition of their effects) (236.13–238.3). As to the opponent's objection that, still, only direct perception is to be recognized as a valid means of knowledge, the Lord replies by using the example of the movement of the sun in the sky: although its course is not seen during the night, its existence may be inferred. Likewise, one may establish through inference the existence of things which are not seen. There exist different kinds of human beings and different kinds of living creatures (low, middle and superior); therefore, though invisible, there must necessarily exist a karmic cause to justify their states. If such a cause is not accepted, it follows that everything may turn into everything just randomly, like a eunuch begetting children, or like extracting milk out of excrement (238.3–240.12).

[13] Kumāra asks for the reason why beings engage in right-and-wrong (240.13–14).

The Lord explains that the Soul is firmly connected to the body, and it enjoys experiencing pleasures through the intellect; from the intellect originates the mind (*jñāna*), which has fifty conditions (*vr̥tti*); these in turn give rise to an indeterminate number of other conditions, which explains why there exists a huge variety of beings, all of them different. The Lord enunciates the Four Sovereign Powers (*caturaiśvarya*) along with their opposites, which characterize the intellect. From

the intellect arise the fifty conditions of the mind, viz. the five kinds of error (*pañcaviṣayaya*); the twenty-eight disabilities (*aśakti*); the nine contentments (*tuṣṭi*); the eight perfections (*aṣṭasiddhi*) (240.15–242.8). The Four Sovereign Powers, i.e. Righteousness, Knowledge, Dispassion and Sovereignty are explained one by one (242.9–244.6). The Four Sovereign Powers arise in an intellect that is dominated by *sattva*. However, if it is dominated by *tamaḥ*, their four opposites arise: Unrighteousness, Ignorance, Passion, Non-sovereignty (244.7–16). Having explained the characteristics of the four opposites, the Lord goes on to enunciate in detail the fruits of the Four Sovereign Powers (246.1–15) and of their opposites (246.16–250.9).

[14] Kumāra asks the Lord about the means to perform absorption (250.10–12).

The Lord replies that He will soon be teaching the yoga section (*yogapāda*), but the explanation of the products of the intellect should be finished first. The five kinds of errors are listed: dullness (*tamaḥ*), delusion (*moha*), great delusion (*mahāmoha*), darkness (*tamisra*), blind darkness (*andhatāmisra*) (250.13–252.16). The Lord goes on to explain in detail, by way of practical examples, the nine contentments, which are divided into two categories: the internal contentments (*ādhyātmikatūṣṭi*), comprising the contentments concerning natural constitution (*pradhānaka*), acquisition (*upādānaka*), time (*kāla*), and fortune (*bhāgya*); and the external contentments (*vāhyatūṣṭi*) (252.17–256.9). There follows the description, again by means of examples, of the Eight Perfections (*aṣṭasiddhi*), which are: generosity (*dāna*), study (*adhyāyana*), verbal instruction (*śabda*), reasoning (*tarka*), friendship (*sauhṛdaya*), eradication of the threefold pain (*trayo duḥkhavighāta*). The threefold pain consists of inner pain (*ādhyātmikaduḥkha*), pain due to supernatural agencies (*ādhidaivikaduḥkha*), material pain (*ādhibhautikaduḥkha*). Inner pain is of two kinds: mental (*mānasa*)—consisting of desire (*kāma*), anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*), fear (*bhaya*), envy (*asūyā*)—and bodily (*śārīra*), consisting of various kinds of diseases. Pain due to supernatural agencies is, e.g., being struck by a thunderbolt; becoming mad; being possessed by demons (256.10–260.7).

[15] Kumāra enquires about the means to extinguish the three kinds of pain (260.8–10).

The Lord, again, assures Kumāra that the exposition of the section of yoga (being the means to extinguish the three kinds of pain) will start soon, but not before the remaining conditions of the mind have been described. The twenty-eight disabilities are characterized, by way of examples, as the ten faculties not being capable of experiencing their objects, in addition to the opposites of both the nine contentments and the eight perfections (260.12–268.11).

[16] Kumāra objects that the resulting number of inabilities is twenty-seven, and not twenty-eight (268.12–13).

The Lord answers that, in order to make them complete, the opposite of the mind

should be added to the list: since the characteristic of the mind is to deliberate, not being able to deliberate means to be insane, which qualifies as a disability. The disabilities meet with the innumerable latent impressions (*vāsanā*) of the mind. One should avoid the troubles of afflictions and pains by practicing the paramount three-fold body (*trikāya paramārtha*): good action, good speech, good heart. One should not accept the teachings of a master who does not put into practices his teachings, but, unconcerned by worldly activities, one should constantly strive after devotion toward the Lord, who annihilates sin and causes man to meet supreme bliss, to become a creator and ceasing being created, knowing without being known. The life of incarnated beings is miserable: after they die, they enter a limbo for a long time before they incarnate again. A proof of the fact that the Soul incarnates is the number of the deaths and births, and the existence of men who can remember their previous lives. If one happens to be born again as an abnormal being, or as an animal, there is no chance of learning about the path leading to liberation; therefore one must act quickly in that direction, for the time of death is not known (268.14–272.14).

[17] Kumāra asks of what sort are the latent impressions (272.15–16).

The Lord explains that the karmas are innumerable, hence innumerable are the kinds of rebirth. The fruits of karma are inevitably experienced: if good, one will be reborn as a god; if bad, one will become an animal, and then—once the fruits are expired—a human being. The karma which has already been enjoyed produces as left-over latent impressions in the mind. These impressions are compared to the perfume that still sticks to an earthen pot even after it has been emptied of its content and carefully washed. Whatever is imagined by the mind, that is followed by the karma in determining one's next incarnation (272.17–274.18).

[18] Kumāra asks who is the subject who experiences such incarnations (276.1).

The Lord answers that He Himself has experienced the cycle of rebirth. In a long excursus, the Lord narrates His previous incarnations. First He was a pious man who studied the scriptures on *dharma* (*dharmaśāstra*) with a master. A series of other similar incarnations follows, in which He—having remembered his previous lives—seeks for instruction in the system of yoga (*yogadharma*) by a master, until He finally becomes a lord of yogins. Having spent a thousand years in that state, He is transferred to heaven and given the name of Nīlāhita. He marries Satī, the daughter of Dakṣa; Satī dies, and He again becomes a lord of yogins, fervid in his practice. He dies and is reborn as an incarnation of the Lord, not from sperm and blood but from the yoga of the Lord (276.2–13).

The Lord in His incarnation is Pātāñjala (who happens to remember about his previous state of lord of yogins), the youngest one among five brothers. His elder brothers are: Kuśika, Garga, Maitri, Kuruṣya. All together, they are called the five sages (*pañcaṛṣi*). Each one of them is ordered by the Lord to perform a different

task: Kuśika has to bury the corpse of the Lord after He dies; Garga has to perform the funerary rites; Maitri has to cremate the corpse; Kuruṣya has to build a tower for the cremation ceremony; Pātañjala has to rub the ashes on himself. The Lord dies, and the five brothers come to perform their tasks, witnessed by the ten regents of the directions. Finally Pātañjala is left alone, he rubs the ashes of the Lord's body on his body and suddenly takes the appearance of the Lord when He was still alive, three-eyed and four armed. He is worshiped by the gods, and Ananta transports Him to the heaven of Śrīkaṇṭha. Having spent some time in an even higher plain, i.e. the plain of non-being, He takes his place in the Egg of Brahmā and becomes a universal teacher, instructing all the gods (276.13–280.4).

The Lord narrates about the Daitya Nīlarudraka, who subdued the Egg of Brahmā and menaced the gods. By way of a stratagem involving the goddess Sarasvatī, the gods manage to make Nīlarudraka confess that he could not be killed by a god, a Daitya or a Dānava, but only by the son of the Lord born from sperm and blood. The gods ask Kāma to shoot the Lord with his arrow, so that He falls in love with Umā. Kāma is reduced to ashes by the Lord's third eye, and the gods in fright plead Him to be favourable to them and marry Umā. The Lord consents, and Umā begets Gaṇapati, Bhṛṅgīrīti and Kumāra. The Lord concludes by saying that, having remembered the sequence of His former incarnations, His knowledge of the fruits of karma in leaving behind impressions in the mind is clear (280.4–20).

[19] Kumāra asks how could it be that there is pleasure in becoming any kind of incarnated being (280.21–23).

The Lord replies that there is no pleasure whatsoever in all the incarnated beings, for pleasure is nothing else than liberation. That is the supreme pleasure, consisting in being one with the Lord Supreme Cause (282.1–4).

[20] Kumāra asks about the identity of the Lord Supreme Cause (282.5–6).

The Lord replies that the Lord Supreme Cause is permanently subtle, pure without being effected by maculation, and without an incarnated being as antecedent—unlike other divine beings, such as the Eight Vidyeśas, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and the Lokapālas, who had as antecedent the cycle of incarnation, until they eventually became gods because of their outstanding merits. The Lord cannot be born as an incarnated being, for He is omniscient and knows about the cause of the cycle of existence and of suffering. And furthermore, the four powers (*caduśakti*) are present in Him (282.7–17). They are: the Power of Pervasion (*vibhuśakti*), i.e. not being subjected (*avaśya*), impenetrability (*anāvaśyaḥ*); the Power of Knowledge (*jñānaśakti*), i.e. seeing from afar (*dūradarśana*), hearing from afar (*dūraśravaṇa*), thinking from afar (*dūrāt manana*), knowing everything from afar (*dūrāt masarvajñatā*); the Power of Action (*kriyāśakti*), i.e. swiftness as of thought (*manojavitva*), acting without physical organs (*vikaraṇadharmitva*), ability to assume any form at

will (*kāmarūpitva*); the Power of Lordship (*prabhuśakti*), i.e. fearlessness (*abhītaḥ*), undecaying (*akṣayaḥ*), unaging (*ajaraḥ*), undying (*amaraḥ*), going anywhere without hindrance (*apratihatagatiḥ*) (282.18–284.16).

[21] Kumāra points out that the *Summum Bonum* has been taught above as having no body, yet possessing powers. He wonders what will be, then, that which the powers of the Lord *Summum Bonum* stick to, and who is the one in whom His state of sovereignty is seen (286.1–4).

The Lord replies that the lord of yogins is the visible manifestation of the powers of the Lord, for he has already attained perfection and is dear to the Lord (286.5–7).

[22] Kumāra objects that, in this way, the Powers of the Lord can only be seen in the realized sage, and not in the Lord. The consequence of this is that the Lord does not exist, for only His Powers are the evidence of His existence. Therefore, one may maintain that the Supreme Reality is non-existence (286.8–12).

The Lord explains that the Supreme Reality is not non-existence, for His Powers are not given by the Lord to a master. If Kumāra would ask what is then the origin of the Powers of a master, the reply would be that the Powers in his body are just the Powers of a realized one (286.13–16).

[23] Kumāra asks what is the reason why such Powers are finally made visible (*kābhibyaktā*) in the master (286.17–18).

The Lord explains that He has affection for the yogin who exerts himself in performing absorption. The impurities in his body and his afflictions will be destroyed and his suffering made visible at last, for maculation covers the former Powers of the Soul. It is not possible that—as an opponent may object—the Soul alone causes maculation to disappear, because the characteristics of maculation are not known by the Soul, mixed up with the body. The Soul is not able to cause its maculation to disappear, otherwise all the beings would eventually be released. Only the affection of the Lord toward the yogin is able to cause maculation to disappear. In the end, the Powers of a perfect one are just like the Powers of the Lord (286.19–288.8).

[24] Kumāra objects that from the above it follows that the Lord is involved in the cycle of rebirths (which was previously denied by the Lord) (288.9–10).

The Lord explains that, if the absorption of the yogin is perfect and he knows about the *prayogasandhi*, the Lord is only made manifest in that incarnated being. Like the fire which is in the wood, as it brings forth its body. The occasion for the fire which is in the wood to come out is the activity of the burning. Likewise, butter is not produced if it is not churned. One who does not have *prayogasandhi*, even though he knows about the *prayogasandhi*, he will not succeed in meeting the Lord Supreme Cause (288.11–18).

A śloka (2) gives the definition of yoga as *cittavṛttinirodha* (290.1–2). The Lord

explains: the difficulty of practicing such yoga is extreme, for the man dislikes hard work by nature. Only the one who is passionless and already full of the suffering of life desires yoga, for he wishes the supreme bliss. That is the obtainment of the true nature of the Soul, which is only attainable through yoga (290.3–8).

[25] Kumāra observes that, even though yoga is not performed, the Soul is experienced by him, hence it must follow that that which is experienced is not the Soul but just the mind (290.9–13).

The Lord indirectly replies to the objection by listing and explaining the functions of the mind: perception (*grahana*), error (*viparyaya*), deliberation (*vikalpa*), sleeping (*nidrā*), remembering (*smṛti*). All of these should not be allowed to be in function during the practice of yoga, lest it be hindered (290.13–292.12). If the yogin is successful in suppressing them, absorption comes about. Absorption is of two kinds: cognitive (*samprajñāta*) and non-cognitive (*asamprajñāta*). The cognitive kind is constituted by reflective absorption (*savitarkasamādhi*), refined reflective absorption (*vicārasamādhi*), egoic absorption (*asmitāsamādhi*), blissful absorption (*ānandasamādhi*). If none of these states is present, it is non-cognitive absorption (which is, still, invariably preceded by cognitive absorption). The characteristics of the mind are now listed and briefly explained one by one: it is scattered (*kṣipta*), distracted (*vikṣipta*), infatuated (*vimūḍha*), restricted (*nirodha*), single-minded (*ekagra/ekāgra*). Only the states of single-mindedness and restrictedness are regarded to be stages of absorption (292.13–294.13). As to the opponent's objection that whenever the mind is still, that has to be regarded as yoga of absorption, the Lord replies that there are lords of yogins disembodied (*videha*), i.e. possessing only the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*), and others who are dissolved into unevolved matter (*prakṛtilīna*), i.e. even without subtle body, but only constituted by the principle of unevolved matter, whose characteristics are explained. To obtain a pure mind and hence differ from the previous categories of yogins one has to be zealous in performing yoga at all times (294.14–296.7). The Lord goes on to list and briefly explain one by one the marks connected with the purity, i.e. the cessation, of mind: friendliness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*), equanimity (*upekṣā*). The pure mind of the yogin brings about the following process of generation: energy (*vīrya*), remembering (*tutur*), insight (*prajñā*) and absorption, which results in unity of the yogin with the Lord (296.8–298.1). A śloka-quarter (3) introduces further elaborations on the characteristics of absorption: the mind is left behind, and the Soul closely adheres to the Lord. This leads to the obtainment of the state of supernatural prowess by the yogin. This state of supernatural prowess is divided into three categories, viz. low (*kaniṣṭha*), middle (*madhyama*) and high (*uttama*), according to the intensity of the practice of the yogin, be it gentle (*mṛdusambega*), moderate (*madhyasambega*) or intense (*tībrasambega*) (298.2–12).

[26] Kumāra asks what the superiority of the yogin intensely performing yoga consists of, and why he obtains the supernatural powers in his present life (298.13–15).

The Lord replies that fixing one's mind upon the Lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*), meaning the obtainment of the body of the Lord, is the factor which allows him to directly obtain the supernatural powers derived from yoga (298.16–18).

[27] Kumāra asks about the characteristics of the obtainment of the body of the Lord (298.19–20).

The Lord replies by means of a śloka (4), in which it is declared that the Lord is always untouched by afflictions, karma, fruition or latent deposits (*kleśakarmavipākāśāya*). The afflictions are ignorance (*avidyā*), egoicity (*asmitā*), attachment (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*), obsession (*abhiniveśa*). Karma is doing bad and doing good. Fruition means that the fruits of yoga enjoyed by the body arise willy-nilly. The latent deposits are the leftovers of the fruits of karma that has been already experienced. As soon as the yogin is freed from the above hindrances, he becomes omniscient, omnipotent and sovereign, just as the Lord (298.21–300.12).

The Lord raises the question of an opponent as to what is the evidence of the Soul being freed from the afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits (300.15–19). The Lord indicates the evidence of this in the fact that the Soul consciously perceives. A debate about the state of the Soul and the universe follows (300.16–19).

[28] Kumāra points out that the obtainment of the Lord's body by an incarnated being who is captivated and inattentive is bound to be unsuccessful, wherefore he asks the Lord to teach him something easy to be practiced that would lead to the obtainment of knowledge (302.1–4).

The Lord replies that the syllable ॐ, which is the name of the Lord as taught in all the scriptures, is to be murmured day and night. In this way, all the hindrances (*sarvaviḥṇa*) vanish, and the body of the Lord is obtained (302.5–8).

[29] Kumāra asks for an explanation about the hindrances that have just been mentioned by the Lord (302.9–10).

The Lord introduces the hindrances by means of a śloka (5), listing illness, inattentiveness, idleness, doubt, apathy, erroneous perception, intemperance in knowledge, inability to attain any stage of absorption and lack of control. These hindrances are explained one by one. Murmuring causes them to vanish, the knowledge is unhindered and the yogin wishes to perform yoga with constance. By means of it, the impressions (*saṁskāra/saṁskāra*) are left behind; yet, on the other hand, new impressions (which are fivefold) are caused by the yoga. In their turn, they cause the yogin to remember, and remembering brings into existence yoga. Still, these impressions cause pain in the yogin. (302.11–304.15).

[30] Kumāra asks about number and characteristics of the afflictions (*kleśa*) (304.16).

The Lord lists, once again,<sup>1</sup> the names of the afflictions: ignorance, egoicity, attachment, aversion, obsession. These are then explained one by one. All of them ultimately reside in the state of ignorance, for they go together with wrong knowledge (304.17–306.10).

[31] Kumāra asks what the cure for the afflictions is (306.11–12).

The Lord indicates as a cure for the afflictions which are gross the performance of observances (*brata*) and of the yoga of breath-control (*prāṇāyāmayoga*). The afflictions which are subtle can be eliminated through non-cognitive absorption. The following process of causation is outlined: non-cognitive absorption is caused by cognitive absorption, which is caused by withdrawal etc. (*pratyāhārādi*), which is brought about by observances (*brata*), which are a consequence of dispassion (*vairāgya*), which arise when one is fed up with the suffering without end. The painfulness and repetitiveness of the cycle of existence are stressed once again, and the practice of absorption and non-inattentiveness is suggested as the remedy to escape from it and to get a body as the one of the Lord. Observances are then said to burn maculation, just as fire burns a piece of dry wood: if the wood is wet, the fire will not be successful. If the observances are followed with full attention, maculation is burnt by the breath (306.13–308.12).

[32] Kumāra enquires about the means to realize yoga and observances (308.13–14).

The Lord introduces the yoga of the eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*), consisting in general commandments (*yama*), particular commandments (*niyama*), postures (*āsana*), withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*), fixation (*dhāraṇa*), visualization (*dhyāna*), absorption (*samādhi*) (308.15–17). A detailed explanation of the first two ancillaries follows. The general commandments are constituted by non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truth (*satya*), non-theft (*astainya*), continence (*brahmacāri*), renunciation (*aparigraha*) (308.18–310.9). The particular commandments are constituted by purity (*śauca*), contentedness (*santoṣa*), penance (*tapah*), self-study (*svādhyāya*), fixing one's mind upon the Lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*). (310.10–312.3).

[33] Kumāra asks about the purpose of the observance of the particular commandments, if the observance of the general commandments has already been steadfastly performed by the yogin (312.4–6).

The Lord replies to Kumāra's doubt by characterising the observance of the general commandments and of the particular commandments as one. Further the observance of the particular commandments should be performed in order that the fruits of the general commandments be brought about. The fruits of each one of the general commandment are listed (312.7–17). There follows a list of the fruits of the observance of the particular commandments (312.18–314.2).

1. Cf. above, 298.21–300.12.



Having indicated the suitable places to be chosen for the practice of yoga, the Lord gives further practical instructions. Having washed himself and murmured the mantras AGHORA or TATPURUṢA, the practitioner, standing either on the Southern or Western side of (the image of) the Lord, should pronounce the mantra BHAVA SIDDHA and take a seat in a cave. There he should start with the postures: *padmāsana*, *bhadrāsana* and *svastikāsana*. Then he should move to the yoga of withdrawal, which consists in drawing out the senses, as well as the intellect, mind-stuff and self-awareness, from their domains. When the mind is quiet and characterized by oneness (*ekatva*), the yogin should perform the yoga of breath-control, which consists in *recaka*, *kumbhaka* and *pūraka*. This dissipates both the darkness of the heart and the mind altogether, for it is devoid of thought. The yoga of fixation follows. The mind in the state of singleness is stable in its own place, yet fixed upon one single object, such as the heart, or the oneness of the Lord. The yoga of visualization is mentioned, but not explained (due to a textual corruption). The last ancillary, i.e. the yoga of absorption, is the means to obtain release. All the eight serve as external ancillaries (*bahirāṅga*) of the cognitive absorption. In this stage, the yogin obtains the supernatural powers, which are in their turn used as means to perform yoga once again. As soon as innate maculation (*sahajamala*) disappears, the practitioner can obtain whatever is his desire, and he becomes equal to the Lord (314.3–320.3).

As an answer to the opponent's objection that, as it is commonly seen, the practice of yoga will not bring about liberation, the Lord asks what, then, brings about liberation. An opponent enters the debate and points out that initiation only is the cause of liberation, for the Soul is absolutely devoid of omniscience. The Lord replies that the unwanted corollary of such a proposition will be that the Soul, when not omniscient, would be already liberated: in fact, (as everyone can see) the state of omniscience of the Soul is not brought about by initiation alone. From this it follows that only constant practice, yoga and absorption bestow liberation (320.3–10).

[34] Kumāra asks what are the characteristics of the state of supernatural prowess obtained by the yogin (320.11–12).

The Lord exhorts Kumāra to keep in mind that fixation, visualization and absorption bring about the state of supernatural prowess of the yogin. When they are joined together toward a single entity, this is designated as restraint (*saṅgyama*). Such a technique can only be applied to the lower principles, and not to the higher ones. The various objects of restraint, comprising the five elements and the fruits brought forward by them are described in detail (322.1–326.7). The Lord points out that the obtainment of such a state of supernatural prowess should be striven for in view of the coming of the obstacles (*upasarga*), i.e. the latent impressions (*vāsanā*) of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, which are not yet extinguished. They are characterized, respectively, by wisdom, quickness, heaviness. Wisdom causes the yogin to super-

naturally master the sacred scriptures. The obstacle of *rajas* causes the yogin to think (with pride) that the powers are in his body, for now he can accomplish things that were impossible before. The obstacle of *tamas* causes his eyes suddenly to become dark and his mind to become bewildered and devoid of self-consciousness. In this case, the yogin should perform *prayogasandhi*, or apply fire. If he suffers from a greatly distorted sight, or madness, he should be seized and pressed down, his eyes should be given lime and onion as a medicine, and he should be ordered to regain consciousness (326.8–328.3).

[35] Kumāra points out that the procedure described above is feasible only if the yogin has some companions around him; however, if he happens to be all alone in his place of hermitage, what is the procedure? (328.4–6).

The Lord replies that there indeed exists a means to eliminate his suffering and bestow long life (328.7–8).

[36] Kumāra asks to teach him such a means to eliminate the suffering (328.9–10). The Lord explains: whenever the principle of unevolved matter is separated from the Soul, and also when the Soul is separated from the mind, the yogin is not affected by pain anymore (328.11–12).

[37] Kumāra asks what is the way to separate the Soul, the unevolved matter, etc. (328.13–14).

The Lord answers that, when the yogin wishes to enter into another man, he should use *prayogasandhi*. When the right-and-wrong are cut off by him, but a little bit of their rests remains, he does not die; he could enter into another man. If he wishes to obtain the Eight Sovereign Powers (*aṣṭaiśvarya*), he should apply restraint towards the eleven faculties. The Eight Sovereign Powers are characterized as: miniaturization (*aṇiman*), weightlessness (*laghiman*), enlargement (*mahiman*), attainment of anything at will (*prāpti*), production of multiple bodies at will (*prākāmya*), sovereignty (*iśitva*), control of the elements (*vaśitva*), ability to satisfy one's own desires (*yatrakāmāvasāyitva*) (328.15–330.15).

The Lord warns that, at this point, the obstacles (*upasarga*) come to the yogin, e.g. in the form of gods bringing pleasures and beautiful women inviting the yogin to follow them to heaven. He should not consent to that deception, for its purpose is to cause the failure of his yoga; he should rather think that those pleasures are impermanent and will bind him to the cycle of existence in the form of animals, while the obtainment of the supreme bliss will last forever. He should not linger any more in the state of supernatural prowess or relax, but rather continue to perform observances and absorption with determination (332.1–15).

At this point the Lord anticipates the objection of a materialist, according to whom non-existence is the origin of all actions and the dissolution of the universe, which is why one has to take this state of things as the *Summum Bonum*, and should

not bother about the results of one's own actions. In any case, if one enjoys pleasure in his life, one will incarnate again as an animal, then return to non-existence. The debate goes on touching upon the ontological state of non-existence and its connection with the creation and dissolution of the universe (332.16–334.16).

[38] Kumāra asks for an elucidation of the opponent's statement that there is no cause and effect for the universe (334.17–19).

The Lord explains that non-existence is indeed characterized by darkness without consciousness, in which the mind does not meet with the three constituents. Consciousness is the effect of the universe, for it is the Power of Action of the Lord Supreme Cause. As soon as the Soul is aware of the principle of unevolved matter, the universe arises; when the Soul ceases to be aware of the principle of unevolved matter, the universe dissolves, dissolving into unevolved matter (334.20–336.5).

[39] Kumāra asks for what reason the principle of unevolved matter has been designated as non-existence by the opponent (336.6–7).

The Lord answers that this is because there is no conception of it, and it has no characteristics. It is not the case that the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence; and also the cause and the effect of the universe, and the producing as an effect the non-existence, the yogin does know that *Summum Bonum* is not non-existence, therefore the yogin should not make it his object of absorption. To a hypothetical question of Kumāra as to the characteristics of the *Summum Bonum* to be aimed at through absorption, the Lord replies that it is the consciousness—omniscient, omnipotent, and having its whereabouts in the whole universe. However, it is not seen, being without distinctive marks, without form, without a notion. That is deemed to be impossible by the opponent, who asks for the evidence of the existence of such an entity. The Lord asserts that the evidence of it lies in the creation, maintenance and dissolution (*utpattisthitilīna*) of the universe, which is the wish of the Lord. The principle of unevolved matter is unmanifest; it wishes to create the universe, therefore the Soul consciously perceives it. The stages of creation are listed as the following sequence: unmanifest (*niṣkala*), *nāda*, *bindu*, *ardhacandra*, *om-kāra*, the three-syllables (*tryakṣara*), the five-syllables (*pañcākṣara*) and finally the whole universe. The opponent objects that the *bindu* and *nāda* cannot come from the unevolved matter, for they come forth from the Lord. The Lord replies by means of an elaborate, and for the most part obscure, logical argument that seeks to demonstrate the instrumental—and not material—causality of the Lord in relationship to the universe, upholding the equivalence of the Lord Supreme Cause with the sentient on the one hand and of unevolved matter with the insentient on the other. The text ends with a series of objections by the opponent and answers of the Lord about ontological matters (336.8–338.13).

## Manuscript

THE CODEX of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, formerly belonging to the private collection of SCHOEMANN, is now accessible at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (MS SCHOEMANN I-21, cf. PIGEAUD 1975:111–112).<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, stored in a wooden box (*kropak*), consists of 89 leaves of thatch palm *Nipa Fructicans* (locally called *nipah*), each one measuring ca. 35 × 3 cm. As it is usual with Nipahs—and unlike Lontars, whose leaves are engraved and then anointed with black powder—the text was written in black ink, across four lines per side, starting from the verso of the first leaf and ending on the verso of the last one. A supplementary empty leaf is inserted, as a further protection, after the last one. Numeration is implemented by means of cyphers, whose writing direction is perpendicular (90° clockwise) to that of the lines of writing, starting on the recto side of the second folio and ending on the recto side of the last one.<sup>2</sup> The script is a variant of Old Javanese quadratic script (cf. below, p. 47).

I first inspected the codex in August 2006 and noted that, in spite of PIGEAUD's somewhat alarming remarks about its state of conservation,<sup>3</sup> its overall condition was good. In fact, by merely looking at its thin leaves inscribed with black characters neatly contrasting on a brownish background, I could hardly imagine that this artifact was already in existence at least five centuries ago. Time, however, has caused a few (initial and final) leaves to break in two halves, and has caused others to lose some small fragments here and there.

1. The manuscript has been microfilmed at my request in July 2006, and subsequently digitally photographed by myself in May 2008.

2. Thus, the first folio is not numbered. This is also the case in the majority of the Old Javanese manuscripts from West Java that I have perused. The reason why this system was implemented might be that numeration follows 'pages' consisting of eight written lines located across the verso and recto sides of two folios (cf. BRANDES 1900). Another possible reason might be that, as numbers were written on the leaves for the sake of recognizability in case they got unbound (either inadvertently or during an operation of manutention), there was no need to mark the first one, which was immediately recognizable for having its recto side unwritten.

3. Cf. PIGEAUD (1975:112): 'The Nipah leaves of the manuscript are very thin and fragile, several leaves are already broken. It is very much to be desired that the manuscript is edited as soon as possible.'

*History*

The history of the discovery of the codex is interesting. As reported by PIGEAUD (1975:111–112), somewhere in the second half of the 19th century the manuscript was donated to the German collector SCHOEMANN by his fellow countryman the Sanskritist FRIEDERICH, who was at the time in charge of cataloguing the manuscript collection of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. Unlike the other similar Nipahs, which were acquired by the Society from collections or private individuals from the Sundanese area of West Java, this codex was reported to have been recovered in the Central Javanese Merapi-Merbabu collection. It is no doubt worthwhile to quote verbatim the original description of the manuscript as originally made by SCHOEMANN (arguably on the basis of a report by FRIEDERICH)—as quoted, translated and somewhat abridged, by PIGEAUD (1975:112):

This fine codex was originally part of a collection of old manuscripts which was preserved in a village called Kěḍakan, situated in the Residency of Kěḍu, on the Western slope of mount Měrbabu. At the time that Brahmanism and Buddhism in Central Java were being superseded by Islam, a priest, called *paněmbahan* Windu Sona, found refuge in this village for himself, his family and his holy books, originally to the number of 1000, according to oral tradition. The collection remained in the possession of his descendants until 1851 AD. In that year the remaining books, about 400 (the rest having got lost in the course of time) were purchased by the Netherlands East India Government on behalf of the library of the Society of Arts and Sciences of Batavia. The assistant librarian Dr. FRIEDERICH was commissioned to make a catalogue of the collection. The spread of Islam in Java began in the second half of the 15th century. So the manuscript referred to would be at least 400 years old. Perhaps it is even older, for its script is the old Kawi script, written on the Nipah palmleaves with pen and ink. Most of the manuscripts belonging to the Kěḍakan collection are made of *lontar* palmleaves; the letters are scratched on the leaves with the point of a small knife, and the script resembles modern Javanese writing.

PIGEAUD, having dismissed SCHOEMANN's descriptions of the various Indonesian manuscripts in his collection as generally uninteresting and occasionally flawed, considered the present one to be, by way of exception, 'valuable and trustworthy'. If correct, this report is indeed valuable insofar as it provides us with evidence that this kind of Nipah manuscripts, to which

a West Javanese provenance is generally attributed,<sup>4</sup> exist also in the Merapi-Merbabu collection. The problem of the real extent of this Central Javanese collection, whose manuscripts were only partly acquired after 1851 by the Batavian Society, has been tackled by VAN DER MOLEN (1983:114–117),<sup>5</sup> who did not challenge SCHOEMANN's report on the origin of the codex and pointed to the fact that, according to PIGEAUD (1975:229–230), at least two other Lontars in Buda script<sup>6</sup> belonging to his collection are likely to come from the Merapi-Merbabu, probably as personal gifts from FRIEDERICH.

Now, there is evidence that the *Dharma Pātañjala* is not the only Nipah codex of West Javanese origin to have been part of the Merapi-Merbabu collection. As observed by HOLLE (1877:16),

It is remarkable that many Sundanese manuscripts from this time [15th–16th century],—also that of 1334 [i.e. the *Arjunavivāha*, cod. 641],—are written with ink on *nipah*-leaves, whereas, as far as is known to me, from *Java* [i.e. Central or East Java] only engraved manuscripts have come to light. Manuscripts written with ink in Kawi-quadratic-script have come to light also from the Merbabu; however, as already said, after inspection it appeared to me that their provenance is from the Sundanese area, for in them are found not only single Sundanese words, but also whole sentences in Sundanese.<sup>7</sup>

HOLLE's remarks about the existence of West Javanese Nipahs among the manuscripts of the Merapi-Merbabu collection seems to find a confirmation in the existence, in the collection of the National Library in Jakarta, of ms. PNRI 16 L 455, a Nipah containing the Old Javanese *Bhimasorga*, a text which displays a marked Sundanese influence.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the archival research

4. Cf. above, p. 4.

5. For a report on this collection, cf. VAN DER MOLEN and WIRYAMARTANA (2001); for a catalogue, cf. SEDYAWATI, WIRYAMARTANA and VAN DER MOLEN (2002).

6. Cf. below, fn. 15.

7. 'Opmerkelijk is, dat vele Soendasche mss. uit dien tijd,—ook dat van 1334,—zijn geschreven met inkt op *nipah*-blad, terwijl, zoover mij bekend is, van *Java* slechts gegriffelde mss. zijn voor den dag gekomen. Ook van de Mërbaboe zijn met inkt in Kawi-kwadraat-letter geschreven mss. voor den dag gekomen, doch, zoo als gezegd, bij inzage bleek mij, dat ze uit de Soenda-landen afkomstig zijn, kenbaar niet alleen aan enkele Soendasche woorden, maar ook aan Soendasche volzinnen, die er in voorkomen.'

8. Another copy of this text has been preserved on a Lontar written in Old Sundanese script: cf. above, fn. 5.

carried out by VAN DER MOLEN (1983:117) has shown that all the manuscripts kept at the National Library in Jakarta with a number between 427 and 455 must have been originally part of the Merapi-Merbabu collection.<sup>9</sup> During one of my visits to the National Library of Indonesia, I found additional evidence suggesting that other Nipahs may be traceable to this Central Javanese collection as well. This includes: an undated, apparently 19th century handwritten roman transliteration (PNRI 89 no. 262) of manuscript 628 (*Siksa Guru*), a Nipah that was not described by POERBATJARAKA (1933) in his list of the manuscripts of the Batavian Society collection and that may now be traced to the Merapi-Merbabu repository thanks to a note reported in the above transliteration explicitly referring to its provenance from that collection;<sup>10</sup> Nipah 69 L 629, to whose Kropak was stuck the hand-written catalogue mark ‘Merbaboe 3’;<sup>11</sup> the existence, among the loose fragments of several Lontars from the Merapi-Merbabu collection (catalogued as 30 L 501), of two fragmentary pieces of a Nipah.<sup>12</sup>

Since it is very likely that all the Nipahs that have survived to us originate from West Java, it seems safe to conclude that the above-mentioned complete codices, among which the *Dharma Pātañjala*, and presumably also the

9. VAN DER MOLEN, though, did not describe the features of this particular manuscript. At a later date, in their catalogue of the Merapi-Merbabu manuscripts kept at the National Library, SEDYAWATI, WIRYAMARTANA and VAN DER MOLEN (2002:255) express the following concerns over the provenance of codex 455, i.e. its inclusion in the above-mentioned collection: ‘Judging from the material it has been written upon (Nipah, not Lontar), it is possible that this is not a Merapi-Merbabu manuscript’ (‘melihat bahan tulis (nipah, bukan lontar) mungkin bukan naskah Merapi-Merbabu’). While the authors are right in associating this particular writing support (Nipah) with a different, i.e. non-Central Javanese, tradition, their conclusion that the manuscript might have been mistakenly attributed to the Merapi-Merbabu collection seems to be unjustified, as the findings presented here suggest.

10. The notes, written in the left margin of the first page of text, run as follows: ‘Ms. Mērbaboe no. 3 = 628 BG [a few lines below:] Kopie van *kropak* no. 628 *Siksa Guru* Mērbaboe 3’. Another manuscript containing the text of the *Siksa Guru* is Nipah PNRI 88 L 642, whose colophon, according to PIGEAUD (1980:247), indicates a dating of 1479 AD. In the *Bhujaṅga Manik* (lines 860–868, TEEUW and NOORDUYN 2006:259–260) the protagonist quotes a sentence from a text bearing the same name; however, since the quoted passage is in Old Sundanese, it is unlikely that the work can be identified with the above-mentioned *Siksa Guru*, which is written in Old Javanese.

11. The manuscript, of which only ten leaves have survived, apparently contains the fragment of an as of yet unidentified Tutar.

12. In spite of the small size of the two fragments, the lines of text they preserve are still legible and suggest that the text was a Tutar.

fragmentary ones, found their way from West Java to the Merapi-Merbabu scriptorium before 1759, the year of death of the priest Windu Sona.<sup>13</sup>

The bearing of the above findings on the cultural, religious and literary history of pre-Islamic Java is significant, for they provide evidence of the link existing among West and Central Javanese Kabuyutans. That such scriptoria and hermitages were in existence in the area of Sunda is confirmed by the survival of one such site up to the present, i.e. the Ciburuy repository, where some thirty Old Sundanese and Old Javanese manuscripts plus some ancient metal artefacts can be found. Furthermore, the report of PLEYTE (1914:366–374) documents the figure of Kai Raga, a teacher and ascetic living in a hermitage near Gunung Larang Srimanganti (now Gunung Cikurai) in the beginning of the 18th century (cf. also VAN DER MOLEN 1983:113). The existence of contacts among Kabuyutans at an even earlier time is supported by the early 16th-century Old Sundanese chronicle of *Bhujaṅga Manik*.<sup>14</sup> That such contacts might have also involved the exchange of manuscripts is suggested by the existence of Nipah codices in the Merapi-Merbabu collection, and also by the fact that copies of Old Javanese texts such as the *Arjunavivāha* (WIRYAMARTANA 1990:16) and the *Tattvajñāna* (ACRI 2010) have been found, besides in the Central Javanese collection, also in West Java and on Bali.

The script of the *Dharma Pātañjala* belongs to the type of Old Javanese script usually found in Nipahs from West Java, dating from the 14th to the early 16th century. This has, confusingly enough, been defined as Old Javanese quadratic script (HOLLE 1877:14–16), as bold semi-cursive ancient West Javanese script (PIGEAUD 1968:94, 1980:247) and again as Buda or Gunung script (1970:53–54).<sup>15</sup> DE CASPARIS (1975:53–56), failing to give a specific name

13. Cf. VAN DER MOLEN (1983:113).

14. In this text the main character, a Hindu-Sundanese hermit, describes his journeys throughout the island of Java in search of Hindu remains. He also mentions to have visited the learning centre of Pamrihan near Gunung Damalung, which has been identified as the Merbabu mountain: cf. NOORDUYN (1982:416), VAN DER MOLEN (1983:78), WIRYAMARTANA (1993:503–505).

15. The label Buda is derived from the expression *jaman buda*, ‘the Buddhist era’, with which people in the Islamic period referred to the preceding period (irrespective of the fact that Buddhist vestiges are disproportionately fewer than Śaiva ones, cf. PIGEAUD 1967:54), while Gunung ‘mountain’ is the appellative with which people referred to such old-fashioned script, because it hails from remote mountainous areas where Hindu her-



to this kind of script, pointed out its close similarity with the one found in some Majapahit copper plates from East Java. This led VAN DER MOLEN (1983:96) to wonder whether this script was once diffused on the whole of the island but, for unknown reasons, survived only in West Javanese manuscripts. Pointing at the imperfect palaeographic knowledge available, he then referred to the types of Old Javanese script found in West and Central Javanese (i.e. Merapi-Merbabu) manuscripts simply as Buda (VAN DER MOLEN 1983:115–116). This denomination, however, seems to me too general and potentially misleading, for the script that survived on West Javanese Nipahs forms a variant distinct from other kinds of ‘Buda’ scripts found in Lontars of both West Javanese (e.g. Ciburuy) and Central Javanese provenance.<sup>16</sup> A distinction, therefore, between Western Old Javanese quadratic script and Central Old Javanese script may be more appropriate.

Although the script of the *Dharma Pātañjala* codex bears a very strong resemblance with the script of the Nipahs depicted by HOLLE (1877:7, 17, 25–26 columns 82–88), e.g. from Tēlaga, Cirebon and Ciburuy, it is not completely identical to any of them. It does not entirely conform to the script found in other Nipahs known to me either. This might be due either to local mannerisms connected with different scriptoria, or to the stylistic idiosyncrasies of scribes. Though a systematic and comprehensive palaeographic characterization of the manuscripts written in Western Old Javanese quadratic script is beyond the scope of this work, certain macroscopic peculiarities documented in a set of significant (although often undated) manuscripts that are likely to date from the 14th to the 16th century may be discussed here. DE CASPARIS (1975:53–54) attempted to sketch a historical development of this script on the basis of the change over the time of the shape of the grapheme *na*, which he considered the most interesting one for this purpose. His attempt was later refined by VAN DER MOLEN (1983:95), who compared various forms of the grapheme found in inscriptions from 875–1296 AD with the manuscript of the prose *Kuñjarakarna*.<sup>17</sup> The devel-

































mitages still survived in Islamic times.

16. To the two variants described above must be added a third one, i.e. the ‘rustic’ type of Buda/Gunung script to which PIGEAUD (cf. the corresponding index entry, 1970:367) referred when describing 16th–17th century mss. from both Central and East Java.

17. This has been assigned to as early as the second half of the 14th century by KERN (1922:3–5), later supported by the more analytic (albeit by no means definitive) analysis by DE CASPARIS (1975:52–54). Contrast PIGEAUD (1970:21, 1980:207), describing the codex as dating back to ca. 1500 AD.

opment seems to start from a form with the bottom stroke attached to the vertical either without a loop or with a loop connected just above the bottom end of the vertical stroke; in the *Kuñjarakarna* codex, as well as in few other West Javanese Nipahs, the connection between the vertical stroke and the one running down to the right is made much closer to the top stroke of the grapheme, which often presents a thicker stroke (or a loop) in its bottom-left part; this makes it almost indistinguishable from the grapheme *ca* as documented in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*. As can be observed in table 1, this feature of the bottom-left part of the grapheme *na* is not found in our codex. Other distinguishing features are the shape of the grapheme *sa*, written as two parallel vertical lines either with or without a central stroke linking them, and of the grapheme *da*, whose bottom-right part consists of either a simple rightward stroke (as in our codex and in that of the *Bhuvana Pitu*) or a more elaborated (rightward or leftward) curl. The shape of the *u* as a vocalic ligature is also interesting in that it is rendered in Nipahs with two distinct forms: either a simple, short subscript leftward curl (as in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*) or a longer, and more elaborate, undulated serif (as in its colophon). What is remarkable is that the latter form does not seem to reflect a distinction in quantity, for both forms are used indiscriminately in Old Javanese words and the *ū* is obtained by adding one of the allographs of the *ā* to either one or the other sign. However, it is likely that the simple, i.e. non curled, *u* and the curled one were in origin distinguished and indicated respectively the short and long *u*, but then this distinction was forgotten and the uniform use of *ā* as lengthmark was introduced.

Table 1: The graphemess *u*, *da*, *na*, *sa* in the DhPāt and other Nipahs

	DhPāt	DhPāt Col.	SKK	RCar	TigaJñ	KK	BhPitu	CK
<i>u</i> <sup>18</sup>								
<i>da</i>								
<i>na</i>								
<i>sa</i>								

18. Note that the mss. (or parts thereof) documenting the undulated form of the *u* also attest the shorter form, but not vice-versa. The only exception to this rule is the KK codex, which only attests the undulated form.

At the present stage of palaeographic knowledge it is simply not possible to extrapolate from the above data any conclusion as to the chronological priority of one set of variants over another. On the contrary, it seems likely that these differences coexisted and would have been mostly dependent on scribal traditions or 'schools' from different geographical locations.

The fact that a slightly different variety of script than in the rest of the codex has been used in the colophon might be of some relevance for the dating of the former. When inspecting the original I noted that even the ink used was of a different, lighter, tonality, a fact further strengthening my impression that this portion was added after the copying of the text itself by a different hand. It is, therefore, probable that the dating reported in the colophon does not correspond exactly with the time of copying, which could be older. The 'added' piece of text (in italics) begins after the standard phrase indicating the conclusion of a work, the place where it was copied and its title:

f. 88v      *təlas sinurat in antiraga pun, iti dharma pātañjala samāpta. titi māsa padūp-  
van vulan kasapuluh, pañcavara, u, trivara, dva, saptavara, a, aṣṭavara, yama,  
vuku vuyai, i śaka, parab in sakala lavañ gajah guṇa vvañ.*<sup>19</sup>

Thus the *Dharma Pātañjala* is completed, copied in Antiraga. On the lunar day of the month *padūpvan*, tenth moon, (day) *umanis* of the five-day week, (day) *dvara* of the three-day week, (day) *aṅgāra* of the seven-day week, (day) *yama* of the eight-day week, day *vuku vuyai*, of the Śāka year named after the chronogram 'doors, elephants, constituents, man' (i.e. 1389).

*pañcavara* ] *em.* ; *pacāvara cod.* • *sakala lavañ* ] *em.* ; *sakalavaṃ cod.*

My transliteration as well as interpretation of the colophon differs from that of PIGEAUD (1975:111), which is flawed by several misreadings.<sup>20</sup> Nothing is known about the toponym Antiraga. SCHOEMANN's (or FRIEDRICH's) guess concerning the date of the codex, namely that it would be contemporary with or older than the second half of the 15th century (when, according to him, the spread of Islam in Java begun) is confirmed by the chronogram reported

19. I have standardized the spelling but reproduced the original in the diplomatic edition.

20. Such as *ṛ* in place of subscript *u*. PIGEAUD also misinterpreted *gajah* 'elephant' in the chronogram as the cypher 2 instead of 8, resulting in a dating of 1329 Śaka (1407 AD). In decoding the chronogram I have followed DAMAIS (cf. fn. 22) and I.D.G. CATRA (p.c., June 2007), who arrived at the same dating independently.

in the colophon, indicating 1389 Śaka.<sup>21</sup> DAMAIS, in a letter addressed to ENSINK dated 30 September 1964, tentatively dated it to 17 March 1467 AD, even though a high level of uncertainty remained.<sup>22</sup> A slightly different date, i.e. 26 March 1467 AD, results from the calculation done with a modified version of the software *Takwim: Javanese and Malay date conversions*.<sup>23</sup>

21. I have emended the sequence *sakalavañ* of the codex into *sakala lavañ* on the basis of the observations made by DAMAIS (1958:51) about the occurrence of the technical term *sakala* (from *śakakala*, ‘the Śaka era’, by haplography) in colophons of Old Javanese manuscripts in the sense of ‘chronogram’, preceded by the particle *iñ* and followed by the terms constituting the chronogram itself. It appears that the scribe inadvertently failed to write the *akṣara la*, belonging to the word *lavañ* ‘doors, openings’ (= 9), which followed *sakala*. Another possibility is that the mistake might have rather involved the incorrect spelling of *vvañ* ‘man’ (= 1) as *vañ*, in which case the chronogram would yield a different dating, namely 1381. Since the presence of a corruption could hardly have gone unnoticed by DAMAIS, who suggested a dating of 1389 rather than 1381, I have emended the text according to the former hypothesis (i.e. *sakalavañ* → *sakala lavañ*) rather than the latter (i.e. *sakalavañ* → *sakala vvañ*).

22. In the letter, attached to the manuscript of ENSINK’s transliteration of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, DAMAIS noted: ‘Pas de vérification possible. Il faut admettre décalage du mois et supposer 12 (ou 11) *śukla*. C’est possible, sans plus’.

23. The software, created by PROUDFOOT (cf. id. 2006), has been modified by its author, at the request of Dr. SUPOMO, in order to deal with the calculation of dates reported in pre-Islamic Javanese documents. I thank Dr. SUPOMO and Dr. PROUDFOOT for having shared with me this modified version of the software.



## Language

### Spelling

THE CODEX of the *Dharma Pātañjala* shares most of its spelling features with the Old Javanese manuscripts preserved on Bali. But it differs from the latter in the greater occurrence of certain idiosyncrasies, which can be also detected in other early Old Javanese Nipahs from West Java. Since these manuscripts are written in distinct varieties of script and language, it is possible that common spelling features may be attributable to influence of the same linguistic background shared by the scribes. A few of the orthographic features of the Sanskrit are found also in Sanskrit manuscripts from other traditions of writing Sanskrit elsewhere in Asia, and may thus have been imported from Sanskrit manuscripts from the Subcontinent and further developed in the Archipelago. Several of the features listed below have been tacitly standardized in the critical edition, following the standardization of spelling effected in OJED.<sup>1</sup>

*Long vs. short vowels.* Although in Old Javanese as in other Austronesian languages vowel quantity was probably not a phonemic distinction, certain words are usually spelled with long vowels, such as the negative particle *tā*, the pronoun *ikā*, the verbal form *tūt*, etc. In prose Tuturs this distinction is generally not applied with great care and one has the impression that different ways of spelling were considered equally acceptable variants.<sup>2</sup> Besides actual mistakes, the codex presents a significant degree of variation in the spelling of certain particles and pronouns, e.g. between *(n)ikaṃ* and *(n)ikāṃ* (with a higher frequency of the latter), *ikā* and *ika*, *tā* (as an emphatic particle) and *ta*, *ya* and *yā* (more often the latter); furthermore, no consistent distinction between long and short *pepet* is discernible (e.g. *agāṇ* = *agāṇ*).<sup>3</sup> Vowel quantity in Sanskrit words is not respected in a consistent manner. It appears that a certain regularity in vowel quantity was sought

1. Cf. my discussion of the editorial policies below, pp. 88–95.

2. On the contrary, the length of syllables was observed, or sometimes even introduced *ad hoc*, only in Kakavins, where it was vital to the creation and preservation of the correct metrical patterns.

3. According to TEEUW and ROBSON (2005:29), the spelling of short and long *pepet* does not reflect a phonemic opposition but is mostly implemented to suit metres.

after by the last copyist of the codex, but rarely achieved as in several words long and short vowels are misplaced. It may be supposed that he was not confident enough with the spelling of unusual Sanskrit words, while, on the other hand, he appears to have ‘Javanized’ the spelling of common loan-words, such as e.g. *sūkṣma*, which is always spelled with short *u*. It is interesting to note the tendency to use certain words in the feminine form (be it genuine or resulting from hypercorrection or some other such process), e.g. *śonitā* (5×) vs. *śonita* (1×);<sup>4</sup> *cetanā* (27×) vs. *cetana* (3×);<sup>5</sup> *lakṣaṇā* (17×) vs. *lakṣaṇa* (41×), *par(a/ā)mārthā* (29×) vs. *paramārtha* (11×); *sukṣmā* (7×) vs. *sukṣma* (5×); *pratyakṣa* (8×) vs. *pratyakṣā* (8×). Although only a detailed statistical study of all the occurrences could shed more light on the matter and help us to separate errors from spelling habits and real grammatical distinctions, it is arguable that in this kind of prose literature the determination of quantity was partly governed by factors such as rhythm, hypercorrection (so as to give a word a ‘more Sanskrit’ appearance) and scribal idiosyncrasies rather than by fixed grammatical standards (cf. UHLENBECK 2003:311).

*Aspirated vs. unaspirated consonants.* Consonant signs belonging to the aspirated series of the Indic writing system are generally rare in Old Javanese (cf. UHLENBECK 2003:311), and all the more so in this codex. The graphemes *kh*, *ch*, *jh*, *ṭh*, *ḍh* and *dh* are indeed not found in the West Javanese variety of Old Javanese script (HOLLE 1877:7, 17; VAN DER MOLEN 1983:293–294). Hence, to render aspirated consonants, especially in Sanskrit words, the corresponding unaspirated stops are generally used (e.g. *duḥkha* becomes *duka*, etc.). The grapheme *gh* is found only twice in Old Javanese words where its unaspirated counterpart would be expected, i.e. in *gighil* (f. 38r.3–4), *ghaveyaknā* (f. 42v.3) and *ghnānavayakən* (f. 64v.4, which I have emended into *ginavayakən*, 304.11), while it is used quite consistently in Sanskrit words, e.g. *ghrāṇa*, *vighna*, *vighāta*, etc. The grapheme *th* is rarely

4. And not *śonita*, as in standard Sanskrit (cf. below, p. 63).

5. Given the striking prevalence of the spelling with *ā* in the forms *śonitā* and *cetanā*, I have chosen to preserve the ending with long vowel throughout this book, notwithstanding the fact that other Old Javanese texts, e.g. the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*, employ the forms *śonita/śvanita* and *cetana* (which, however, may be the result of a silent standardization implemented by the editor).

and inconsistently used in Old Javanese words, e.g. *tha* > *ta* (242.15, 244.13); *thaṃ* > *taṃ* (218.12, 220.6, 16, 17); *liṇantha* > *liṇanta* (228.17); *tan thaya* > *tan taya* (286.14), as well as in Sanskrit words, e.g. *asthitya* (f. 75v.1) vs. *stitya* (f. 56r.4), *astityana* (f. 70r.4), etc.; *parāmārtha* (f. 2r.1), otherwise consistently spelled *paramārta*; *sthāvara* (f. 19v.2) vs. *stāvāra* (f. 31v.4, 32r.2); *prasthāvānya* (f. 76r.1), otherwise consistently spelled *prastāvā*<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore: *devadattha* > *devadatta* (232.15); *śasthra* > *śāstra* (258.3); *astham* > *astam* (264.3); *asthenya* > *astainya* (310.6); *svasthikāśanā* > *svastikāsana* (314.18). The grapheme *bh* is used consistently in certain Old Javanese words, viz. *ambhək*, *kəbho*, *tambhayan*, neither of which are attested as such in OJED, which rather gives *ambək*, *kəbo*, *tambayan*; and in words of Sanskrit origin, e.g. *bhaṭāra*, *bhukti/bhinukti*, *bhuvana*, *prabhu*, *vibhu*, etc.<sup>6</sup> This fact could point to the existence of a phonetic differentiation between this aspirated sound and its unaspirated counterpart in the ancient Sundanese linguistic milieu, but other explanations are imaginable.

*Retroflexes vs. dentals.* Unlike in most Javanese manuscripts, retroflex *d* (*ḍ*), the only retroflex phoneme in Old Javanese, is not indicated with any specific grapheme in the codex. Instead, *d* is used.<sup>7</sup> Even when they retain a graphic distinction between the two graphemes, most Old Javanese Nipahs from West Java use both of them indiscriminately.<sup>8</sup> KERN (1922:7) explained this feature, as he found it in the codex of the *Kuṇṇjarakarṇa*, as a possible influence from the pronunciation of Old Sundanese, which indeed did not recognize such a phoneme/grapheme. As the script of the codex only recognizes three retroflex graphemes, i.e. *ṇ*, *ṭ* and *ṣ*, there is a general tendency to represent retroflex consonants of Sanskrit words by their corresponding dentals, e.g. *kaniṣṭha* > *kaniṣṭha* (240.2). However, the shift from *ṭ* to *d* is often observed, e.g. *tusdi* > *tuṣṭi* (264.2); *navatusdi* > *navatuṣṭi* (262.6); *asdasiddi* > *aṣṭasiddhi* (264.3, 256.10); *bhraṇḡiridi* > *bhrṇḡirīṭi* (280.18),

6. Contrast *bhāyadarśana* → *bāhyadarśana* (216.1), a case of metathesis; and one case of *bhāliknya* > *bāliknya* (242.6).

7. This is also the case in the Nipah of the *Rasa Carita*: cf. PIGEAUD (1980:207), who took this characteristic as indicative of the West Javanese origin of the scribe.

8. Cf. PIGEAUD (1980:247), referring to the *Siksa Guru* (ms. PNRI 88 L 642). For a statistical overview of all the occurrences of *d* and *ḍ* in the prose *Kuṇṇjarakarṇa* manuscript, cf. VAN DER MOLEN (1983:100–101).



etc. On the other hand, *ṭ* is used with a certain degree of consistency, to the extent that it generally appears where it is expected but not elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> Still, the parallel occurrence of odd ligatures such as *śṭ* and *ṣṭ*, or, vice-versa, *ṇṭ* and *ṣṭ*, is striking.

*Treatment of sibilants.* The graphemes *ś*, *ṣ*, *s* tend to be mistaken for one another in a quite random manner in Sanskrit words and, somewhat less frequently, in Old Javanese ones.<sup>10</sup> This feature, which is commonly attested in Old Javanese manuscripts and inscriptions (cf. PIGEAUD 1924:11), is partly due to the fact that the phonological system of the language already in ancient times did not differentiate the three sibilants and possessed only the dental stop, i.e. *s* (cf. OJED xiv–xv; UHLENBECK 2003:311). Cf. *rāsa* (f. 15r.3) vs. *rāśa* (f. 70r.2); *ṣonitā* (1×) vs. *sonita*(/ā) (8×); °*śvara*° (5×) vs. °*svara*° (21×); °*śva*(/ā)*ryya* (6×) vs. °*sva*(/ā)*ryya* (20×); °*kṣ*° (105×) vs. °*ks*° (41×),<sup>11</sup> etc. The high frequency or even prevalence of non-standard forms suggests that these are to be viewed as variants rather than simple ‘mistakes’.

*o = ua/va/vā/ve/vo.* The phonetically rather obvious equivalence of *o* and *ua/va/vā* is a well attested feature in Old Javanese manuscripts from both West Java (cf. KERN 1922:5–6) and Bali (cf. PIGEAUD 1924:9;

9. It should be pointed out that the grapheme *ṭ* 𑀭 followed by a short vowel is found only in ligature as a subscript, except for only one instance, when it appears in the word *bhaṭara* (f. 48r.3). The grapheme 𑀭, which has been consistently transliterated as *ṭa* by previous scholars (HOLLE 1882:7–8; DARSA 1998:135; VAN DER MOLEN 1983:249), is likely—at least in our codex—to have corresponded to *ṭā*, for it invariably occurs in the word *bhaṭāra*, whose spelling is generally consistent in Old Javanese literature. A relevant example can be observed in the Nipah of the *Rasa Carita*, which widely documents the grapheme 𑀭 as a form of the allograph of *ā*, paired with different kinds of consonants, which is clearly identical to the upper-right curl paired to the grapheme *ṭā* in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* and other West Javanese Nipahs. Similar examples of the use of this particular kind of allograph, limited to the combination with consonants *ṇ*, *ṭ* and *l*, may be found in Old Javanese inscriptions: cf., e.g., the 10th-century Sangsang copper plate (856-I, line five, VAN NAERSSSEN 1937:441–446).

10. Cf. VAN DER MOLEN’S (1983:103–105) statistical figures regarding the occurrence and degree of variation of the three sibilants in the prose *Kuñjarakarna* manuscript. Regrettably, VAN DER MOLEN’S confusion, occurring throughout his book, of the grapheme *ś* and *ṣ* in the script (cf. his table of transliteration, p. 294) partially invalidates the above-mentioned figures.

11. One notes the total absence of the cluster *kṣm*, which is spelled *ksm* instead.

GONDA 1973:377–378). The phenomenon, however, appears to assume greater proportions in the *Dharma Pātañjala* as well as in Old Sundanese manuscripts (cf. NOORDUYN and TEEUW 2006:21), including, albeit less frequently, also *o* = *ve/vo*. Examples: *hado* > *adva* (198.2); *i svar* > *i sor* (224.4); *mañvab* > *mañob* (234.2); *kulven* > *kulon* (238.11); *irispveḥ* > *irispoh* (248.2); *dvedvet* > *dodot* (256.2); *svevaṃs-vavaṃ* > *sovaṃsovaṃ* (274.9); *hayo* > *hayva* (318.14), etc. In Sanskrit words: *mahālvēkā* > *mahāloka* (224.3); *tapvālvēkā* > *tapoloka* (224.3); *bhūḥlvāka* > *bhūḥloka* (224.6); *adibvetika* > *ādhibhautika* (260.6); *gunādvāsa* > *gunadoṣa* (270.7); *dvosa* > *doṣa* (270.7); *mveha* > *moha* (282.21); *yvagisvara* > *yogīśvara* (286.6); *mvākṣa* > *mokṣa* (334.6), etc.

*u* = *va*. The spelling of post-consonantal *u* as *vā* is often found in the word (u)muṅgu: *mvaṃva ruhur* → *muṅgv i ruhur* (222.10); *mvaṃṅgvā* > *muṅgva* (314.10); and vice-versa: *umuṅgū* > *umuṅgva* (314.17).<sup>12</sup> A variability in the writing of the cluster *uy/vay*<sup>13</sup> is found in such cases as: *malvayā* > *maluya* (238.12); *apuy* (f. 79r.1, 80v.3–4) vs. *apvay* (f. 25r.1, 26r.2).

*au* > *o*. This is commonly observed in Sanskrit words, e.g. *adibvetika* = *adibotika* > *ādhibhautika* (260.6); *sadāsoccā* > *sadāśauca* (282.8) (cf. GONDA 1973:369–370).

*ai* = *e*. Variation between the two graphemes occurs in the Old Javanese words *gave/gavai* and *kabeh/kabaih*. In Sanskrit words *ai* usually figures as *e*: *kevalya* > *kaivalya*, *metri* > *maitrī*, etc. There are, however, words appearing in both forms, e.g. *eśvaryya* and *aiśvaryya*.<sup>14</sup>

*Non-standard usage of v and b*. This phenomenon, which occurs exclusively in Sanskrit words, is commonly encountered in Javanese as well as Balinese manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> It also occurs in the South Asian Subcontinent, especially in manuscripts produced in areas where the difference between the two sounds in the spoken language is minimal or absent

12. This feature is also attested in the prose *Kuṅjarakarna* codex: cf., e.g., *kuvera* = *kvavera* (line 3236, VAN DER MOLEN 1983:264); *pūrvvatisti* = *pvarvvatisti* (line 3442, p. 272).

13. On the status of the diphthong *uy* in Indonesian languages, cf. GONDA (1973:369).

14. But contrast GONDA (1973:369), according to whom *aiśvaryya* almost always retains the *ai*, thus going against the commonly observed shift *ai* > *e*.

15. Cf. SOEBADIO (1971:66); GONDA (1973:383–385).

(e.g. in the North-East and in Nepal),<sup>16</sup> as well as in ancient Cambodia (cf. JENNER 2009:xii). In the Indonesian Archipelago, however, this process assumes new intriguing aspects for we do not see a (near) exclusive use of one of the two signs, nor do we see them in random distribution, but we observe that their usage is bound to specific words, i.e. lexically based. For instance, the codex consistently spells *bahir*, *sarvva*,<sup>17</sup> *vighna*, *vikṣipta*, etc., while it invariably shifts from *v* to *b* in *brata*, *bāyu*, *abyavahāta*, *byakta*, *byakti*, etc. On the other hand, *b* nearly always becomes *v* in *vindu* and *vāhya*.

*Gemination.* This is generally applied—although by no means with absolute consistency—to nasals (*ṇ*, *ṁ*, *n*) and spirants (*h*, *ḥ*) in intervocalic position, at word boundary or, somewhat less frequently, within a word: *ṁ* to *ṁṁ* (*ivṁṁivṁṁṁ ikāṁ*; *liṁṁa*, etc.); *n* to *nn* (*lāvann āditya*, etc.); *ḥ* to *ḥḥ* (*ākveḥḥ ikāṁ*;<sup>18</sup> *kāpaṅguḥhan*; etc.).<sup>19</sup> Although this kind of gemination is widely attested also in Balinese manuscripts, in Old Sundanese manuscripts it achieves greater proportions.<sup>20</sup> Gemination of most consonants occurs in Sanskrit words after *r*-, giving rise to the clusters *rmm*, *rnn*, *ryy*, *rvv*, *rtt*, *rkk*, *rgg*. This phenomenon is a common feature of great frequency in most South Asian manuscript traditions, as well as in Sanskrit and Old Khmer inscriptions from Cambodia (cf. JENNER 2009:xii).

*Degemination.* Homorganic consonants sometimes undergo this phenomenon at word boundaries: *vuvusaṁpāra* > *vuvus saṁ para* (238.2);

16. For example, Nepalese manuscripts very often give *v* instead of *b*: cf. GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN (1988:44).

17. Which, however, is written *sarvva*<sup>o</sup> thrice on one folio (51v.2–4).

18. Contrast the following exceptions: *akveḥ inapekṣanya* (f. 24v.2), *ākveḥ ikāṁ* (f. 32r.4), *makveḥ inaṇṇāṇṇan* (f. 75r.1).

19. This feature was already noted and discussed by KERN (1920:23–24).

20. Cf. NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2006:22), who note the occurrence of reduplication at a word or a morpheme boundary. Instances of such phenomenon are also attested in Old Javanese inscriptions from as early as the 9th century (for a discussion of several cases, including *-nn-*, *-kk-* and *-ḥḥ-*, cf. DE CASPARIS 1950:80–81), and in the Old Malay codex of the *Nīṭisārasamuccaya* (seemingly linked with morpheme boundaries, cf. GRIFFITHS 2010:137). A similar phenomenon of reinforcement of *visarga* by *h* (resulting in the sequence *-ḥḥ-*) has been described as a characterizing feature of the spelling of Old Khmer in Pre-Angkorian inscriptions from Cambodia by JENNER (2009:xii). The same author also refers to the (by far less common) occurrence of reinforcement of *anusvāra* (*ṁ*), quoting no examples.

*pinetāku* > *pinet tāku* (278.4); *hinañutāsira* > *hinañut ta sira* (278.11); *lavaniroda* > *lavan nirodha* (294.12); *cāmpurāsikā* > *campur rasikā* (304.23); *abyətan* > *abyət tan* (326.20); *tlasinurat* > *təlas sinurat* (colophon, cf. p. 50). As already noted by KERN (1920:24), this kind of degemination is a distinct scribal habit, probably triggered by phonetic reasons, rather than a mere scribal mistake. Degemination of *tt* before the semivowel *ṽ* in Sanskrit words occurs throughout the codex, e.g. *tattva* to *tatva*; *sattva* to *satva*, etc. This feature of Sanskrit spelling is attested in nearly all traditions of writing in manuscripts and inscriptions from both South and Southeast Asia, to the extent Indic scripts are involved.

*Aspiration.* Addition of *h* at the beginning of a word with initial vowel (occurring after punctuation) is sporadically observed, e.g. *hi sor* (f. 9v.3–4); *hatutur* (f. 46v.2); *huliḥ* (f. 54v.1).<sup>21</sup> In the codex, *h* is often, but not constantly, inserted between two adjacent vowels as a hiatus breaker, e.g. *kita hulahanta* (f. 3v.1); *matəmahanā hampru* (f. 22r.3); *vtu hi* (f. 27v.3); *sira humyapāra* (f. 52v.3), etc.<sup>22</sup> In rare instances, such aspiration may occur after a consonant: *ikaṃ hulah* (f. 3r.1); *tvas hənṭhi* (f. 30r.2); *āpan hamətvakən* (f. 54v.1).

*ø = ə.* The omission of *ə* in interconsonantal position is a common feature of Old Javanese manuscripts and inscriptions. A remarkable fact is that in this codex such omission occurs also between two identical consonants in infixed words, e.g. *tummu* > *tuməmu* (<*təmu*) (262.11); *hinnaḥ* > *hinənaḥ* (<*hənaḥ*) (280.1).

*ə = a.* This equivalence is widespread in Old Javanese manuscripts, no doubt on account of the fundamental similarity of pronunciation and the initial non-availability of a means to distinguish the two sounds in writing.<sup>23</sup> It usually occurs in penultimate syllables, e.g. *ptam* > *pətam*

21. This occurs at a significantly smaller scale than in Balinese manuscripts, where *h* as a rule appears at the beginning of any word with initial vowel at the beginning of a period as well as in intervocalic position.

22. Contrast, e.g., *hayu iku* (f. 0v.3) and *lituhayu ike* (f. 35v.1), where sandhi involving the use of the semivowel *ṽ* has also been avoided.

23. According to GONDA (1973:375), this phenomenon may in part be connected with a possible Indic influence since in Sanskrit the short *a* is pronounced as a neutral vowel (*saṃvṛta*) and not as an open *a*.

(214.16, 224.10); *mataguḥ* > *matāguḥ* (230.4), etc.<sup>24</sup> In several Sanskrit words, occurring both in the ślokas or being singled out for explanation within the Old Javanese prose, the ending *aṃ/am* is often represented by *əṃ/əm*.<sup>25</sup> As far as I am aware this phenomenon does not occur with any degree of significance in Balinese manuscripts, but is paralleled in West Javanese Nipahs.<sup>26</sup>

*ṛ/ra* vs. *ra*. In the codex the grapheme *ṛ* is consistently used in Old Javanese words, kept distinct from *rə*<sup>27</sup> and *ra*.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, expected *ṛ* is as a rule spelled *ra* in Sanskrit words, e.g. *vratti* > *vṛtti* (242.2), *prakṛtiloka* > *prakṛtiloka* (246.12), *prativi* > *pṛthivī* (304.21), etc.<sup>29</sup> The spelling *rə* is attested in two cases only, e.g. *smṛati* (f. 56v.2) and *rāsa* → *ṛṣi* (286.9), contrast *pañcaṛṣi* (f. 47r.4)—the only instance in the codex where *ṛ* has been preserved in a Sanskrit word.

*l* vs. *la*. Whereas *l* and *lə* are used interchangeably in the codex without a discernible pattern, the pair of phonemes they represent is rendered with the grapheme *la* in only one instance: *mlas* > *mləs* (222.5).

*Denasalization*. Although our codex shows a strong tendency to omit *anusvāras*, the omission of either the latter grapheme or the (expected) *ṇ* in pre-consonantal position within a word may be regarded as a distinct phenomenon. Omission of nasals in the same position has been

24. Conversely, the writing of *pepet* where one would expect *a* is rare and hence I have considered such cases scribal mistakes involving the unwanted addition of a grapheme (cf. below, p. 76).

25. Cf. *kāmarapitvəṃ*, *manovijñāvitvəṃ* (f. 52r.1); *darmmatvəṃ* (f. 52r.1, 51v.4); *manojñāvitvəṃ*, *vikarādarmmatvəṃ* (f. 51v.4). The corrupt endings *i*, *iṃ* and *ə* of several words in śloka 1 (f. 1r.3–4) may be explained as secondary mistakes (e.g. from *əṃ* to *iṃ/i/ə*): cf. 194.21.

26. Cf., e.g., *Sikṣa Guru* f. 4v: *trakayamandaləm* → *trikāyamaṇḍalam*; *nirmaləṃ* *radayəṃ* *citəm* → *nirmalaṃ* *hṛdayaṃ* *cittam*, etc.; *Bhīmasorga* (Nipah) f. 1v: *oṃ awignəṃ astu nama sidəṃ* → *oṃ avighnam astu namaḥ siddham*. Cf. also ms. Merapi-Merbabu PNRI 11 L 256 (catalogued under the title ‘Mantras & Aksaras’), where in the incipit we find (*oṃ avighnam* [...]) *siḍəṃ* for *siddham*.

27. Which, given the similarity between *ə* and *i*, is often mistakenly used where we would expect *ri*.

28. Contrast *adras* > *adrəs* (284.8).

29. For a discussion of the full set of possible phonetic and graphic outcomes of the Sanskrit phoneme *ṛ* in Old Javanese as well as in Middle Indo-Arian languages, cf. GONDA (1973:374).

described as widespread in Old Sundanese manuscripts and inscriptions by NOORDUYN and TEEUW (2006:20–21). The authors' statement that the phenomenon also 'occurs in manuscript from West Java containing Old Javanese texts, if probably not on the same scale' turns out to be true in the case of our codex, where it often occurs before *g*: *maluguḥ* > *maluṅguḥ* (194.4); *apugum* > *apuṅguṃ* (214.9, 20; 244.13);<sup>30</sup> *ugvan* > *uṅgvan* (222.2; 228.10); *vukuk* > *vuṅkuk* (248.12); *mupun* > *muṅpun* (266.6); *umaguhakən* > *umaṅguhakən* (308.1); *ubhvānanira* → *ugvānanira* > *uṅgvananira* (314.4). The dropping of the (optional) nasal between a preposition or a prefix and the base that follows can perhaps be regarded as a different phenomenon: *pagrahita* → *paṅgrhīta* (218.10); *deku* → *deṅku* (252.11); *kapirva* → *kapiṅrva* (258.3), etc.

*Prenasalization.* Addition of a nasal homorganic to the consonant that follows, at prefix or infix boundary, is observed in the following cases: *humimbhən* → *humibəkin* (196.4); *pakampūrbvakan* → *pakapūrvakan* (202.9); *maṅgave* → *magave* (234.1, 2; 296.15); *pikaṃvijā* → *pinakavīja* (248.3); *paṃnon* → *panon* (310.18), etc. A similar phenomenon occurring in Sanskrit loan-words in Old Javanese has been described by GONDA (1973:360–364) as 'spontaneous nasalization': *andyavasaya* → *adhyavasāya* (218.2);<sup>31</sup> *pinakasaṃdānanya* → *pinakasādhananya* (242.17);<sup>32</sup> *campāla* → *capala* (304.7);<sup>33</sup> *incā* → *icchā* (330.13, 336.17).

## Non-standard Old Javanese Forms

- *praniddā* = *amrasiddhā* (irrealis) < *prasiddha* (f. 25v.3), where nasalization has occurred after the Sanskrit preverb *pra*.
- Sanskrit *alpha privans* (*a[n]-*) prefixed to a stative verbal form in *a-*: *an-aśabda* (264.5); *an-atarkka* (264.6).<sup>34</sup>

30. Contrast *apuṅguṃ* (f. 67v.1).

31. Contrast *adyavasaya* in f. 13r.1 (2×).

32. Seemingly by analogy with *saṃdhāna*.

33. This has perhaps occurred by influence of the (Middle) Javanese *campala* (cf. GONDA 1973:405).

34. A similar case of 'contamination' is the prefixation of the Sanskrit privative *nir-* to the Old Javanese verbal form *huniṇa* attested in *Tattvajñāna* 3.7 (according to OJED 651, the form is often preceded by the Old Javanese negative particle *tan*).

- *dudū saṅke* ‘different from’: *dudū*, unlike *len* (of identical meaning) does not require the preposition *saṅke* (cf. the instances in OJED 420 s.v. *dudū*). This usage is found in three out of twelve occurrences of the use of *dudū* (196.14; 228.15; 230.2).
- The polite formula *sājñā bhaṭāra* ‘according to the Lord’s command’ is sometimes found at the end of a question rather than at the beginning (cf. 198.13; 216.16; 230.4; 234.11; 260.10), where it normally occurs in Old Javanese texts, including Tuturs (cf. OJED 35).<sup>35</sup>

### Non-standard Sanskrit *tadbhavas*

Those Sanskrit loan-words whose non-standard outward form or syntactical value occur with persistence in the codex, and for which no single ‘correct’ instance is found, I have refrained from standardizing or emending, presuming rather that they are the result of a cultural as much as linguistic process of modification that occurred in the Archipelago. Since such forms are also attested in other Old Javanese texts of different genres and listed in OJED (either as standard forms or as spelling variants), they preserve what are likely to be genuine features transcending the boundaries of changes introduced by single copyists.

- The following words are compounded in a manner that violates the rules of Sanskrit sandhi: *bhūh-*, *bhuvah-*, *svah-*, *maha-loka* instead of *bhūr-*, *bhuvar-*, *svar-*, *mahar-loka*.
- *tejatattva* instead of *tejastattva* (-as stem becoming -a stem).
- *caduśakti* instead of *catuḥśakti* (both unattested in Sanskrit dictionaries).  
*samyajñāna* instead of *samyagjñāna* (cf. GONDA 1973:386; OJED 1646).
- *duka/dukha* instead of *duḥkha*.
- *śrota* instead of *śrotra*.
- *triyak* (246.17, 248.3, 248.4) alongside *tiryak* (204.8, 206.1, 224.2, etc.).

35. Except in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.22, where it is also used at the end of a the sentence uttered by Vṛhaspati (one out of seven instances).

- *śonita*(/ā) (usually spelled *śvanita*) instead of *śoṇita* (cf. OJED 1804; DAMAIS 1958:44).
- *saṅskāra* instead of *saṅskāra* (i.e. *saṃskāra*), where the complex cluster *ṅsk* is consistently avoided through epenthesis (cf. GONDA 1973: 270, 358, 394).
- *aṣṭavidyesanā* > *aṣṭavidyeśāna* (282.10) instead of *aṣṭavidyeśa*, which in the codex indicates the heptad of Rudras mentioned in Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras as *vidyeśas* or *vidyeśvaras*, beginning with Ananta and ending with Śikhaṇḍin. That this is not an accidental mistake is proved by the occurrence, in identical context, of *aṣṭavidyāśaṇa* in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.19.<sup>36</sup> ZIESENISS (1958:87–88) noted that this compound could be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* meaning ‘those, whose seat is in *vidyā*’ or rather considered as a variant of *vidyeśvara*, i.e. *vidyeśāna*, probably derived from an original genitive plural *vidyeśānām* which was misunderstood by a scribe. SUDARSHANA DEVI (1957:99) ignored the arguments of her predecessor<sup>37</sup> and explained the word as a replacement of *īśvara* by *āsana* ‘seat’ and hence, by implication, ‘the presiding officer or authority itself’. The same reasoning was perpetuated, and somewhat distorted, by ZOETMULDER, who in OJED (146 s.v.) translated ‘the eight seats of learning’. ZIESENISS’ hypothesis is now corroborated by the present new occurrence of the word, suggesting that both forms may have originated from *aṣṭavidyeśāḥ* ‘the eight Lords of Knowledge’ through the use of *-īśānāḥ* instead of *-īśāḥ*, both being synonyms meaning ‘Lords’.<sup>38</sup>

36. Thus the edition, on the basis of *hāṣṭavidyāśaṇa* ACG; *haṣṭavidyāśaṇa* D; *hāṣṭavidyāśaṇa* F.

37. ZIESENISS’ study on the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, although completed before the end of the Second World War (which the author did not survive), was committed to the print posthumously by the International Academy of Indian Culture, just one year after the appearance of the first edition of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, also published by the Academy. It seems to me highly improbable that SUDARSHANA DEVI did not have access to the manuscript of the study by ZIESENISS before the completion of her work.

38. That this precise form may have occurred already in the Sanskrit tradition is suggested by an analogous instance in the manuscripts of the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, edited as the ‘*Rauravāgama*’ by BHATT (1961:15), where the reading *vidyeśānā* refers to the eight Vidyēśas. The half-verse 4.27cd of the Vidyāpāda runs: *parataś ca mahāmāyā vidyeśānā vyavasthitāḥ* (*mahāmāyo* C; *vidyeśāna* A; *vyavasthitā* C). The half-line 27d has



- *sarvajña* and *sarvakāryakartā* = *sarvajñatva* and *sarvakartṛtva*: in several (but by no means all) instances in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Tattvajñāna* it appears that the two Sanskrit agent nouns, meaning respectively ‘omniscient’ and ‘omnipotent’, have been used as if they were abstract substantives, meaning ‘omniscience’ and ‘omnipotence’.<sup>39</sup>

been emended by GOODALL (forthcoming:20) on the basis of the reading of the new manuscript B776 to *vidyeśānī vyavasthitā*. Though the latter reading is grammatically more correct (*vidyeśānī* as an adjective designating *mahāmāyā*), there is some space for suspicion that it might be a secondary ‘improvement’ of an original *aīśa* construction.

39. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 2.12.3; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.44 (cf. below, p. 399); *Tattvajñāna* 4.1–5 (cf. below, p. 357).

## Scribal Errors

OUR CODEX, with its regular and accurate calligraphy, is likely to be the product of a scribe who had no particular difficulty in deciphering the exemplar, or exemplars, in front of him. Although he certainly enjoyed a great freedom in matters of spelling, he seemingly had a good proficiency in the Old Javanese language. Nevertheless, the codex is characterized by a fairly large amount of trivial mistakes, and by a considerable number of important ones. Such mistakes, as the sometimes inconsistent corrections and the rather frequent eye-skips would suggest, might have originated from the fact that he was prioritizing speed of copying over exactitude. Since next to nothing is known about the role played by orality in the transmission of Old Javanese manuscripts, I hesitate—in agreement with DAIN (1964:20–22)—to explain scribal inconsistencies as having mostly, if not uniquely, originated from a process of dictation.<sup>1</sup>

As far as the Sanskrit is concerned, it seems to me that the scribes who copied the codex introduced certain mistakes. Such mistakes can often be explained in terms of palaeography or phonetics, and sometimes are connected with more complex ‘psychological’ phenomena.<sup>2</sup>

In categorizing the scribal mistakes I have individuated the classes described by REYNOLDS and WILSON (1974:200–213), including the factors of omission, addition, substitution, transposition of graphemes, words, or even short sentences.

### Omission

#### Vowels

- a: CCV → CaCV: *riñlas* → *riñ alas* (246.19); *kbho śpi* → *kəbho sapi* (256.8); *umguṃ* → *umaguṃ* → *umaṅguṃ* (278.12); *ikāṃ vaknya* → *ikaṃ avaknya* (334.3).  
CVC → CCaC: *maṃdadikən* → *maṇdadyakən* (296.16).

1. According to DAIN (1964:43–46), the copying of a manuscript in pre-modern times involved at least four stages, namely the reading of the model, its ‘retention’ for a few instants, the ‘internal dictation’ (*dictée interieure*), and finally the writing itself (*jeu de main*). While the above variables might or might not have applied to the copying of Old Javanese manuscripts, they certainly suggest that the matter is complex and too little known to let us draw any certain conclusion.

2. On which, cf. below, p. 76–79.

- ā: Ought to have been attached to an *akṣara* preceded by an *e* vocalization: *teṅgvan* → *toṅgvan* (224.11); *kreda* → *kroda* (258.13<sup>2x</sup>).
- i: Inherent vowel *a* → *i* vocalization: *lvaḥ* → *lvih* (196.3); *kalvaḥhan* → *kalvihan* (196.3); *nda* → *ndi* (202.6); *sanamguḥ* → *sinaṅguḥ* (202.5); *iraya* → *iriyā* (208.12<sup>2x</sup>); °*indrayā* → °*indriyā* (216.11,<sup>2x</sup> 218.10,<sup>2x</sup> 228.16, 316.5); *āpva* → *apvi* (224.11); *hanta* → *hanti* (236.7); *lvaha* → *laviha* (252.5); *pinatuk aṃ ulā* → *pinatuk iṃ ulā* (260.5); *salvarānya* → *salvirānya* (262.11); *prahatin* → *prihatin* (264.6); *nimatta* → *nimitta* (268.16); *danuduk* → *dinuduk* (278.11); *vikāradarmmatvām* → *vikāradharmitvam* (284.7, 9); *rāsa* → *ṛṣi* (286.9); *kasaddyan* → *kasiddhyan* (296.4); *prahān* → *prihān* (310.17); *panakāsadyana* → *pinakasādhana* (318.17); *lvarnya* → *lvirnya*, *katabān* → *katibān* (332.12); *maṃhadāpā* → *maṃhiḍāpā* (332.17).  
CCV → CiC: *knavruhan* → *kinavruhan* (272.13).  
In *akṣara*-form: *apugum kahanān lvir* → *apuṅguṃ ika nāhan lvir* (214.20); *juga kātah* → *juga ikātah* (240.4).
- u/ū: Inherent vowel *a* → *u* vocalization: *hamilaṃṇakān* → *humilaṇakān* (202.10); *vraha* → *vruha* (226.14); *parvvāka* → *pūrvaka* (236.17); *rapanya* → *rūpanya* (238.20); *skal* → *sakul* (244.11); *kāmarapitvām* → *kāmarūpitvam* (284.7); *kamāra* → *kumāra* (290.9); *mahyan* → *mahyun* (304.9); *samahur* → *sumahur* (304.17); *havirusan* → *huvusan* (306.20); *umaṅkus* → *umuṅkus* (318.7); *garada* → *garuḍa* (322.9); *tras* → *trus* (330.5); *haliḥ* → *hulih* (332.8).
- e: Inherent vowel *a* → *e* vocalization: *jihvandriyā* → *jihvendriyā* (218.11) *yakā* → *yekā* (224.3); *ityavamādi* → *ityevamādi* (246.20); *heyopadaya* → *heyopadeya* (272.10).  
Ought to have preceded a consonant or a consonantal ligature followed by ā: *kbā* → *kābo* (246.18); *pālah* → *polah* (292.1).

## Consonants

- ṃ: Omission of *anusvāra*, both within or at the end of a word, is one of the commonest errors in our codex, as in the majority of Old Javanese manuscripts. It occurs very frequently, as, for example, in the following instances: *sa* → *saṇ* (194.15, 196.15, 200.6,

204.7); *li* → *liṅ* (198.13, 202.6, 206.13, 210.11, 212.7, 228.12); *matanyan* → *mataṅnyan* (212.26, 236.15, 240.18), etc.<sup>3</sup>

**r:** [*repha*] Omission of superscript *r* in ligature commonly occurs in both old Javanese and Sanskrit words, although it assumes greater proportions in the latter: [O] *sumahu* → *sumahur* (198.15, 216.15, 336.6); *salvi* → *salvir* (228.5); *lvi* → *lvir* (228.5); *vvaluliku* → *vvalulikur* (260.13); *tutunya* → *tuturnya* (270.14). [Skt] *paramāt(a/ā)* → *paramārtha* (194.19, 24, 286.14); *sarvakāryya-kāttā* → *sarvakāryyakartā* (214.8); *pañcak(a/ā)mendriyā* → *pañcakarmendriya* (218.14, 16); *kammendriyā* → *karmendriya* (218.17); *kummara* → *kūrmāra* (232.15, 234.1); *catuaisvaryya* → *caturaiśvarya* (242.9, 244.8); *svagga* → *svarga* (244.1, 246.2); *dūrādāsana* → *dūradarśana* (284.1, 2); *addācandra* → *ardhacandra* (336.21). [Subscript *r* in ligature] This kind of omission is of rarer occurrence: *asvāhadayaḥ* → *asvāhradayaḥ* → *asauhrdayaḥ* (264.7); *tyantahkāraṇa* → *tryantahkāraṇa* (316.10);

**ḥ:** *lvi* → *laviḥ* (196.3); *vrunya* → *vruhnya* (198.4); *vru ya* → *vruh ya* (216.3); *vinenya* → *vinehnya* (232.8); *tamola riṇ* → *tamolah riṇ* (246.19).<sup>4</sup>

**A grapheme:** Omitted where a consonantal ligature is expected:<sup>5</sup> *vuvunan* → *vunvunan* (230.15); *yan ka* → *yan kva* (236.16); *matamnya akveh* → *mataṅnyan akveh* (242.3); *tumo hala* → *tumon hala* (252.19); *ndāta vnaṅ* → *ndātan vṇaṅ* (282.16); *pañavruhana* → *pañavruhanya* (296.10); *akdi denya* → *akadik denya* (298.7); *matra* → *mantra* (310.21); *matamnya sinaṅguh* → *mataṅnyan sinaṅguh* (334.13); *hyun pa sira* → *hyun pva sira* (336.18).

**A CV cluster:** *humimbhām* → *humibakiṅ* (196.4); *ṇanya* → *ṇaranya* (196.13); *mataṅnyan yā* → *mataṅnyan tayā* (196.23); *parārtā* → *paramārtha* (198.1, 332.22); *tikā meḥ* → *tikā dumeh* (206.6); *udāgi* → *umadāgi* (232.1); *ya vnaṅ* → *ya kavṇaṅ* (238.2); *hannira* → *havannira*

3. The representation of *anusvāra* as *ṇ* in the examples is, of course, merely the result of the standardization implemented in the critical edition (cf. p. xi).

4. The representation of *visarga* as *h* in the examples is, of course, merely the result of the standardization implemented in the critical edition (cf. p. xi).

5. Although some of the examples referred to here might actually have involved omission of C (hence, an *akṣara*), I have regarded the consonantal ligature form as the standard manner these cluster ought to be written.

(238.11); *kahyun* → *kahyunya* (242.4); *kadi kaddyan* → *kadi kasiddhyan* (246.7); *pikaṃvijā* → *pinakavīja* (248.3); *adideviduḥka* (258.11), *adideviduk(a/ā)* (260.3, 4) → *ādhidaivikaduḥkha*; *pā* → *pāti* (270.13); *ri yogisvaran* → *ri kayogīśvaran* (276.16); *paveṃ kami* → *paveḥ iñ kami* (278.7); *pamakāraṇa* → *paramakāraṇa* (282.6); *ginayāknakaṃ* → *ginavayakān ikañ* (290.7); *kva li saṃ para* → *kva liṇa sañ para* (300.17); *akbi* → *anakābi* (306.2); *maradin aṇan* → *maradin amaṇgan* (310.13); *solihñira nanəm* → *solihñira tinanəm* (310.16); *paniṃ sātya* → *phala niñ satya* (312.12); *macaman* → *macamanā sira* (314.8); *kalih numpamñakān* → *kalih tinumpamñakān* (314.16); *inabhya* → *inabhyāsa* (316.16); *mañka ta* → *mañkana ta* (316.21); *śarī kunañ* → *śarīra kunañ* (318.10); *jat* → *jagat* (334.18).

*virāma*: *pāhāna* → *pāhan* (214.2); *lāvana manah* → *lāvan manah* (216.13).

Two or more graphemes: [VC] *yayā* → *abyaya* (196.1); [CVC] *yan kāna* → *yan mañkana* (228.17), *lā bhaṭara* → *lāvan bhaṭāra* (268.9), *sinasargga* → *sinasar mārga* (312.18); [CCV] *luṇnya* → *luṇguṇnya* (230.9), *tryara* → *tryakṣara* (336.22); [CVCV] *tibra ni panira* → *tibra ni pañrāññira* (258.6); *nikaṃ dyan* → *nikañ kasiddhyan* (258.9).

Haplography: *mityājñānāku* → *mithyājñānānaku* (206.10); *pināṇan inum* → *pināṇan ininum* (232.7); *ndātambhān* → *ndātan tambhān* (262.15); *pvāku mavaiyākān* → *pvāku gumavaiyākān* (276.5);<sup>6</sup> *mabhyakta kvānnakna* → *mabyakta takvanakna* (278.1); *hasira* → *hasih sira* (286.19); *kleśarira* → *kleśa ri śarīra* (286.21); *yokābhihyaktan* → *yekā kābhi*<sup>o</sup> (288.12); *pala niṃ yamābrata* → *phala niñ niyama-brata* (312.18, 314.2); *utpāptistilīṇa* → *utpattisthitilīṇa* (336.17).

One lexeme: *sañ para*, <tan> *katon tah* (204.7); *tumambhāh pvekañ <buddhi> ahañkāra lāvan manah* (220.1); *gave hayu satartālvi* → *gave halahayu satatālvir* (234.21); *турун <hānti> rumakət rikā* (274.15); *phala ni dharma ya* → *phala ni dharmādharma ya* (322.12).

One syntagma: (often because of *saut du même au même*) *mithyājñānānaku sañ kumāra*, <sumahur sañ kumāra,> *kevala salah* (206.11); *ikañ ah-*

6. Although, properly speaking, this is not a haplography since the two involved *akṣaras* (i.e. *ku* and *gu*) are not identical, I think it may still be categorized as that kind of mistake by virtue of the phonetic similarity of those two *akṣaras* (this mistake might thus have occurred during the phase of ‘internal dictation’: cf. p. 65).

*aṅkāra si vaiṣṛta, ya tekā sattva svabhāvanya, <ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si taijasa, ya tekā rajah svabhāvanya,> ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si bhūtādi tamah svabhāvanya (216.9); byāna, <ikaṅ bāyu si prāṇa, ya ta> mataṅnyan (232.1); yan <mahala karma,> mahala śarīra, yan mahayva karma, mahayva śarīra (274.3); hana kṣipta ṇaranya, <hana vikṣipta ṇaranya,> hana vimūḍha ṇaranya (294.5); ikaṅ ta citta malilaṅ ri yogi, ya maṇḍadyakṇ vīrya<, ikaṅ vīrya> maṇḍadyakṇ tutur, ikaṅ tutur ya maṇḍadyakṇ prajñā (296.16); nāhan lakṣaṇa niṃ yamabrata, <niyama ṇaranya,> śauca (310.10); yekā sinaṅguh śauca ṇaranya, <santoṣa ṇaranya,> solihanira na-si atah santosaknanira (310.15); ya santosaknanira, <tapah ṇaranya,> ikaṅ indriya kabeh prihṇ sakitana, ri brata lāvan samādhi (310.16); hana padmāsana, <hana bhadrāsana,> hana svastikāsana (314.15); yeka laghiman ṇaranya, <mahiman ṇaranya,> tar kalāvihan gēṇnira (330.8); saṅkeṅ Oṃkāra mātu taṅ tryakṣara, <saṅkeṅ tryakṣara> mātu taṅ pañcākṣara (336.22).*

## Addition

### Vowels

Added to an *akṣara* where the inherent vowel *a* is required, or (less frequently) occurrence of *a* where it is not wanted:

- a: *srotendriyā, aya* → *srotendriya, ya* (218.10); *ikaṃ agave hayu* → *ikaṅ gave hayu* (234.18).
- i: *hulihanta* → *hulahanta* (198.8); *ahisam* → *ahasam* (222.6); *miṇḍapākṇ* → *maṇḍapakṇ* (232.11); *kuniṃ* → *kunaṅ* (252.20); *i hivaḥ* → *i havah* (274.11); *vinariḥ* → *vinarah* (276.4); *inarinān* → *inaranan* (276.10); *maṇḍadyikṇ* → *maṇḍadyakṇ* (296.17); *yogasadinā* → *yogasādhana* (308.14); *adyin* → *adyan* (312.10); *ginive* → *ginave* (312.18); *prastāvinya* → *prastāvanya* (320.1).
- u: *aṇlupi°* → *aṇḍlapi°* (232.11); *muṇābhyasāmbhāk* → *maṇabhyāsāmbhāk* (268.22); *ahṇsu* (308.19), *ahiṇṣu* (310.4), *ahṇṣu* (312.10) → *ahiṇsā*;<sup>7</sup> *ahṇṣubrata* → *ahiṇsābrata* (312.12); *umsut* → *uməsāt* (318.4).

7. The spelling *ahiṇsa* occurs only once in the codex (f. 68v.1 / 308.18).

- e: As an *akṣara*: *niṃ eyoga* → *niṃ yoga* (292.6).  
 As vocalization: *tahinkera* → *tāhaṅkāra* (212.19); *yen mahyun* → *yan mahyun* (208.8); *jenma* → *janma* (240.3); *ye mataṃnyan* → *ya mataṃnyan* (298.11).  
 Wrongly attached to an *akṣara* with a following *ā* to make *o*: *ahā-ṅkoratatva* → *ahaṅkāratattva* (212.20); *de nikomṇ* → *de nikāṃṇ* > *de nikaṇ* (222.10); *tomolaḥ* → *tāmolaḥ* > *tamolaḥ* (234.5); *kovuvus* → *kāvuvus* > *kavuvus* (238.2); *hayvo* → *hayvā* > *hayva* (310.13<sup>2x</sup>); *saṃyomaṃnira* → *saṃyāmanira* > *saṃyamanira* (326.3); *teko* → *tekā* (334.12).
- ā: Wrongly attached to an *akṣara* preceded by a vocalization *e*: *saṃ-ṅko buddi* → *saṅkeṃ buddhi* (216.10); *daṣondrayā* → *daṣendriya* (216.11<sup>2x</sup>); *pvoḥkaṃ* → *pvekaṇ* (288.4); *yok(a/ā)* → *yek(a/ā)* (288.12, 290.16, 336.17).
- Consonants
- ṃ: Unwanted additions of *anusvāra* are found in abundance throughout the codex. Just a few examples: *niṃk(ā/a)ṃ* → *nikaṇ* (200.9, 226.4); *ṃkaṃ* → *ikaṇ* (236.15); *saṃyomaṃnira* → *saṃyamanira* (326.3); *aṃṣṭesvaryya* → *aṣṭaiśvaryya* (328.19), etc.
- r: [*repha*] *svarbhava* → *svabhāva* (214.8; 216.8); *tārku* → *tāku* (278.5); *airsānya* → *aisānya* (278.9);<sup>8</sup> *kurmbhaka* → *kumbhaka* (316.13); *marri* → *mari* (336.4).
- Others: *mapvekaṃ* → *mapekaṇ* (206.9); *andyavasaya* → *adhyavasāya* (218.2); *vaki,ḥndriyā* → *vakindriya* (218.14); *tan·karin* → *takarīn* (228.12); *punyaskavnaṃ* → *puṇya kavṇaṇ* (242.12); *mahoman,* → *mahoma,* (244.12); *yataṃnyan* → *yatanyan* (246.8); *ndyatan* → *nda-tan* (276.13); *sadānvanya* → *sādhananya* (296.19); *apandon* → *apa-don* (312.5); *pinakāsadyana* → *pinakasādhana* (318.17); *dāranya dyana* → *dhāraṇā dhyāna* (322.3); *siddya* → *siddha* (322.15); *ṇaran-pikā* → *ṇaranikā* (334.6); *inapekṣānyan,* → *inapekṣānya,* (338.13).

8. Note that the form *airsanya* is frequently attested in literary Javanese and in Balinese (cf. GONDA 1973:363); still, this usage might derive from an original, and particularly frequent, spelling mistake.

12. The square brackets in the examples enclose the redundant lexemes that I have expunged from the constituted text (cf. below, p. 93).



## Substitution

### Similar *akṣaras*

𑀓 em̐ ≈ 𑀓 ai catureṃsvāryya → caturaiśvarya (244.16); aneṃśvāryya → anaiśvarya (248.13); gaveṃnya → gavainya (248.15); gumaveṃ ikaṃ → gumavai ikaṃ (302.16); kagaveṃyanya → kagavaiyanya (304.2); magaveṃya → magavaiya (304.6); magaveṃ duhkha → magavai duhkha (304.14); °nireṃikaṃ → nira ikaṃ (324.14); gaveṃnira → gavainira (326.16).<sup>13</sup>

𑀓 ā ≈ 𑀓 . (Often difficult to distinguish) ik·tan → ikā tan (194.12); sak·liniskāli (<sakā°) → sakalanīṣkalaṃ (194.21); lavan·hāṅkāra (<lavan āhāṅ°) → lavan ahaṅ° (216.16); lāvan·kāṣa → lāvan ākāṣa (222.2, 324.7); mālvyā → malvy· (238.12); lin· (<linā) → lina (246.11); tvas·ji → tvas āji (264.4); kit·taḥ → kitātaḥ (266.2); matmahan·vu → matāmahan āvu (280.12); yogak·liṇanya → yogā kālīṇanya > yogi kālīṇanya (286.19); amātvakāṇ·vaknya → amātvakāṇ āvaknya (288.13); lāvan āprakratilīṇa → lāvan· prakṛtilīṇa (294.20); kārmmāpalān āhuvus → karmaphalān· huvus (300.8); lāvan·pa (<lāvan āpa) → lāvan apa (304.16); macaman·rā → mācamanā sira (314.8); an āvtu → an· vtu (334.15).<sup>14</sup>

13. The occurrence of this mistake may be attributable to phonetic factors as well, i.e. the insertion of an euphonic nasal glide described as ‘spontaneous nasalization’ by GONDA (cf. above, p. 61).

14. In the following instances we find also ā where we expect a *virāma*, but the allograph is 𑀓, which leaves no room for confusion with *virāma*. This presupposes a two-step mistake, i.e. 𑀓 becoming 𑀓 then 𑀓: *avakānya* → *avak·nya* (200.7); *namāprakāra* → *nām· prakāra* (222.6); *i sorā yā* → *i sor ya* (222.9); *malitā* → *malit·* (230.16); *tanā dadi* → *tan· dadi* (338.6); *maṇaṇāṇāṇā* → *maṇaṇāṇaṇ·* (316.9); *kārmmāpalān ābhinukti* → *karmaphalān bhinukti* (238.3); *matamṇyan āhayu ataḥ* → *mataṇṇyan hayvātah* (270.6).

**t** ≈ **k** *tavruhnya* → *kavruhnya* (196.20); *tari* → *kari* (206.6); *kan* → *tan* (210.1, 248.13, 238.15, 288.16); *tahanantānaku* → *kahanantānaku* (224.5); *sutra* → *śukra* (226.18; 228.2, 3); *ya ka dadi* → *ya ta dadi* (228.8); *materuṃ* → *makeruṃ* (228.18); *yetā* → *yekā* (230.15); *kraktara* → *kṛkāra* (232.15, 234.2);<sup>15</sup> *anyak* → *anyat* (238.14); *manat* → *mānak* (242.3); *uksaha* → *ut-sāha* (242.13); *bhinuttinya* → *bhinuktinya* (246.2); *tapanasān* → *kapanasan* (248.14); *mahabək* → *mahabət* (248.15); *itāṇ* → *ikaṇ* (258.7); *vārktamana* → *vartamāna* (258.8); *tahanan* → *kahanan* (266.3); *tapasuk* → *kapasuk* (270.14); *pinukəran* → *pinutəran* (288.15); *tagavaiya* → *kagavaiya* (290.10); *vrakti* → *vṛtti* (292.11); *titsṇa* → *tikṣṇa* (292.21); *ka* → *ta* (294.21); *kārākkaṇ* → *karaktan* (300.7); *hayvākā* → *hayvāta* (310.11); *tadadi* → *kadadi* (312.9); *talalārān* → *kalalaran* (312.16); *kahan* → *tahan* (318.16); *r(a)ṃət* → *rəmək* (324.10, 11).

**i** ≈ **ə** [OJ] *hinti* → *hənti* (236.11); *viñī* → *vəñi* (238.6); *tinanim* → *tinanəm* (240.6); *vik* → *vək* > *vək* (272.10); *əkām* → *ikaṇ* (300.11); *meviḥ* → *mevəḥ* (332.12). [Skt] *bhūtādā* → *bhūtādi* (216.7); *nəlarudrākṣā* → *nīlarudraka* (280.5); *samādā* → *samādhi* (294.11); *metrə* → *maitri* (296.8); *krəya* → *kriya* (336.2), and many more cases.<sup>16</sup>

**h** ≈ **y** *yānak* → *[h]anak* (214.11); *pāhvindriyā* → *pāyvindriya* (218.15); *heka* → *yeka* (234.1); *tan hogya* → *tan yogya* (240.12); *han* → *yan* (248.3, 286.9, 334.12); *tan yan apa* → *tan hanāpa* (266.6); *śaṃṣāra*, *hi kārūṇa* → *saṃsāra*, *ya karuṇā* (296.13); *nhapan* → *nyapan* (300.18); *hekāna* → *yekāna* (334.20).





















15. Compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* śloka 46c, where mss. CG read *kraktara* for *kṛkāra*.

16. An analogous phenomenon, occurring in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese words, is *ī* ≈ *ə*: *gīnika* → *gəñnikaṇ* (282.11); *agīm* → *agəñ* (312.20); *ikām* (<*ikīm*) → *ikiṇ* (338.9); *nādā* → *nāḍī* (230.16).

<b>𑀓</b>	h	≈	<b>𑀔</b>	l	<i>lavān</i> → <i>havan</i> (230.12); <i>kāharan</i> → <i>kalaran</i> (308.5); <i>hakṣamā</i> → <i>lakṣaṇa</i> (320.12).
<b>𑀕</b>	np	≈	<b>𑀖</b>	ns	<i>ndanpidda</i> → <i>ndan siddha</i> (208.11); <i>yanpi</i> → <i>yan si</i> (240.5); <i>tanpalah</i> → <i>tan salah</i> (272.4); <i>matamṇyanpalah</i> → <i>mataṇṇyan salah</i> (280.7); <i>anpatmāja</i> → <i>an sātmake</i> (298.1); <i>ndānparbvajñā°</i> → <i>ndān sarvajñā°</i> (300.17, 19); <i>kamokṣanpaṇ</i> → <i>kamokṣan saṇ</i> (320.6); <i>mahyunpira</i> → <i>mahyun sira</i> (322.14, 18; 324.1, 2); <i>tonpaṇsiddā</i> → <i>ton saṇ siddha</i> (322.17).
<b>𑀗</b>	ś	≈	<b>𑀘</b>	g	<i>pamuṅgu</i> → <i>pamuṅsu</i> > <i>pamuṅsu</i> (276.15); <i>yośisvaran</i> → <i>kayogīśvaran</i> (276.16); <i>śaṇapāti</i> → <i>gaṇapati</i> (280.17); <i>abhiṇivega</i> → <i>abhiniveśa</i> (304.18).
<b>𑀙</b>	p	≈	<b>𑀚</b>	m	<i>marāmārtā</i> → <i>paramārtha</i> (268.21); <i>tamaḥ</i> → <i>tapah</i> (310.10).
<b>𑀛</b>	t	≈	<b>𑀜</b>	n	<i>ānmā</i> → <i>ātmā</i> (234.11); <i>ndya na</i> → <i>ndya ta</i> (338.4).
<b>𑀞</b>	n	≈	<b>𑀟</b>	r	<i>patakvanaṅkvan sa pāra</i> → <i>patakvanaṅkva ri saṇ para</i> (202.2); <i>āturu</i> → <i>atunu</i> (220.13); <i>i ruhurn</i> → <i>i ruhur</i> (232.3); <i>i ruhun·</i> → <i>i ruhur·</i> (232.4); <i>marāki niṇ</i> → <i>marāki riṇ</i> (266.1); <i>katuru</i> → <i>katunu</i> (324.14).
<b>𑀡</b>	n	≈	<b>𑀢</b>	v	<i>mnaṇ</i> → <i>mvaṇ</i> (200.3); <i>yav inabhyaśā</i> → <i>yan inabhyāśa</i> (312.24).
<b>𑀣</b>	d	≈	<b>𑀤</b>	ph	<i>nāpi</i> (via <i>nādi</i> ) → <i>nāḍi</i> (230.8); <sup>17</sup> <i>naphi</i> (via <i>nadi</i> ) → <i>nāḍi</i> (234.7, 9).
<b>𑀦</b>	ā	≈	<b>𑀧</b>	i	<i>hintā</i> → <i>hanti</i> (220.15); <i>nihan</i> → <i>nāhan</i> (248.7); <i>sadisuka</i> → <i>sadāsuka</i> (282.13); <i>hi</i> (< <i>hā</i> < <i>yā</i> ) → <i>ya</i> (296.13); <i>kapaṅgāḥ</i> → <i>kapaṅgiḥ</i> (326.6). <sup>18</sup>

17. This presupposes a two-step mistake, in which the *ph* has lost its aspiration. A similar mistake may have taken place in the case of *nabi* (via *naphi* and *nadi*) → *nāḍi* (230.17, 18).

18. In *nāhan* → *nihan* (224.7), *pānakaugvān* → *pinakauṅvan* (228.10), *muṅgvāṇ* → *muṅv in* (232.12) the substitution has occurred between 𑀦 and 𑀧, which are less similar. This may presuppose a three-step process, i.e. 𑀧 becoming 𑀦 and then 𑀦 (cf. fn. 14).

	t	≈		v	<i>prastātā</i> → <i>prastāva</i> (206.15); <i>pinakatija</i> → <i>pinakavija</i> (256.9); <i>atatā</i> → <i>athavā</i> (310.2).
	g	≈		bh	<i>tan pabhati</i> → <i>tan pagati</i> (200.10); <i>ubhvānanira</i> (via <i>ugvananira</i> ) → <i>uṅgvānanira</i> (314.4).
	a/ā	≈		s(ā)	<i>āriṣṛapa</i> → <i>sarīṣṛpa</i> (246.17); <i>aṅka</i> → <i>saṅka</i> (286.19).
	np	≈		ny	<i>hurip·npa sajñā</i> → <i>huripnya sājñā</i> (230.4).
	v	≈		c	<i>ciruddā</i> → <i>viruddha</i> (334.12).
	v	≈		d	<i>manunvi</i> → <i>manundi</i> (236.9).
	v	≈		e	<i>cumetavanā kaṃ</i> → <i>cumetanekaṃ</i> (236.8).
	l	≈		i	<i>lbunta</i> → <i>ibunta</i> (280.17).
	l	≈		gh	<i>°vilāta</i> → <i>°vighāta</i> (256.11).
	u	≈		dd	<i>taddapaya</i> → <i>ta upāya</i> (208.4).

### Non-similar *akṣaras*

The following substitutions are less easy to explain on graphic grounds:

In OJ lexemes: *savkas* → *savēlas* (216.13); *maveṃ* → *maveḥ* > *maveh* (236.4); *aṃtān* → *aṅgān* (240.10); *amti* → *amətu* (240.10); *yapvan* → *tapvan* (240.12); *ake* → *ṛke* (246.14); *vulavun* → *vulaṇun* (262.2); *humorākən* → *sumorākən* (262.9); *hməm* → *hələm* (270.6); *ta sargga ta gārga* (276.15); *kunaṃ yenpu* → *kunaṃ deyanmu* (278.1); *deyanpupasa* → *deyanmūsapa* (278.5);<sup>19</sup> *māmaṅguḥhakəṇnya* → *kapaṇguhakəṇnya* (294.21); *halah denya* → *salah denya* (304.1); *°n·puta* → *°n·luputa* (306.23); *soliranira* → *solihanira* (310.15); *gutā*

19. The two latter cases do not involve a confusion between *m* and *p* (on which cf. p. 74), for the clusters *-np-* and *-nm-* are written in a very different manner (the *m* in the former being generally written as an entirely distinct subscript and not in parallel, as the *p* in *np*).

→ *guhā* (314.9); *laliḥ* → *kalih* (314.16); *pasamḥnim citta* → *pasanan iñ citta* (334.21).

In Sanskrit(ic) lexemes: *niskāta sira* → *niškala sira* (194.22); *lumaḥkṣaṇe* (206.6); *śatvajñāta* → *sarvajñāta*, *sarvakāryyakākta* → *sarvakāryyakartā* (300.11); *latañānya* → *lakṣaṇānya* (304.16); *prasti* → *prāpti* (328.21).

The following substitutions may have originated during ‘self-recitation’ of the text during the process of copying on account of the similar sound of the *akṣaras* (especially in the case of *anusvāra* and other nasals):<sup>20</sup>

Nasals: *yañ kva* → *yan kva* (202.12); *nyan tiryyak* → *nyañ tiryak* (204.8); *panetanā* → *pañetanā* (206.9); *tuntun* → *tuñtun* (214.4); *ghranem-driyā* → *ghrāñendriya* (218.12); *tan dāsendriyā* → *tañ dāsendriya* (218.18); *matañmyan* → *matañnyan* (226.15); *añalupiñna* → *añal-apinya* (232.11); *lavan* → *lavan* (240.6); *tañ* → *tan* (262.2); *anhiṃ* → *añhiñ* (286.10); *ikañ nānetanā* → *ikañ mañetanā* (300.2); *alavamlavan* → *alavanlavan* (304.9); *tanya* → *taña* (326.14).

ə: *tən tayā* → *tan tayā* (200.5); *matyab* → *matvab* (234.1); *hujarāknə riñ* → *hujarakna riñ* (260.12).

Other *akṣaras*: *tuñgvan* → *toñgvan* (226.2); *matyab* → *matvab* (234.1); *pamukutvananta* → *pamuktyananta* (252.4); *lāvan kumālaṃṇa* → *°n hum-ālaṃṇa* (252.15); *apaləg tutuk* → *apaləh tutuk* (262.2); *pasikaban* → *pasikəpan* (272.13); *rəmənā* → *rumənā* (284.2);<sup>21</sup> *smutə* → *smṛti* (290.14); *halaḥ* → *salah* (304.1); *mgu* → *mətu* (308.9); *təməṃgə* → *tuməṃgə* (314.20); *vinitvāknəka* → *vinitvākneka* (316.14).

### Exchange of a word for another

Here are intended such cases where, out of confusion or through analogy of meaning and/or form, or shift from the unfamiliar to the familiar, a word

20. Of course, many such substitutions constitute natural cases of euphonic adjustment; yet, ZOETMULDER (1983:7) seems to have regarded the phenomenon as remarkable as in his grammar of Old Javanese he dedicated a note referring to the frequent substitution of *-n-* by *-ñ-* (i.e. *anusvāra*) before the clitic second person pronoun *-ku* in the *Ādiparva*.

21. Confusion in the pronunciation of the two sounds *u* and *ə* is commonly attested in Old Javanese as well as in Balinese (cf. GONDA 1973:358–360).

has been substituted for another, which however does not fit the context. This is especially evident in the case of the Sanskrit technical philosophical terms conveying ideas the copyists were not familiar with. Such mistakes often involve variables that cannot be univocally reduced to the domain of palaeography or phonetics but are connected with complex phenomena such as analogy, contamination and hypercorrection.

Old Javanese: *nihan* → *nahan* (196.7, 248.7, 326.15); *tuvin* → *tuhun* (200.2); *nāhan* → *nihan* (208.12, 224.7); *vvaṃ* → *vvai* (230.12, 330.3); *nihan* → *nāhan* (232.5); *magave* → *pañhiḍap* (234.18); *yapvan* → *tapvan* (240.12); *hanātaḥ* → *hana ta* (256.7); *kahana* → *nahan* (312.19); *tlas* → *nihan* (316.13); *sakavaṃ* → *salavas* (316.15).

Sanskrit: *aveyave* (OJ) ‘beckon, wave, signal’ → *avayavi* (Skt) ‘having members or parts, a whole; body’ (202.5); *kāmacetanā* → *makacetanā* (216.2<sup>22</sup>); *sutra* → *śukra* (226.18, 228.1, 2, 3, 5);<sup>22</sup> *prativiya* → *pratyaya* ‘concurrent occasion of an event’ (236.9); *pinakasaṇḍānanya* → *pinakasāḍhananya* (242.17); *nandātami(s/ś)ra* → *andhatāmisra* (252.2, 14), perhaps by analogy with the familiar *nandā* ‘delight’; *mabhyaya* → *mabhaya* (254.8, 262.16); *anopradānaka* → *anupādānaka* (262.8), by analogy with *apradānaka* occurring before; *saṃpuruṣya* → *sañ kuruṣya* (276.15, 278.4); *n(i/a)-larudrākṣā* → *nīlarudraka* (280.5, 15), by analogy with *rudrākṣa* ‘rosary-beads’; *durātmasarbvagata* → *dūrāt masarvajñatā* (284.2, 5); *durātma ṇaranya* → *dūrāt manana ṇaranya* (284.4); *manojñāvitvṃ* / *manovijñāvitvṃ* → *manojavitvaṃ* (284.7, 8); *stri* → *sūtra* (290.18, 292.10); *darmmasaya* → *karmāsaya* (296.1); *tavat* → *yāvat* (308.11, 336.3);<sup>23</sup> *sakṣaṇā* → *āsana* (314.14, 316.3).<sup>24</sup>

22. All instances appear on the same folio, as well as the only correct attestation of *sukra* (>*śukra*) ‘male semen’ (226.18); in Old Javanese texts this word is also spelled *śukla*. Although the mere graphic substitution of *k* for *t* may certainly have played a role, this mistake may also have involved analogy between *sutra* and *śuta* ‘son’ (the synonymy of the two words has been documented in literary Javanese, cf. GONDA 1973:430).

23. Cf. OJED (1966) s.v. *tāvat*: ‘Occasionally *tāvat* is found where *yāvat* might be expected (a graphical error?).’

24. There is no doubt that in the context the required word in both instances is *āsana*, which also appears in the correct form in the same folio. One may attribute this mistake to a misunderstanding (of either a written or oral version of the document) having occurred once in the chain of transmission, or to an hypercorrective operation.

Remarkable cases are:

- *ukta* / *prokta* ‘enunciated’ → *ūta* / *prota* ‘sewn crosswise’ / ‘sewn lengthwise’: *uttaprokta* → *ūtaprota*,<sup>25</sup> *utta* → *ūta* (214.2); *prokta* → *prota* (214.3, 5). The same mistake has taken place also in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*<sup>26</sup> and in the *Tattvajñāna*.<sup>27</sup>
- *kummara* → *kūrmāra* ‘the *kūrmāra* breath’ (232.15, 234.1), either by way of analogy with the familiar *kumāra* or due to an incertitude between the rare form *kūrmāra* and the other commonly attested name of this bodily breath, i.e. *kūrma*. This kind of mistake is widely attested in Old Javanese texts, e.g. *Vṛhaspatitattva*,<sup>28</sup> *Tattvajñāna*,<sup>29</sup> *Jñānasiddhānta*<sup>30</sup> and *Navaruci*.<sup>31</sup> Note that the form *kūrmāra* (instead of *kūrma*) has apparently been borrowed from certain Sanskrit sources, for it is attested in two Śaiva Tantras, e.g. *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara* f. 36v.1, 37r.4–5 and *Brahmayāmala* f. 314r.4, and in the Pāśupata Yoga section of the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* (181.41d, 182.35a, 182.39c).
- *saṁtmāja* (210.10), *satmāja* (212.3), *sāttāja* (282.4), *patmāja* (298.1) → *sātmaka*. This form is followed by the phrase *ri/lavan bhaṭāra* ‘with the Lord’, The original form *sātmaka* ‘to be one with the Lord’<sup>32</sup> appears to have suffered contamination from the cliché *ātma* ‘born from the same Self’.

25. The form *ūtaprota* is attested in Skt alongside *otaprota*: cf. MW s.v. *ūta*, *ota*, *prota*.

26. Cf. Ed. • *ūtaprota*: śloka 14a (*ūtaprokta* ACG; *utaprokta*° BE; *hutaprokta*° DF); Old Javanese commentary 14.6 (*uttaprokta* A; *utaprokta* ABCEG; *hutaprokta* DF); 14.37 (*utaprokta* A; *utaprokta* BCEG; *hutaprokta* DF); • *ūta*: śloka 14c (*uto* A; *ukto* BCEG; *hukto* DF); commentary 14.4 (*hukta* A; *uta* CDEG; *huta* B); 14.37 (*uta* CG; *utta* A; *hutta* D; *ukta* BE; *hukta* F); • *prota*: śloka 14d; commentary 14.4, 38 (*prokta* all mss.).

27. Cf. Ed. • *ūtaprota*: 5.2 (*utaprokta* KaKhaGaŃa); 29.4 (*ūtaprokta* KaKhaGha; *utaprokta* GaŃa); • *ūta*: 5.2 (*uta* KaKhaGa); 29.5 (*huta* KaKha; *ota* Ga; *uta* GhaŃa); • *prota*: 5.5, 30.13 (*prokta* all mss.).

28. Cf. Ed. • *kūrmma* śloka 40a (*kūrmmara* ADEF; *kūrmmāra* BCG); commentary 40.2 (*kumara* AB; *kūrmmāra* CG; *kūrmmara* DEF); śloka 46b (*kumāra* A; *kurmmara* BE; *kūrmmāra* CDFG); comm. 46.1 (*kumara* A; *kūrmmāra* B; *kūrmmara* CDFG; *kurmmara* E).

29. The original form *kūrmmara* in 39.10, attested as such in all manuscripts, has been emended to *kūrmma* by the editor SUDARSHANA DEVI.

30. Cf. śloka 12.7c (*kūrmmāra*), commentary (*kūrmmara* D; *kurmmara* K); śloka 12.26a (*kūrmmāras* em., DK *kūrmmare*).

31. Cf. p. 44.12–13 (*kumāra* 2×).

32. For attestations of this word, implying a certain Śaiva doctrinal view of liberation, in similar contexts of Old Javanese and Sanskrit scriptures, cf. below, pp. 413–418.

## Transposition

*repha:* *satartālvi* → *satatālvir* (234.21); *ta kartaman* → *tar kataman* (282.21).

*m:* *rimkā* → *rikan* (214.13); *nimk(a/ā)* → *nikan* (218.7, 262.6, 274.2, 290.19, 300.8, 316.13, 336.23); *hanemkā* → *hanekan* (220.9); *imkā* → *ikan* (312.5, 332.18, 334.18), etc.

Other *akṣaras*: *ikaṃnā* → *ikanan* (196.19); *apugum kahanān* → *apuṅguṇ ika nāhan* (214.20); *kapanakumna* → *kapan kunaṇ* (218.5); *rāsanmis* → *rasāmanis* (222.6); *yā tikāṇajarakən* → *ya kitāṇajarakən* (238.14); *sninḍam* → *sinanḍan* (242.20); *vāṣakan ikām* → *vəkasan ikan* (246.5); *karttā* → *tarka* (256.10); *humilaṃṇaknə* → *humilaṇakən* (260.9); *viyasanya* → *viṣayanya* (262.5); *na ibhyasāṇku* → *inabhyāsāṇku* (276.5); *deyanpupasa* → *deyanmūsapa* (278.5); *ginhə* → *gəni* (278.13); *śrakandi* → *śrikanda* > *śrikaṇṭha* (280.2); *arājah* → *ajarah* (284.12, 13); *ṣadenaha* → *sandeha* (304.1); *nebyasā* → *inabhyāsa* (320.5); *liṇtana* → *liṇanta* (320.6); *ṇara cetanya* → *ṇaranya cetanā* (338.4).

Inverted sequence of words: *asthitya yan ekatva bhaṭāra kunaṇ* → *yan asthitya ekatva bhaṭāra kunaṇ* (318.11).

A clause mistakenly copied in the wrong folio: *mataṇnyan maṇkana hulun apan bhaṭāra paramārtha rakva pinakahurip niṇ rat kabeh* (210.8–9), which apparently does not fit with the rest of the passage; judging from the context, it might have belonged originally to the portion of text containing a debate between the Lord and an opponent about the existence and sentience of the *Summum Bonum* (cf. p. 201).

## Other sources of corruption

The following corruptions do not easily fit in any of the above categories but involve a more complex chain of mistakes. This state of affairs may betray an imperfect familiarity of the scribes with the language but in any event a complex chain of transmission.

Old Javanese: *mapātaya* → *māpaṇ atata* (230.10), on account of a parallel in *Vṛhaspatitattva* (36.2); *gavenya umasarikāmpinaṇaninum* → *gave-*



*nya umava sari ikañ pināṇan ininum* (232.7); *gavenyakambāyu* → *gave nikañ bāyu* (232.10), reflecting an incertitude between *gave-nya ikañ* and *gave nikañ*; *kunaṃyenpupāṇdim* → *kunañ deyanmu pāṇḍam* (278.1): *da* ≈ *e* vocalization, *np* ≈ *nm*, hence *ye*<sup>o</sup> → *deya*<sup>o</sup>, *np* → *nm*; *ghnānavayakān* → *ginavayakān* (304.11); *ikāṃjñāna mabalakaḥālīnya*, → *ikañ jñāna mabalik, liṇnya*, (304.20); *nāhan sinpaṃ aṣṭeśvaryya* → *nāhan sinaṅguh aṣṭaiśvaryya* (330.15).

Sanskrit:

*abyavahātaṇakovuvusta* → *abyavahāta taṇa kavuvusta* (204.6); *k-veḥnirindriyā* → *kveḥ niṇ indriya* (216.13), reflecting an incertitude whether to write *-nira* or *-niṇ*; *nāyā* → *bāyu* (222.10); *saṅke-ṇṇaṇaranya* → *saṅkoṣa ṇaranya* (228.5): perhaps originally triggered by *ṇ* ≈ *ṭ*; *svatradaya* → *sauhrdaya* (256.10): *hra* ≈ *tra*, *au* ≈ *va*;<sup>33</sup> *nikāṃtye* → *nikañ detya* (280.15): omission of *d* plus transposition of *e* vocalization (*e* vocalization and *d* are very similar in shape); *naṇavesyaḥ* → *aṇavaśyaḥ*, *aṇavesyaḥ* → *aṇavaśyaḥ* (282.20); *aṇavesa* → *aṇavaśya* (282.21); *anevesyaḥ* → *anāveśyaḥ* (282.21, 22); *apārakṣatilīnā* → *prakṛtilīnā* (294.17): epenthesis (*pāra* → *pra*), *kṣa* → *kra* (by contamination with *kṣati* > *kṣiti* = ‘earth?’); *vratatajñāna* → *aviratijñāna* (302.14); *camacalī* → *cañ-calaḥ* (302.14), by epenthesis (*metri causa*?); *yogasamādinā* → *yogasādhana* (308.15): an attempt to make sense of a previously written *yogasadinā*? (occurring also in 308.14); *ndyakahakṣamā* → *ndya ta lakṣaṇā* (320.12): *ta* ≈ *ka*, *la* ≈ *ha*, *ṇa* having become *ma* by analogy with *kṣamā* ‘endurance’; *upātpṛtīnya* → *upapāttīnya* (326.14);<sup>34</sup> *prakrativakna* (post corr.; *prakratikna ante corr.*) → *prakṛtilīnā* (334.20): *t* ≈ *k* and *v* ≈ *n*, therefore *prakratikna* → *prakratitva* (the scribal addition of *va* instead of the *ta* required to retrieve the correct form *°tatva* is explainable on account of the similar shape of the two *akṣaras*).

33. Compare *asvāhadaya* → *asauhrdaya*, described on p. 67.

34. Compare the spelling of *utpātti*<sup>o</sup> in *utpāptistilīnā* → *utpāttisthitilīnā* (336.17).

# Editorial Policies

THE PRESENTATION of both a diplomatic and critical edition of the text seemed the most effective means to achieve a neat separation between the theoretical categories of 'text of document' and 'text of work'.<sup>1</sup> These two aspects prioritize, respectively, the text as an immaterial and 'mental' entity and the text as a physical object, which, in the present case, happens to take the form of a ca. five centuries old palm-leaf manuscript from the Western part of Java. The need to keep the two aspects of the text separated was apparent at every step of the editorial work. It is indeed not possible to have both at once, for in order to have the work we must be ready to 'lose part of the historical evidence that supported its reconstruction' (TANSELLE 1989:29). As a matter of fact, the two types of edi-

*Why Two Editions?* tion require different treatments because they deal with different kinds of problems and aim at different results.

The primary aim of a diplomatic edition is to present a reproduction of the text as close as possible to the state in which it has been preserved on its material support. In doing so, it renders the presented materials accessible to the scholar with a specific interest in codicology as much as to the philologist whose primary interest is the content of the text. If documenting what an early 15th-century Old Javanese manuscript looks like is the task of the diplomatic edition, retrieving an argumentatively coherent text in a form as close as possible to that which it had in the mind of the author, and one that can be meaningfully compared to related texts from the Indonesian Archipelago and the Indian Subcontinent, is the task of the critical edition.<sup>2</sup> To give precedence to one aspect over the other, or to try to represent both at once, would result in a hybrid product which would certainly not be user-friendly, let alone theoretically well-grounded. For instance, the inclusion of all kind of data that are not vital to the retrieval of meaning, e.g. palaeographic remarks or the annotation of signs like *virāmas* and line-fillers, would be detrimental to readability and tremendously increase the size of the critical apparatus.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, a reader or

1. On which, cf. TANSELLE (1989, in particular chapter 1).

2. Useful theoretical considerations on the different standpoints, methodologies and aims governing the two kinds of editions may be found in JONES (1980) (applied to Classical Malay texts), DE HAAN (1973:76-77) (applied to European Medieval texts), ROBSON (1988:17-21) (applied, among others, to Old Javanese texts).

3. The information reported in the diplomatic edition that is not of primary concern in

potential editor wishing to access the text directly as it has been transmitted, without having to reconstruct it from the apparatus of the critical edition, might find a diplomatic edition preferable. An abundance of heterogeneous information may in fact impede a reader to focus on the aspects of the text he is primarily interested in (i.e. the ‘work’ or the ‘document’). The mere fact that a text has survived in only one manuscript would by itself constitute a sufficient reason to justify presenting a diplomatic edition.<sup>4</sup> All the more so in the case of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, belonging to a still little known manuscript tradition.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, critics may raise objections about the actual usefulness of such an unsynthetic and bulky arrangement, arguing that both editions could have been merged into one without significant loss of information. And furthermore, they may ask how many of the readers will be interested and able to consult a diplomatic edition. To these objections I reply that in a philological work it is less dangerous to err by redundancy than by omission. After

view of the restitution of the text of work include, e.g., the description of the different means through which deletions or insertions were implemented by the scribe; the description, by means of brackets, of the portions of the text which have been incorporated from loose fragments of the manuscript; the indication of the gaps left in correspondence with the binding holes.

4. Cf. HAHN’s (2001:52) remarks on the editing of Sanskrit and Tibetan *codices unici*: ‘The general procedure of dealing with old and important *codices unici* is that which has been applied by many responsible editors in the past: it ideally consists of the facsimile reproduction of the *codex unicus* accompanied by a so-called “diplomatic” transcript of the text which represents the text “as it is”, with no changes, and corrections, meticulously recording all its peculiarities like insertions, deletions, glosses, gaps (lacunae), haplographies, dittographies, etc. Only this enables the future critical reader to form his own, independent opinion and perhaps see something which the first editor of the work failed to see.’

5. Insofar as they stress the importance of philological transparency and completeness when dealing with rare manuscripts belonging to little-known traditions, I find the following considerations of KRATZ (1981:238), though primarily addressed to the critical editing of Malay manuscripts, to be also appropriate to justify the diplomatic editing of (Old Javanese) *codices unici*: ‘Malay studies would be well served if texts were prepared on the basis of chosen manuscripts, i.e., if manuscripts were edited critically under preservation of all those peculiarities which may not seem of much significance within the limited framework of the particular textual tradition, but which may well be important within a larger context. After all, we do not yet know what is important or what we should look for, nor will we know until many more manuscripts have been studied and analyzed. If, on the other hand, editions are produced from which future scholars can only reconstruct the reading of the manuscript with great difficulty, or which may even oblige them to go back to the manuscript itself, then the whole work of editing will have been self-defeating.’

all, philology aims at making texts from the past more accessible, not only to transmit the concepts carried by their words, but also to document the shapes in which they have come to be written, which may tell us something meaningful about the scribe who was copying them, about the supports they were written on, and in this way about the socio-economic background and even the aesthetic values of a civilization. I expect that the inclusion, within the diplomatic edition, of facsimile reproductions may enlighten us on such issues, and in some way even to appeal the more casual readers and draw their attention to the beautiful objects that Old Javanese manuscripts actually are.

*Diplomatic  
Edition*

Although a handful of editors of Old Javanese texts have edited their sources following the diplomatic method in the past,<sup>6</sup> very little attention has been given so far to the details of methodological issues to be tackled while preparing this kind of edition.<sup>7</sup> According to VAN DER MOLEN (1981:6),

This type of edition requires an unambiguous relationship between exemplar and reproduction. The distinctive features of the exemplars (at the level of writing, spelling, and linguistic material), as far as they convey information, are expressed in the reproduction too. In the same way the distinctions within the reproduction have their antecedents in the copied text. Changes remain within this boundary, and are categorical. [...] What is important for diplomatic editions, is that the information lost in the process of transliteration should be preserved by other means: descriptions, facsimile, and the like.

There is no doubt that, even when the editor has worked meticulously, a diplomatic edition still discloses little of the single manuscript as an object, including the character of the script and its nuances. The inclusion in this work of facsimile reproductions, running in parallel with the diplomatic edition, provided with an apparatus of palaeographical and codicological notes,

6. For an appraisal of their work, cf. VAN DER MOLEN (1983:5–6).

7. I use the term ‘diplomatic edition’ rather than ‘diplomatic transcription’ or ‘diplomatic transliteration’, for it conveys in a more explicit manner the element of interpretation and intervention by the editor that is inherent in both operations of ‘transcription’ (i.e., to transcribe the text from one support to another, without or without changing the kind of script) and ‘transliteration’ (i.e., to adapt a text into a different script); cf. below, p. 84.

aims at filling this gap.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, since this editorial arrangement has never been attempted in previous editions of Old Javanese texts, not to mention texts written on West Javanese manuscripts, my approach aims at filling a lacuna for those who want to learn about these neglected materials of sure codicological interest.<sup>9</sup> This arrangement also has the merit of rendering my working methodology intelligible to the readers and potential editors of this or other Old Javanese texts, who can follow the editorial process that I have applied in its various stages, and, on this basis, form their opinion.

Although a diplomatic and a critical edition of a text involve fundamentally different aims and procedures, it goes without saying that the working of a diplomatic edition ‘requires knowledge, insight, and discretion on the part of the editor’ (TANSELLE 1989:59). Far from being a mechanical process, the very transliteration of the text is indeed already a product of the editor’s judgment, ingenuity and interpretive endeavour. This is especially true when it aims at transferring a text from a script displaying very different features into a Latin-based system, for the process of decipherment and rendering implies intellectual efforts and editorial decisions (cf. ROBSON 1988:19; TANSELLE 1989:60). Being faced with the impossibility of transcribing the text into custom-developed computer fonts—if just for reasons of general accessibility—even though I have tried to keep a 1:1 correspondence between most of the signs, the result can be no more than an approximation of the original. There are cases, of course, where such a correspondence cannot be maintained. One example is the impossibility of rendering the vowel <o> of the original script with two separate signs, one occurring before and one after the consonant to which they are attached (respectively, a vocalization *e* and the combination of that with the vocalization *ā*). This limitation becomes an issue in the cases where the graphemes involved are separated by gaps, in correspondence with binding holes, or occur over two lines. Another problematic case is the rendering of *rephas*, which in the codex are consistently written either above the *akṣara* before which they should be read in inter-

8. These reproductions, although by themselves nothing but ‘new documents’ that cannot fully substitute the original (cf. TANSELLE 1989:54, 58, 61), constitute at least a useful guide for the readers who may want to consult the original manuscript (as far as it lasts), enabling them to do so in a comfortable way. Once the manuscript will be irretrievably ruined or lost because of catastrophes or the ravages of time, they will preserve its evidence.

9. The edition of the prose *Kuñjarakarṇa*, preserved on a West Javanese Nipah, by KERN (1922) presents the facsimile reproductions of only four folio sides, while the one by VAN DER MOLEN (1983) lacks facsimiles altogether.

nal position (e.g. -rC-, as in the case of the *repha* in Devanāgarī script) or above the *akṣara* after which they should be read in final position (-r). It is clear that the choice to render one or the other sequence depends on the identification of word-boundaries. I have taken the freedom to ‘interpret’ the correct sequence in such occurrences since the instances of -r are limited to just a few Old Javanese words (e.g. *sumahur*; *lvir*; *sor*; *tar*), in any case reproducing them in italic.<sup>10</sup> It should be pointed out that this feature conforms to the usage implemented in other manuscripts from West Java as well as in the Modern Javanese writing system; by contrast, in Old Javanese manuscripts from Bali the *repha* in both the positions -rC- and -r is written above the *akṣara* after which it should be read.

I have reproduced line-filler sign 𑀓 as §. This sign is used to fill any extra space before the gap reserved around the binding hole or before the right margin of a leaf. The other special punctuation marks indicating the opening/closing point of the text and/or the end of a section or the beginning and end of a śloka, have been represented by ◉ and ◆ respectively. Other non-standard, infrequent signs (such as crosses, etc.) have been marked in palaeographical notes in the apparatus, which also contains remarks on signs whose shape is irregular, or whose interpretation is not sure because of their similarity with other signs.<sup>11</sup>

A drastic editorial decision has been to reproduce the *scriptio continua*, which is implemented in the manuscript to a surprising degree of faithfulness.<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, the division of the *scriptio continua* into words is already an invasive critical operation, involving the editor’s interpretation and judgment on the basis of his knowledge of the language in which the text is written and of the application of certain conventions. Since the aim

10. Of course, there are several exceptions to this rule, such as in the case of Sanskrit words in which the *repha* appears, in certain instances only, to be written according to the Javanese usage (e.g. *purbva*, *sarbva*, etc.). I have not considered these cases as mistakes of transposition, but rather interpreted them as scribal ‘inconsistencies’ that in any case yield the intended authorial form.

11. For instance, the *virāma* 𑀓 is often difficult to distinguish from one of the allographs used for the *ā*, i.e. 𑀓 (cf. above, p. 72). The only differentiating feature between the two is the more pronounced rightwards loop of the *virāma*, which descends below the line. It is natural that such signs were often confused as a result of copying mistakes.

12. For instance, when needed, even *virāmas* are split from the *akṣaras* they are attached to, appearing one line below. In such cases too an element of interpretation is implied in the transliteration, which does not read the *a* that ought to be considered inherent to the *akṣara* as long as the *virāma* at the beginning of the next line has not yet been read.

of my diplomatic edition is to reproduce as faithfully as possible the evidence of the text of document, I saw no convincing reasons for separating words according to their meaning and grammatical function;<sup>13</sup> for that, I believe, is a task to be dealt with in the critical edition. Therefore, the criterion that I have adopted for separating certain clusters of text or graphemes obeys uniquely to rules of sandhi and punctuation. Thus, I have applied the criterion of dividing with a space the clusters formed by two vowels (e.g. °a i° vs. °ai°, °a u° vs. °au°) to avoid any possible confusion as to their status of separate *akṣaras* or unitary *akṣaras* indicating diphthongs. I have extended this convention to non-diphthongal vowels in sequence, as well as to vowels in their *akṣara*-form, such as those following an *anusvāra* or a *visarga*.

The graphic presentation of the text in a diplomatic edition is an important aspect of the work, and one that should be informed by the methodological principles adhered to. Being unsatisfied by the arrangement of most of the existing models, in which the division of the lines/chapters and the introduction of numbering are elements that are organized in a way that does not help to reveal the original evidence of the text of document, I decided to produce an edition whose layout aims, if not fully to reproduce, at least to follow the original as closely as possible. Thus, such relevant features as the original division of leaves, with their number of lines, the gaps reserved around the binding holes (indicated with two em-dashes —), as well as the original numbering of the palm-leaves, have been represented as in the manuscript.<sup>14</sup> The features of the support, and of the script written on it, that I deemed to be worthy of attention I have represented through the following types of brackets:

- ( )      enclose graphemes that are only partly readable, though still inferable with a significant degree of certainty, because of lacunae in the manuscript caused by physical damage.

13. All the more so in view of the fact that, when it comes to the division of words—especially pronouns and clitics—adopted in editions of Old Javanese texts, there has never been a unique and widely accepted standard (cf. DAMAIS 1970:28, UHLENBECK 1986).

14. The ‘numbering-of-document’ is represented by old-style arabic numerals to the left of the verso side of folios. The material numbering, which follows the commonest system in use among philologists to number manuscript folios, is represented by arabic numerals plus the specifiers *v* (verso) or *r* (recto) enclosed within square brackets [ ] to the right of the page area. For the sake of usability, the notes in the apparatus refer to the material numbering; the indication of the line in which lemmas occur is provided by the numerals 1 to 4, referring, respectively, to the first up to the fourth line of the folio side in question.

- { } enclose a series of graphemes written on fragments that have come to be detached from the manuscript because of physical damage, and have now been restored in their original position so as to fill the lacunae.<sup>15</sup>

A variable number of underscores \_\_ indicate lacunae for which no fitting fragments have been found. Each one of them conjecturally indicates the original presence of a single *akṣara*, or a consonantal ligature (occasionally, conjectures on the identity of such graphemes have been indicated in the apparatus). Superscript, smaller sized, letters reproduce graphemes that have been added to the text, in all probability by the same scribe who copied it, as suggested by the same ink tonality and calligraphic style. Such additions consist of graphemes added below the baseline of the script, and are usually indicated by a sign that graphically resembles a = written above the grapheme before which they are to be read (fig. 1); more rarely, especially in the case of single *akṣaras* or C+V clusters, they are inserted without any mark (fig. 2: āpa<sup>n</sup>yo°).



Figure 1



Figure 2

An *anusvāra* belonging to a string of added graphemes is written above the baseline, in correspondence to the point where they have to be read (fig. 1: °niṃ<sup>tanhirem</sup>·kapi°).

Letters cancelled by way of a single horizontal strikethrough reproduce graphemes that were cancelled by the scribe in the way that I have seen implemented in several Old Javanese manuscripts, namely by adding to each of them both a superscript *i* vocalization and a subscript *u* vocalization, which



Figure 3

result in an uninterpretable sequence that is therefore not to be read (fig. 3: ~~niṃtanhirem·kapi~~). The rare graphemes that have been cancelled by filling them with ink or by placing a cross have also been indicated through this convention, as well as any grapheme or sequence of graphemes that show clear traces of elements that appear to have been (intentionally) scratched away.

All the above cases have been described in the apparatus. However, the shapes of cancelled graphemes that are recognizable with difficulty, such as those that, having been scratched away, were covered by a new string of text, I have mentioned only in the apparatus without any indication in the text.<sup>16</sup>

15. These small fragments are kept in numbered plastic cases inside the manuscript box.

16. It is often the case that such corrections can only be spotted by looking at the original



It is not clear at which stage such portions of text were cancelled, but they are likely to be the result of errors that the scribe realized he had committed, and (presumably) immediately corrected before continuing his task.

*Critical  
Edition*

In order to retrieve the text of work, it is necessary to establish a critical edition. There has been a tendency among scholars of Old Javanese to distinguish, at least in theory, critical editions of *codices unici* from critical editions of texts based on one single or ‘best’ manuscript (cf. VAN DER MOLEN 1983:10–11).<sup>17</sup> In the section dealing with Old Javanese *codices unici* of his *Principles of Indonesian Philology*, ROBSON (1988:18) quotes verbatim (and translates) the synthetic set of basic working principles formulated by DE HAAN (1973:77–78) for critically editing European Medieval *codices unici*.<sup>18</sup> This kind of edition differs from reconstructed-critical editions (based on more sources) insofar as it requires a distinct methodology. According to DE HAAN, the critical edition based on a single manuscript ‘attempts to make an extant source available in as pure a form as possible; is based on one manuscript; has no variants; errors are corrected only to the extent caused by errors in writing; and normalization is not needed.’

Now, DE HAAN’s principles appear to be somewhat indeterminate and rather unsuitable for the editing of Old Javanese single manuscripts. It is, in fact, most of the time impossible to make an extant source accessible ‘in as pure a form as possible’ by only correcting errors in the process of writing. To me, the correction of trivial flaws of execution undermining the meaningfulness of a word, or the coherence of a series of words, in a given context may be regarded as obvious an operation as a conjectural emendation aiming at restoring the meaningfulness and logical coherence of a series of corrupted

manuscript, being too dimly visible in the reproductions.

17. The latter has so far been the preferred method for editing Old Javanese texts (cf. VAN DER MOLEN 1981:8).

18. An alternative method for editing Old Javanese texts that draws inspiration from the practices of European Medievalists such as DE HAAN may be traced back to the new perspectives introduced by VAN DER MOLEN in his *Javaanse Tekstkritiek*, in which he showed that the Archipelago sources and their study share important features and problematics with the European Medieval ones. Old Javanese prose texts would seem to be particularly unsuitable for the application of the method of Lachmanian stemmatics, mostly because of the high degree of textual variation displayed by different manuscripts (belonging to different traditions) of the same text; and because of the widespread occurrence of contamination. These features can be observed, besides in the prose version of the *Kuñjarakarna*, also in the West Javanese, Central Javanese and Balinese versions of the *Tattvajñāna* (cf. Aciri 2010).

words. What are the criteria to determine the difference, in terms of both admissibility and usefulness, of a 'cosmetic' correction from a more significant emendation, such as for example the insertion of a whole sentence that the editor deems to have been dropped? This seems to amount to the question where the boundary between text of document and text of work lies, and where the responsibility of the author ends and that of the scribe(s) begins.

The fact that the evidence documenting a manuscript happens to have been preserved only in one copy does not necessarily justify, I believe, the limitations that editors dealing with *codices unici* have often imposed upon themselves. Indeed it may be argued that critical editions of *codices unici* and of texts documented through several manuscripts differ only with regard to the amount of evidence and of the inferential process leading from evidence to constituted text. In the latter case the editor is informed by a certain amount of evidence preserved in different sources, whose readings he may try to reconstruct on the basis of the textual evidence at his disposal; in the former the editor, having no other sources but one, has to rely almost exclusively upon his interpretive endeavour or *divinatio*, guided by the internal evidence found in the whole text and, when possible, by parallel passages from closely related literature that may help him to reconstruct, or clarify, the content—and context—of a given portion of his text.

Different genres, insofar as they are governed by different constraints, entail the adoption of different criteria guiding the editorial work (cf. ROBSON 1988:25). For instance, the very form in which these texts have been preserved, i.e. prose or verses (or both), entails different effects on their transmission. Whereas in Kakavins textual problems may be detected through irregularities in the metre, and restored accordingly,<sup>19</sup> in prose Tutors one has to rely upon the fixed patterns represented by the (highly formulaic) syntactic patterns of philosophical texts, upon which the internal coherence of the arguments ultimately depends.

Now, as we have seen above, the *Dharma Pātañjala* is a complete and coherent speculative work, characterized by a formulaic Śāstric style. Given these features, the first priority of the edition had to be the retrieval of a text which is as close as possible to the form intended by its author. However unfashionable it may appear nowadays, I dare to speak about an *author*, be-

19. The methodological problem here is that it is often difficult to determine whether a suspicious syntactic construction is the result of poetic licence or 'improvements' that occurred in transmission.

cause the largely innovative doctrinal standpoint presented by the text, at least in its final shape, is, I believe, the result of a conscious operation of textual compilation and doctrinal synthesis made by one single person. On the basis of my analysis of the contents of the texts, I conclude that this author, far from being a late epigone, was a learned master conversant with a wide genre of Indic scriptures, from which he drew the doctrinal themes important to him. This consideration has led me to assume that the majority of the inconsistencies, including lacunae, which are widespread in the text, are caused not by insufficient command of language(s) and doctrine by the author, not to speak of insufficient skills in composition, but rather by lapses and mistakes that occurred during the process of subsequent reproductions.<sup>20</sup> The occurrence of scribal inconsistencies is also observed in the manuscripts of the related speculative Tattvas preserved on Balinese manuscripts, namely the *Tattvajñāna* and *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which also seem to have suffered a heavy impact of transmission. Now, it is a matter of fact that many Sanskrit Śaiva doctrinal texts, and especially the early Siddhāntatantras characterized by a Śāstric character, such as the *Kiraṇatantra* and the *Parākhyatantra*, have survived in most cases through badly corrupt manuscripts. As noted by GOODALL (1998:cxx), these ‘works of śāstra are especially prone to misconstruction, not because they are inherently full of ambiguity, but because their correct interpretation depends on the familiarity of the reader with a corpus of related scriptural and śāstric literature’. This is equally true in the case of Old Javanese texts, which have been copied by

20. That the codex is the only extant evidence of a series of successive documents all lost except for the last stage of transmission can be inferred from several facts, such as (just to mention a few): *a*) the obvious misplacement of a complete sentence in folio 9, which contextually belongs to folio 5r; *b*) the not infrequent mistakes involving missing words (e.g. items in lists) or sentences, which are indispensable to the proper unfolding of the logical argumentation of the text; *c*) the presence of errors indicating a two-stage process, i.e. the frequent miswriting of *ā* in *akṣara*-form in place of a *virāma*, which involves two passages (only one allograph of the vocalization *ā* is graphically very similar to a *virāma*; cf. above, fn. 18 and p. 72.); *d*) the generally dilapidated state of the ślokas and of several Sanskrit technical terms in the text, to such a degree that often precludes intelligibility, while the appropriateness of the context in which they are inserted suggests the occurrence of textual corruptions rather than authorial ignorance of Sanskrit; *e*) the presence of original annotations adding parts of texts that the scribe failed to copy, which are not always consistent and therefore likely stem from the process of copying rather than composing the text; *f*) the presence of inappropriate ‘scribal’ corrections of words that became (or deemed to be) corrupted (e.g. *sakṣaṇā* → *lakṣaṇa* (twice); *lakṣamaṇa* → *lakṣaṇa*, etc.).

scribes belonging to a milieu far removed from Indic sources, and whose familiarity with Sanskrit language and doctrines may have suffered from the disappearance of the religious and intellectual context thriving at the time the original texts were composed.<sup>21</sup> That the majority of the scribes was active in contexts where the practice-oriented or mystical aspects of religious life, rather than philosophical ones, were deemed to be most important, is suggested by the rarity of speculative Tattvas that have survived to us in comparison with the great number of other Tuturs from both Bali and Java. The very survival of the *Dharma Pātañjala* only through a single manuscript is, I believe, indicative of this fact.

I have deemed standardization of spelling to be an important aspect of the critical edition. In standardizing the spelling I have followed OJED, and preserved different variant spellings whenever they were attested there. I have been conservative in maintaining variant forms of certain Old Javanese words or particles, e.g. *sañke* alongside *sakeñ*, *tan* alongside *tar*, *ni* and *ri* alongside *niñ* and *riñ* (i.e. with or without the definite article),<sup>22</sup> for their different outward forms had no import at the level of translation. The same principle I have followed for the variable spellings of certain words borrowed from Sanskrit that, being attested in a variety of other Old Javanese sources, appeared to be perfectly acceptable time-and-place-bound idiosyncrasies throughout South and Southeast Asian traditions of writing, such as the retention of the *b* in place of *v* (like *tībrasambega* instead of *tīvrasamvega*). But there are also certain forms found in the codex that probably never existed in the practice of manuscript writing even in the South Asian Subcontinent.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, I have intervened on punctuation only in rare instances, when an emendation was necessary in order to retrieve

21. Though now qualified in view of the discovery of the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Tattvajñāna* in Java, the following considerations by PIGEAUD (1967:49) still deserve to be quoted: '[In Java, the] people who preserved the old manuscripts did not belong to the class of cultured ecclesiastics. [...] So, as a rule, Old Javanese religious texts preserved in Java only contain rather popular speculations, apparently of a relatively recent date, and no learned treatises with commentaries of Sanskrit ślokaś'. Notwithstanding PIGEAUD's seemingly prejudicial evaluation of 'learned treatises' at the expenses of 'popular speculations', some of the above considerations may retain a relative validity in that the author was making them on the basis of his extensive first-hand knowledge of Old Javanese manuscripts and texts from both Java and Bali.

22. The form without article of both *niñ* and *riñ* is attested to such an extent that makes it unlikely to be a mere scribal mistake involving the omission of *anusvāra*.

23. Cf. above, pp. 62–64.

what I deemed to be the correct interpretation of a sentence. I have everywhere rendered with a comma the main punctuation mark (*pada lingsa*) used in the *codex*.<sup>24</sup> The other two relatively rare special signs of punctuation represented by ◉ and ♦ in the diplomatic edition (cf. above, p. 85) I have reproduced as such in the critical edition too, but choosing either one or the other when both were used simultaneously.

Since the fundamental requirement of argumentative works is the need of internal coherence, lest the argumentation become meaningless, I have not hesitated to make emendations whenever I felt that leaving certain passages as corrupt as they were would have undermined the meaningfulness and coherence that according to my fundamental working hypothesis originally belonged to the text.<sup>25</sup> Such emendations are not limited to the correction of single corrupted words, but extend to the addition of missing words and sentences. In reconstructing certain problematic portions of the text I have made use of internal evidence and, whenever possible, of parallel passages found in Old Javanese Tattvas and Tuturs preserved on Bali and, more rarely, on Java. These parallel passages, which have been reported in the second register of the apparatus, are often close enough to be of great text-critical importance. For the emendation of lists of doctrinal elements lacking one or more items or showing corruptions I have relied upon evidence drawn from related Sanskrit sources.

I have aimed at presenting a fairly readable text in which the details of the manuscript that are not essential to the retrieval of the text of work are disregarded even in the critical apparatus, having been fully documented in the diplomatic edition.<sup>26</sup> Thus, the original numbering of the leaves and

24. On the risk of 'domesticating' to an unwanted degree texts from the past by introducing modern conventions of punctuation, with the consequent loss of important information, cf. CERQUIGLINI (1989:48).

25. I fully subscribe to the statement that 'an editor's not challenging bad manuscript readings can do more damage to the text than offering unsatisfactory conjectures' (GOODALL 1998:cxiv, synthesizing the views expressed earlier by KANE in defence of conjectural emendation), and believe that an excessively reticent, i.e. uncritical editorial approach often observed in Old Javanese studies results from an insufficient distinction between the text of work and the text of document. Cf. also TANSELLE (1989:34–35): 'Holding that the meaning of literature emerges from a knowledge of its historical context, [...] the risk is not recognizing that artifacts may be less reliable witnesses to the past than their own imaginative reconstructions. [...] Anyone accepting a text uncritically—without making such decisions—is focusing not on a work but only on the text of a document'.

26. Readability and, at the same time, faithfulness to the original writing system has de-

‘meaningless’ signs such as line fillers have not been reproduced. *Virāmas* have been also left out, and noted in the critical apparatus (first register from above) with the same sign (the raised dot ·) used in the diplomatic edition only in cases where awareness of their presence is vital for evaluating emendations.

Any corrections by the copyist of the codex, such as addition or deletion of *akṣaras*, have been incorporated in the text without editorial marks and noted in the fourth register of the apparatus, which is also devoted to paleographic or philological comments, with the respective sigla *post corr.* (*post correctionem*) and *ante corr.* (*ante correctionem*). Any editorial intervention, be it an emendation (*em.*)<sup>27</sup> or a conjecture (*conj.*),<sup>28</sup> which involves the substantive intervention in the shape of one or more words (i.e. transcends the level of spelling issues), I have treated in the same way, noting them in the first register of the apparatus. Additions or deletions of punctuation signs or of one or more lexemes I have not noted in the apparatus but—for the sake of an easier and more immediate recognizability of the editor’s hand—incorporated directly in the text, enclosed within the following types of brackets:<sup>29</sup>

- ≤ ≥      enclose an estimated number of *akṣaras* supplied (by way of conjecture) to fill up lacunae due to manuscript damage (i.e. detached fragments of leaves that are now missing). This type of suppletion aims at restoring portions that were originally part of the text of document.

terminated my reticence in multiplying strictly editorial signs in the text: thus, I have refrained from using such marks indicating the occurrence of external sandhi as *â*, *ê* or *ô*, even though they are commonly found in editions of Old Javanese texts; I have also made no use of hyphens to mark the boundaries of certain morphological elements (e.g. the particle *-n*) or of reduplicated forms), as well as of capital letters to indicate proper names.

27. This may involve either a correction of trivial and widespread copying mistakes (such as unwanted additions or omissions of *anusvāras*, *rephas* and other vocalic signs, or of one or more *akṣaras*), or a more complex, but still fairly obvious, correction to the text.

28. This represents an intervention of a more uncertain character, arrived at through a more complex inferential process that in the case of ‘emendations’.

29. The first and last type of brackets were already used by GONDA in his editions of the Old Javanese *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, *Bhīṣmaparva* and *Agastyaparva*; the same convention, albeit with minor modifications, was followed by WIRYAMARTANA (1990:33) in his edition of the *Arjunavivāha*.

- < >      enclose any editorial additions to the text of work filling up what I have judged to be important lacunae in the text, due to omission of single words or even whole sentences, which are attributable to mistakes in the transmission.
- [ ]        enclose words or short sentences that I have deemed to be the result of scribal insertion and hence omitted from the text.

Corrupt passages, for whose restoration I am not able to offer a solution, I have enclosed within cruxes, as follows:

- †*x*        marks an uninterpretable sequence of *akṣaras* no more extensive than a single corrupt lexeme.
- † *x y* †    enclose a sequence of corrupt *akṣaras*.
- †...†      indicates that one or more lexemes have been mistakenly left out at a certain stage from the transmitted text, an omission for which no specific conjectural restoration is possible.

All the original readings are, of course, based on the single codex, indicated by the siglum *cod*. To establish the constituted text I have also consulted the following sources:

- E        Handwritten roman transliteration of the complete text of the *Dharma Pātañjala* codex by ENSINK (*s.d.*, < 1974). Unpublished.<sup>30</sup> The words have been divided until the first half of the fourth line in folio 28<sup>v</sup> (27b according to ENSINK's enumeration), after which the *scriptio continua* of the manuscript is maintained. The spelling has been tacitly standardized. Some emendations are suggested throughout the text. At the end of the transliteration there are copious notes mainly consisting in references to lexical entries in KBNW or published editions of Old Javanese texts, but these extend only up to folio 23<sup>v</sup> of the manuscript.

30.    Now available for consultation in the Leiden Univeristy Library.

- H Edition and translation by HOOYKAAS (1974:166–170), based on ENSINK's transliteration, of folios 47v–49v of the codex. As stated by HOOYKAAS in his introduction to the edited section, the spelling of the text has been standardized and minor emendations tacitly introduced in the text. Conjectures appear in footnotes.

Because of the unfinished character of E, I have refrained from indicating each one of its readings in the apparatus, limiting myself to the acknowledgement to him of non-trivial, meaningful emendations or conjectures.<sup>31</sup> I have also reported a conjecture by E when it happens to be different from the one I propose, but may be taken into account as a plausible second possibility. As for H, I have noted in the apparatus only the relevant deviations from the manuscript, ignoring differences caused by standardization. Any non-trivial emendations have been recorded.

*Treatment of Sanskrit* Sanskrit loan-words and quotations of Sanskrit words are prominent in the text, but ślokas are rare. As illustrated by the examples quoted throughout the section on Language of the Introduction, Sanskrit loan-words, besides displaying idiosyncratic features of spelling, have certainly suffered corruption in the course of transmission; however, they appear to have received a somewhat better treatment than in the other rare manuscripts of Javanese origin known to me, where Sanskrit tends to be corrupt almost beyond recognition.<sup>32</sup> This suggests that a varying degree of faithfulness exists among Javanese manuscripts themselves, probably depending on the strength of scholarly tradition in the milieu where they were copied.<sup>33</sup>

On the basis of the evidence preserved solely in the codex, it is difficult to establish whether certain matters of grammar, which were evidently not a concern for the copyist(s), were equally unimportant for the author of the

31. Regrettably enough, in no case the transliteration has been helpful in retrieving the original text where the manuscript is damaged, for those portions were apparently already illegible when ENSINK transliterated the text.

32. As to the judgement of early scholars on the quality of the Sanskrit (and even of the Old Javanese) found in the few manuscripts from Java vis-à-vis the many more manuscripts originating from Bali, there is consensus as to the better treatment that it has enjoyed in Bali. Although corrupt Sanskrit also characterizes many Balinese manuscripts, texts tend to have been preserved in a reasonable shape in spite of the continuous activity of copying.

33. On the denomination of 'rustic script' in connection with the milieu of composition, cf. the corresponding index entry in PIGEAUD (1970:367).



*Dharma Pātañjala*. We do not even know whether the portions of Sanskrit verses were composed in the Subcontinent or in the Archipelago—that is, whether the versification of sūtra 1.2, 1.24 and 1.30 of the *Yogasūtra* into śloka 2, 4ab and 5 of the *Dharma Pātañjala* occurred in Java or the author simply drew from an already versified version of the Sanskrit text. What one can rule out is that the Sanskrit found in the text, as well as in the majority of Tattvas and Tuturs known to me, shares any characteristics of what has been called Archipelago Sanskrit, a kind of hybrid language featuring a significant morphological influence from Old Javanese that is attested mostly in Balinese Sanskrit hymns (cf. GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971:11–12). On the contrary, as already observed by SCHOTERMAN (1979), the kind of ‘incorrect’, i.e. non-Pāṇinian, Sanskrit found in Tuturs and Tattvas is also attested in the majority of Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric scriptures from the Subcontinent, upon which the ancient authors from the Archipelago probably drew.<sup>34</sup> As I have argued previously (ACRI 2006:118–124, 2008:236), I consider the possibility that a significant part of the Sanskrit verses preserved in Tuturs and Tattvas were actually composed in the Subcontinent to be very likely, also on account of the fact that specific counterparts of those verses have been found in Sanskrit sources.<sup>35</sup>

The non-standard forms and the words that have evidently undergone corruption are interesting not only for the history of language but also for the history of ideas insofar as they tell us something about the cultural milieu of the scribes who handed down the text in the Archipelago. That said,

34. A treatment of the peculiarities of this kind of ‘Tantric grammar’ or Aiśa Sanskrit may be found in GOUDRIAAN and SCHOTERMAN (1988:44–109) and GOODALL (1998:lxv–lxxi; 2004:lxxviii–lxxxv). One must also keep in mind that the Sanskrit of most Śaiva texts received a generally unfaithful treatment (that is, apart from its intrinsic non-Pāṇinian features) also in manuscripts from Nepal and South India.

35. Contrast, however, SANDERSON (2009:122, fn. 280), who regards the majority of the Sanskrit verses featured in those works as being Javanese creations. SANDERSON acknowledges that a few of those verses can be found in South Asian Śaiva sources, but also points out that many among the remaining verses present deviations from strict Sanskrit usage in a way that differs from the so-called Aiśa register of language attested in Tantric texts, especially with respect to the deviations from the correct form of the Anuṣṭubh in the second and fourth quarters. Whereas I concur with SANDERSON that the verses quoted from Sanskrit scriptures probably constitute a minority, I believe that several of the above-mentioned metrical inconsistencies might be still due to corruptions that have occurred in the course of transmission—not to mention the fact that the editions of Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas that we have to rely upon cannot in any sense be called critical.

in order to retrieve the text of work I did not hesitate to emend certain forms that too much hindered comprehension of the meaning. There certainly are instances where the risk of restoring a non-authorial form by emendation is far outweighed by the danger of not intervening, and in so doing consciously keeping the intention of the author concealed. In intervening on single words or ślokaś I have tried carefully to weigh the internal evidence provided by instances of the same words in the Old Javanese exegesis or in other passages of the text, the external evidence provided by similar occurrences in other Old Javanese texts and, as a last step, compare them to similar arguments found in Sanskrit sources.<sup>36</sup> It goes without saying that this dialectic operation is bound to remain provisional until more sources, both in Sanskrit and Old Javanese, will be documented and critically edited.

*Notes on the Translation* The presentation of a translation running parallel to the critically edited text aims at making the comparison between portions of the two texts, and between the philological notes on the translation and the annotations in

the critical apparatus, immediate and easy. The italicization of single Sanskrit terms or ślokaś appearing in the original text is paralleled in the translation, thereby rendering the indication within parentheses of remarkable Sanskrit or Old Javanese words in the latter unnecessary. I have kept the exegetical notes on the translation to a minimum, referring the reader to a more detailed discussion of the doctrinal or interpretive issues in Part III.

In translating the Old Javanese into English I have tried as far as possible to be faithful to the original both on the syntactic and the semantic level, except in those cases where a too literal translation would have resulted in an unacceptably awkward English sentence. Yet in most cases I have tried to maintain the flavour of the Old Javanese style—which is at times exacting or elliptical, at times pleonastic, repetitive and characterized by a frequent use of pronouns—without trying to ‘improve’ it, even though it may sound odd to a modern reader. Additions and clarification that I have deemed to be vital to achieve a correct understanding of certain sentences, especially those presenting complex arguments, I have inserted within square brackets.

36. Objections against the practice of restoring ślokaś appearing in Old Javanese texts by comparing them to the form they assume in original Sanskrit works have been voiced by GONDA (1932:46; 1933:viii) and SOEBADIO (1971:65). Although these objections are theoretically sound, I believe they are not practically valid in each and every instance; thus, judgement on a case by case basis is desirable.

In principle, I have tried to translate everything, retaining the original for terms that are notoriously difficult to translate as, for example, the qualities of *sattva* 'lightness, stillness, luminosity', *rajas* 'movement, activity' and *tamas* 'heaviness, dullness, darkness', etc. I have rendered certain terms differently according to the context, without applying one and the same translation throughout the book; e.g., *avak* 'body' or 'nature'; *janma* 'human being(s)' or 'human birth(s)' or 'incarnated being(s)' or 'birth'; *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristics, features' or 'external/distinctive marks'. I have also allowed myself a great liberty in the translation of *nāran/nāranya*: roughly corresponding, as I have argued above (p. 27), to the Sanskrit *iti*, the term has been translated either as 'is', 'means', 'what is called', 'so-called', or has been avoided in translation.

## II

### TEXT & TRANSLATION



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[0v]

◊ ◊ siddirāstu, ◊, ◊ saṃkumāra ikāmananḥil-ribhaṭāra, kālanirahana(ri)puñcaknimgunumkelāsa, dad(i)sa(m)kumāramamujā, maṃhanakən-pañco  
pacāra, rihuvusuniramamujā, manambhaṭṭasiraribhaṭāra, rihuvusnira—manambhah, maluguḥṭasira, tumañākənikaṃṭatvavisesa, liṃnira, sajjñ(a)  
bhaṭāra, kasihanāranak-bhaṭāra, varahənikaṃsāmyajñāna, yaṣ—tānyanhilāṇasandeharānak-bhaṭāra, sumahuribhaṭārahayu iku(ta)  
kvantanaku, ikāṃsāmyajñānānaranya, hevəḥkapāṅguhanya, apadumehyamevəha, yankvalināta, tātan-vnaṃsāmyajñāna, yatanhana(ṣ)

[1r]

samādi, ikāṃsamādītan-dadi ik-tan-kinavruḥhan-saṃhyamparamārta, āpankapamguḥhan-saṃhyamparamārtadonimṣamādiginava  
yākən-maṅkanalimḥaṭāra, sumahursakumārāsajñābhaṭārakāsi—ḥhanahulun-varahən-rilaksasaṃhyamparamārta, maṅka<sup>na</sup>limṣamkum  
āra, sumahuribhaṭāra, niḥan-laksasaṃhyamparamātānakuka—vruhanta, ♦, acintyanislālasānti, druvamābyayaməsarim, āsān-suk-  
sməpārisānti, śivisak-liniskāli, ♦, āpan-sirasinaṅguḥ acin(tya), āpatarkavnaṃ inahənnahən, niskātasiratarpavak, tanpavārṇna, ta(ṣ)

[1v]

n-bam, tanaputiḥ, tarkunim, tanbirṃ, kapiladu āvarṇnadi, tanhana ikākabeḥṛisa(m)hya(m)paramātā, tātan-knarituhapāti, tanpalvamta(npa)  
tambhəḥ, yayājugaya, nityahumidā, siratasukatarpahuṣa—n-, inak-tarpabaliklāra, hurip-tarpabalikṣpati, siratalvaḥsa  
nḥkəmṛātkabeh, siratikakālvitarkalvahhan-, vibuḥṭasira—, vibhuḥṇaranya, humimbhəmrātkabeh, ndatankaton-, siraktahmanon-,  
tankinavruhan-, sirattamaṇavruhi, āpan-sarvvājñāsira, sirakumavruhiṃratkabeh, sarvvākāyarkārttāsiragumavayikamratkabeh, a

[2r]

pan-byaktinyanihan-, kitakabehmahurip-, molahumāmbhəḥ, vruḥṛimnābhəprayā, niḥan-byaktisaṃhyamparamārtha anhanarikitaṣ  
lāvanimṛātkabeh, ikāṃhidəptarisamḥyamparamart(ā), yata i—nahənahəntarirahinəmṃni, viḥpvaṇaranimprajñā, samapadalaksanaṇyalaṣ  
van-saṃhyamparamārtā, yatamatamṇyan-samādīnanarikam ina—bhyasasaṃmahyun-risukavisesa, apan-yekāsinaṅguḥkalpasə  
n-naranya, hanapvekaṃsamāderisaṃhyamparamārthā, yātamamkasakən-saṇsākararimcitta, yatasinaṅguḥsāmyajñānānanya, dudusaṅke

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**0v.1** hana(ri)puñcak ] the *i* vocalization is not visible because of the loss of a fragment of the folio, replaced by a piece of wood used to restore it. It was read by E **0v.1** dad(i) ] idem as in note to 0v.1 **1r.3** suk- ] *virāma* represented by a dot below the *k* **1v.1** sa(m)hya(m) ] *anusvāras* are not very clear, the ink fading away **1v.1–2** ta(npa)-tambhəḥ ] only the lower part of the cluster *npa* is visible, for a small piece of leaf is missing (the one that has been attached by a restorer does not fit)





[2v]

2 mityajñāna, mañkanalim̐bhaṭāra, sumahursakumāra, āparānikam̐mityajñānanaranyasajñābhaṭāra, kasihananihulun-varahēnim̐laksanani  
kān̐mityajñāna, mañkanalim̐sam̐kumāra, sumahur̐baṭāra, nihan — — — {laksanānikam̐mityajñānānakū, ikam̐nāhumidēp-humādikāś  
rakēn·sahinaniṭavruṇya, makasadanāpratyaksajuga, lim̐ś — — — nya, tuhu ikāsam̐hyam̐parāmārtātanpavak, tanpavar̐na, āpan·  
tayasira, āpabyaktānyantayāsirasam̐hyam̐parāmārtā, āpantayasan̐kantaṇuni, mityav̐kitaḥlēm̐, tayātaḥparanta, yatamatam̐nya#

[3r]

n·yāparāmārtā, tayāpvasam̐hyam̐parāmārtā, yatamatam̐nyantan·\_ (ā)\_ā ikam̐hulahlakabeh, āpan·yatayāta ikihavak,  
ikām̐nagavehayuṇaranya, hadō ikā, syapatumo(n) — — — {pala}{n}im̐gavehayu, syapasān̐kem̐svārgga, syapapratyaksavruhim̐ś  
kahyam̐nan, mañkanalim̐nya, tapvan·pratyaksāvruṇyariṃś — — — {kahya}ñan-, mvaṃsan̐kesvar̐gga, yāmatam̐nyanādva ikākabeh, maś  
ñkanatām̐magavehalasināṅguh̐pāpha, syapasān̐kenārakā, (s)\_ (byakt)āvruṇnyarim̐mahārava, matam̐nyan·pāpphan̐vam̐magaveha

[3v]

3 la, tapvanhanapratyaksāvruṇnyariyāmāni, yatamatam̐nyan·sa\_ {(m)anak}arikitahulahanta, āpan·yāyahulihantarisan̐hyam̐ta  
(y)ā, mañkanalim̐nya, yatamatam̐nyantan·pavātēsikāhuś — — — {lah̐nya}, arokmajmur, ikam̐halahayu iriyā, lavanhidēpn̐ya, i  
kañambh̐k-maṇkana, yatam̐ityajñānāṇaranya, mañkanalim̐bhaṭā — — — {ra, sum}ahursan̐kumāra, takarintuhupaksan̐ikāmaṇkana, sajñābhaṭāra, ma  
ñkanalisan̐kumāra, sumahubhaṭāra, yatamatam̐nyan·mityajñānaḥ\_ \_ (a)m̐bh̐k-maṇkana, āpanādva ikā, byaktānyanādva ikā, tuvinta

[4r]

nhana ikām̐rātkaḥl̐, yantayantakasam̐hyam̐parāmārtā, mnam̐tātanahuripākitakabeh, yantayāsam̐hyam̐parāmārtā, katoś  
n·pvekim̐huripta, mvaṃghananikam̐rātkaḥl̐, yātaṇav̐r(u) — — — hanantaritēntayāsam̐hyam̐parāmārtā, nihan·sahursām̐ityajñāna  
, kadisah̐yam̐parāmārtatāḥpinakahurip̐nim̐rātkaḥl̐, āpa — — — n·dudu ikam̐huripavakānya, yankvalim̐ñasampāra, apamatam̐nyanpa  
ramartāpanaṅguh̐ isirayatakariḥ, yan·lenasan̐ke<sup>c</sup>tanā, āpan·cetanāpvam̐ulanim̐kam̐hurip·anhana, ikam̐ceta

2v.3 sahian ] I interpret this as the only instance where the *i* vocalization is rendered by two short strokes, here inserted above *ha* (this usage is found in other West Javanese Nipahs, e.g. the *Siksa Guru*, PNRI 628). Alternatively, the sign represents indeed a sign = indicating that an *i* vocalization had to be inserted but was then forgotten. 3r.1 \_ \_ (ā)\_ā ] lacuna allowing space for three consonant signs; the traces of ink visible at the upper edge of the lacuna suggest the sequence *sanāyā* 3r.2 svārgga ] traces of a *repha* above the cluster *svā*, deliberately scratched away 3r.4 (s)\_ ] lacuna allowing space for one or two *akṣaras* 3v.4 na\_ \_ \_ (a)m̐bh̐k ] lacuna with space for 2 or 3 *akṣaras*; the traces visible at the bottom edge permit the reading *raṇya a* given by E 4r.2 paṇav̐r(u) — — — hananta ] the shape of the *u* vocalization is inferred from a trace of ink on the edge of a small lacuna





[4v]

nānaranya, tanpalakṣaṇā ikā, tanpabhati, tuh(u)n-ma{(bo)tanā}kaso\_nyasaṅkemparāmārtā, lāvantan-sarvvajñā, ikātaṃ  
cetanāmaṇkana, yatekāmaṇhanakēnhurip-, tan-le—na ikāyanlenasaṅkēparāmārtā, lāvannihanpatakvanāṅkvanāpāraṣ  
, ikamparamārtālimta, anpakalakṣaṇatayā, cetanā—tan-pacetanakunaṇ, karisira, sumahur<sup>m</sup>para, vāhyaṇaranikātaḥ, yan-cetanāsaṃhyaṃ  
parāmārtā, tayāpisaninūjugasira, aḥiis-tanaveyāve, yātasanaṅguḥsunyaṇaranya, yātaśnaṅguḥniskalaṇaranyalisampaṣ

4

[5r]

ramaṇkana, ndatadeśanikamitayāmaṇkana, kapan-tikimratkabeḥtkatanhana, sumahursampāra, hilaṃtkekimrat-dlāha, apan-tay  
āsaṅkanyaṇuni, apadumehikarat-hanavkasan-hanajuga—tanpakanimitta, hanahanatanpakampūrbvākamṅuṇaveḥ, maṇkanaya  
nhilaṃtanhanahamilaṇnakēn-ya, maṇkanaliṃsampāra, tama—tandadivastutanpacetanā, gumaveyāvaknyahanalāvantaṇyā,  
kadyaṅgāṇimkaṃlmaḥ, tandadi ikamṅumaveyāvaknya, saṃ apagumavehananyamvaṃhilaṃnya, yāṅkvaliṃṇasampāra, bhaṭārasaṃhyamparāmārt

[5v]

ānarairaliṃmami, si<sup>ra</sup>vnaṃmaṃhilaṇakēn-maṃhanakēn, apansiraprabhu, vna(m)makeccā ikamratkabeḥ, siravicitran-tmēn, vnaṃmaṃhilaṃ  
ṇakēnpāpalāvanlāra, nāhankadibyan-bhaṭāraṇabhaktyan—, sumahursampāra, hanakapvasaṃhyamparāmārtālimta, hanasira, ndā  
tanpalakṣaṇā, tanpavak, tan-katon, tan-kaga—mēl, tan-vnaṃ ināṇaṇēn, yāsinaṅguḥsuksmaṇaranya, sumahursam  
pāra, abyavahāṇakovuvusta, sumahursampārāmārtāsakamakāma, tapitapilakṣaṇā, yan-kvāliṃṇasampāra, katon-ta

5

[6r]

ḥsahyamparāmārtā, ndānkaryyanirayakaton-, ndyagavenira, nyantiryyak-lāvanikim aṇḍabhuvāṇa, ṭlaskaruhun-janmamānusa, ṣ  
yekigavenira, sumahursampāra, apāpramāṇāntasumiddakē—nikopakṣanta, āpatan-pratyakṣākaton-bhaṭāra, gumave  
ikim aṇḍabhuvāṇa, mvaṃtiryyak-lāvan-janmamānusa, ya—nkvāliṃṇasampāra, nihaṇ-śaktibhaṭāraṇhanekita, ndyatayanihan-  
, yadumehkitavruhimheyopadeya, ikimṣaṃdumehkitamanhiḍep-, sukaduḥkariśarira, yatekājñāśaktibhaṭāraṇaṣ

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**4v.1** tuh(u)n- ] faint trace of an *u* vocalization under *h*    **4v.1** ma{(bo)tanā}kaso\_nya ] upper half (up to *kaso*) illegible because of a lacuna    **4v.3** sa<sup>m</sup>para ] It appears that the sign = above the *sa* indicates that the (very small) *anusvāra* appearing below it, though originally belonging to the word *kunam* in the sentence inserted after the preceding sign =, is to be read again with *sa*    **4v.4** ṇaṅguḥ ] this may also be interpreted as an attempt to delete the cluster *śi* by adding *u* vocalization to it    **5v.1** vna(m) ] *m* is legible with difficulty for a small piece of the leaf is missing    **6r.1** lāvanikim ] trace of *u* vocalization cancelled under *va*



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[6v]

ranya, cetanāmayādumehnikamratmahuripakabehṛasētarihātinta, hanakarisira, tayātarisira, saṅgultayāvruhlū  
 maknaṇesira, yātikameḥṇaranya, niḥan-sahursamp—āra, kaḍisaktibhātāracetana, āpan-papupulniṁśarira ikāmaga  
 vehidēp\*, yatasinaṅguḥcetanāṇaranya, yanmaṅkanaṣ—liṁṇasapāra, mapvekaṁvvaṁmatimaṇipihanasariranyatan-vikara,  
 apekātanpanetanā, mavāśanaṁ avukajuga, nahan-byaktāṇikaṁmityajjānākusamkumāra, kevalāsalaḥpvekamiṣ

6

[7r]

tyajjānāsajjābhātāra, apā<sup>du</sup> meḥ ikāmaṅkana, kasihanavarahēn-rānak-bhātāra, maṅkanalisamkumāra, sumahursamhyam, niḥan  
 ·prastātāṇikāmatamnyanmakana, jñānabhātārakāla ik—ā, saṁpinakāvak-bhātārayan-pāmrālāyākēn-rat\*, naha  
~~ṇṇṇṇṇṇ~~mulanikāṁmityajjānā, yāpvanhanavikumaṅka—najiṇānanyadlāha, yekāpaṇavruhanantatkāmahapralāyā, ma  
 ṇkanalimbhātāra, sumahursamkumāra, apataddapayaniṁjjanmayanmaṅkana, yatanyantankavavarimṁmityajjānāsajjābhātāra, kasihanava

[7v]

rahēn-rānakbhātāra, maṅkanālīmsamkumara, sumahurbhātāra, niḥan<sup>de</sup> yānijanmayenmahyun-samyajjāna, tlukeḥṇya, pratyaksāpraṣ  
 māna, anumāṇāpramāṇā, agamapramāṇa, nāhansampṛa—manātlunāranya, pratyaksāpramaṇāṇaranya, ikāṁvastutanpara  
 kva, yekāpratyaksapramāṇāṇaranya, anumānapramāṇa—ranya, hanavastutan·katon\*, ndanpiddahēdēpninvaṇiraya, apanha  
 nacihnapaṇavruhiraya, nāhanpadanya, kadyaṅgāṇiṁdēsarisabram, dadihidēp-nimṁvvaṁṇiṁhananya, apanhanakaton-ikāvvaṁduduru

7

[8r]

panyakadyaṅgāṇibrahmaṇālāvan-pujut-nambhi, parasi, yatikātinonta, atavāhanaktavastukan·katon\*, ridesa  
 rinusakahananya, kadyaṅgāṇiṁmanik\*, kasturi, kupuku—naṁ, yekābyaktānyanhananuśarisabram, ikātajjānāhumidēṣ  
 p·hananikā, yekānumānapramāṇa, agamapramāṇa—ṇaranya, vara<sup>h</sup>varaḥnimṁvvaṁsaṅkedesāntara, ndānyanpacihna ikā, y  
 āpvantanpacihna adva ikā, yapvanhanacihna, yatasinaṅguḥ agamapramāṇāṇaranya, nāhanyanpramāṇatluṇaranya, yatānyantan·

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7r.1 kasihana ] the first of the only three instances (cf. 28r for the other one) where the *s* is written without its central stroke; a variant fairly widespread in other manuscripts written in this kind of script (cf. HOLLE's  
 Tabel p. 17) 7v.1 niḥan<sup>de</sup>ya ] insertion unmarked

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[8v]

kasāsārijāna, tinutsamviku, samśinamguḥpaṇḍita, tatan-vruhulun-rilakṣananira, matanyanmamkanahulun-apan-bhaṭāra  
 8 parāmartarakvāpinakahirupnīratkabeḥ, lāvansampanḍita —, apamataṃnyantan-vavaṃsamptmājariḥbhaṭāra, mañkanalisamkumāra, suma  
 hurbhaṭāra, ha<sup>na</sup>ktahmañaranya, anuṃrumakṣatriatmā, yate — katan-vavaṃhilaṃ, apānivəṃ ivəṃnikāṃcittalāvanatmā, yateṣ  
 kātguḥsumaputarisarvvajñānīnātma, yāpvanhilaṃnīkā, niyatasamyoḡisvaran-satmājariḥbhaṭāra, mañkanalimḥbhaṭāra, sumahursamḥpā

[9r]

kumāra, aparānikusinaṃguḥ atmañaranya, nditasanikanikāṃmala, kasihanahulun-varahən-mañkanalisamkumāra, niḥanpava  
 rahamkvārikita, ikāṃsinanḡuḥ atmāñaranya, bhaṭārasamḥyaṃ — parāmartā, sirasinaṃguḥśivaparamesaśvara, siratakaharan-naṣ  
 ditya, padāniralāvannaditya, ikānaṃcetanā, yakā — harantejanirayaraditya, luṇhāpvatejaśamḥyaṃ aditya, lumrari  
 daśadesa, mañkanatekāṃcetanā, apansavibhuḥbhaṭārahumibkəṃrātkabeḥ, hanatamayātatvañaranya, suksmāpadālītnyaṣ

[9v]

lavan-śivatatva, ṇḍānacetanākasornyasankemśivatatva, deśanya isoṣṣa<sup>ke</sup>ṃśivatatva, yekatambhaynimamuvus-  
 tatvamaganal, isornikā, hanatakalatatvañara — nya, isornikāṃkalatatva, hanataragatatva, isorniragata  
 tva, hanatavidyatva, isornividyatva, hanata i — svernīṃpradanatva, isornīṃpradanatva, hanatatrīgūnata  
 tva, hisornīṃtrīgūnatva, hanatabuddhitva, isornibuddhitva, hanatahiṃkeratatva, isornīṃ aḥṇkoratatva, ṣ

[10r]

hanatamanaḥtatva, isornīmanaḥtatva, hanatadasend(r)iyātatva, isornīṃdasendriyātatva, hanatapañcatanmatrata  
 tva, isornīṃpañcatanmatratatva, hanata ākā<sup>sa</sup>ta(tva) —, isornīṃ akasātatva, hanatabayūtatva, isornibāyu  
 tatva, hanatatejatva, isornīṃtejatva, ha — na<sup>ta</sup> āpyatatva, isornīṃ apyatatva, hanataprativitatva, ye  
 kavkasniṃmamuvus-tatva, maganal, ikatakabailḥ, yabinyapakān-samḥyaṃ atmā, astābhaṭāraparamakāraṇa, yamatanyan-ṣ

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**8v.4** **ḥā** ] here the scribe started to write *pāra* but then shifted to *kumāra* on the next folio; I interpret the insertion of *u* vocalization as intended to cancel the ligature *pā* (normally one would expect a cancellation to be effected by combining an *u* vocalization with an *i* vocalization, but the *ā* vocalization leaves no space for the latter sign) **10r.1** dasend(r)iyā ] the *r* of the cluster *ndri* is only partly visible because of damage at the binding hole **10r.2** ākā<sup>sa</sup>a(tva) ] *tva* only partially readable because of damage at the binding hole



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[10v]

vibhuṣaktibhātāraṇehndan-lakṣaṇanikaṃsaṃhyaṃnātma, an-byapaka irikaṃtatvasamanikana, uttaprokta<sup>utta</sup>·naranya, kadyaṅgāṇimmiṣ  
 ñāk-hanep̄hāna, maṅkanalakṣaṇasaṃhyaṃ atmā an-bya—paka irikaṃtatva<sup>ka</sup>·beh, proktanaranya, kadyaṅgāṇim̐tūṇim̐manik  
 ·maṃ ekādeṣa, maṅkanalvir̐nikam̐ atmā anhanep̄ratkabaḥ, i—kaṃ atmaṃproktayatekācaritaṇānaku, prayatnātakitāruma  
 ṇavarah̄varaḥku, ikāṃ atmātātva, sarvvajāśarvvakayārka(r)tt(ā) pinakaṣaktinikā, vibhuḥpvyarīkāmayātātva, hilaṃtaṣaktinikam̐

[11r]

atmavkasan-, marisarvvajāñā, marisarvvakāryyakāttā, apan·mālāsvarbhavanīkāṃmāya, rumaket·pvekāṃmalārinātma, yatamatam̐  
 nyan·mapugum̐svabhāvanya, tuḥun·cetanāmātrājuga(ya)—, vibhuḥpvyarīkāṃkalatātva, mapalenantāyalavan·bavanya, ka  
 dyaṅganim̐yānakniṃtāvvan·anhanarīṃsalyaṃ, maṅkanatekāñ—ātmā anpapalenan·saṅkembavamaṇya, makasarīra ikāṃkalatātva  
 , byapakapvyarīṃkāragātātva, mahyuntayamañ<sup>ṇ</sup>tannā, byapakapvyarīkāṃvidyātātva, manontayaviṣayaṃvkan-, apanīkāṃvi

[11v]

dyatatvapinakasuluh̄nya, yamatam̐nyanpanonviṣaya, ndyavisayatinonya, yekāpradānatātva, lakṣaṇanīkaṃpradanāta  
 tva, p̄tam̐tanpacetanālupapinakajatinya, yatekāpī—napaṅguḥhakən·debhātāra, cetanānaranya, tutur, pradānānaraṣ  
 nya, lupa·tuturmatəm̐lāvan·lupa, yatekāmaṇhana—kən·triḡuna, satvarājātamaḥ, lakṣaṇanīsatva, prajñāmahana  
 n-, lakṣaṇanīmrājah, adras·molah, lakṣaṇanīmtamaḥ, abyətapugum̐kahanān·lvir̐nitrigunatatva, saṅkāritrigunamtu

[12r]

tāmbuddi, lakṣaṇanya, ndabhāyadārsanānaranya, tanpacetanā ikāmbuddi, ndan·kāmacetanāya, kāmacetanānaranya,  
 tan·vruḥ ikāmbuddi, ndankadivruya, tanpahidəp·ikambu—ddi, ndankadimam̐hidəp·ya, apan·mtusaṅketatvarvatatvārvaṇaranya, aṣ  
 tmālāvan·pradāna, saṅkebuddim̐tutahəñkāra, lakṣaṇanya—lāvanmaṇaku, ndan·lakṣaṇanīhəñkāraya, ṇaranyatlu, sivekraṣ  
 tā, sitejaṣa, sibhutāde, ikāṃmahəñkārasivekratā, yatekāsatvasvarbhavanya, ikāṃmahəñkārasibhutādītamahsvabhavanya

**10v** 0\* ] Instead of the expected 10, only a 0 has been written here (by mistake?) **10v.4** sarvvakayārka(r)tt(ā) ] because of damage below the binding hole, only the left tip of the third *repha* is visible, and the brace of the *ā* is only partly visible above the cluster *tt* **11r.2** (ya)–, ] only the first half of the *aṣṣara* is visible **11r.2** bavanya ] the *ba* is written in a way that seems middling between normal *ba* and normal *o* **11r.3** bavam̐ya ] the *ba* is written in a way that seems middling between normal *ba* and normal *o* **11r.4** byapakapvyarīṃkāragā ] the cluster *bya* is written in a slightly unusual manner, and this fact is probably connected with the unusual shape of *ba* twice elsewhere on this folio **11r.4** manontaya ] faint traces of a cancelled *virāma* are visible behind *ya* (this can be seen only in the original) **12r.1** „ ] a double *pada* *linga* fills the extra space at the end of the line



[12v]

, nāhan-lakṣaṇaniñāhēnkāra, anmijīsaṃnikobuddi, tluṣṭrakāraṇya, ikāṃ ahēnkārasivekratā, yekāsaṅkaniṃmanahmtul  
 āvan-daṣondrayā, dāṣondrayāṇaranya, śrota, tvak—, caksuḥ, jīhvā, ghraṇa, vak, pāṇi, payu, upasta, padānāha  
 n-kveḥnirinindriyāsupuluḥ, savkas-lāvanamanah, la—kṣaṇaṇiṃmanahmamikalpa, sumahusaṃkumāra, takarintuṅgal-i  
 kammanahlāvan-buddilāvan-hēnkāra, saññābhātāra, sumahurbhātāra, dudu ikā, āpan-lakṣaṇanyatanpada, byaktānyantanpa

12

[13r]

da, yan-kvalinanta, nihanikāmbuddi adyavasayalakṣaṇanya, andyavasayaṇaranya, vruḥni<sup>ṇā</sup>halalāvanāhayu, lāvanniscayata  
 ya, ikāñāhēnkārayekāmagavehurip-, lāvan—prayatnāmañakujñānanya, kunaṃ ikaṃmanahmamikalpagavenya  
 , lipnya, kapaṇakumnapapaṅguhalalāvanakahyunku, mvaṃsyapama—paṅguḥhaknāku, apakaraṇaṅkvākunaṃ, ndideṣakapaṅguhanamkvā, n  
 āhan-lakṣaṇaṇiṃkāmanah anpamikalpa, lāvan-umahastayāriṃdsadesa, nāhanpapalenānimanahsakeṇ ahēmkāra

[13v]

lāvanbhuddi, ikāṃtakatlu, yatekācīnetanāsaṃhyamñāt mā, anēhērpīnakasadanpanpanpagrahitāvisaya, ikāṃsro  
 tendrayā, ayaḥanemṭaliṇa, ikāṃtvakindrayā, yaha—nemkultit, ikāṃcaksuḥ indriya, yaḥanemṭata, ikāṃjijhva  
 ndriyāyaḥanem ilat-, ikāṃghraṇemndriyāyaḥanem—hiruṃ, nāhanthampañcabuddindriyāṇaranya, ridenyanpakasahayabu  
 ddinpanpagrahit- vāstuvisaya, pañcakāmendriyāṇaranya, ikāṃvaki, ḥndriyāyaḥanemṭutuk-, ikāṃpahēndriyāyaḥanemṭaṇa

13

[14r]

n-, ikāṃpadendriyāyaḥanemṭsuku, ikāṃpāhvindriyāyaḥanemṭt, ikāṃ upāstendriyāyaḥanemṭbhagapurusa, nāha  
 ntampañcakāmendriyāṇaranya, matamnyan-kammenndriyā—ṇaranya, āpan-makapurvā<sup>ve</sup>kāmmenimittaniṃ atmānpamgrahit-vi  
 saya ikā, ikākatakabeḥ, yatan-dāsendriy—ānaranya, tumambhēhpvekāṃ ahēnkāralāvan-manah, yatasinaṅguḥ  
 trayodāśakaranaharanya, yatasadānanimñātmanpanpagrahit-visaya ikā, kāryyanikāñāhēnkārasivekratā ikāka

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12v,2 caksuḥ ] traces of a sign, probably an *i* vocalization, deliberately scratched away above the *akṣara* ca      14r.2 pañcakāmendriyā ] the *i* vocalization of *endriyā* is represented by the small loop at the end of the subscript *r*



3. 8. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

[14v]

beḥ, huvus-ikāta, niḥantaḡavenikā ahōnikārasibutādi, hanapañcatanmatrānaranya, sabdatanmatra, sparsatanmatra, ru  
 14 patanmatra, rāsatanmatra, gandatanmātrā, nahanthampañcata—nmatrānaranya, amijilsaṅke ahōnikārasibhutadi, ikānāhōnikāra  
 siteja, yekātumulusivēkratālāvan·sibhuṣ—tāda, anpagavekariya, niḥanlakṣananikaṣabdatanmātrā, tutu  
 pīṭalināntā, hanemkāṣabdakarṇā, yātekāṣabdatanmatrānaranya, sparsatanmatrānaranya, hanābāyumadras·kahidō

[15r]

p·denta, huvus·pvekāmbāyumirirākahidēp·tatitsnyarikulit, yātekāsparsatanmatrānaranya, niḥantamrupatanma  
 traṇaranya, ṣampunsumurup·saṃhyaṃ aditya, hanateja—nirakavkasāturu, yātekārūpatanmatrānaranya, rasātanmatra  
 , ṇa, kādyāṅgāninvaṃmamaṇan·rāsamanismapahit, hu—vuspvyāhīntā, hanatarāsanyakavkas·riṃtutuk, yatek  
 ārāsatanmatrānaranya, niḥanthamgandanmatrānaranya, kādyāṅgānimḥasēpcandanā, agarūkunaṃ, huvus·luṇhākukusya, kavkastham

[15v]

gandariya, yatekāgandanmatrānaranya, nahantampañcatanmatrānaranya, saṅkepañcatanmatra, mtutapañcamahabuta  
 15 , niḥan·kramanya, ikāṣabdatanmatrāpamtvākən·k—āṣa, guṇanyaṣabda, lakṣaṇanyamagave ugvan, sakemspa  
 rṣatanmatra, mtutābāyu, lakṣaṇanyamañulahakən—, guṇanyasparṣa, sakemrupātanmatra, mtutāṇteja, lakṣana  
 nyaprakāṣapanas, guṇanyarupa, sakemrāsatanmatrā, mtutam apah, lakṣaṇanyamlaṣ, guṇanyarāṣa, namāprakāra

[16r]

niṃrāṣanmis, apāhit, apadōs, aspēt, aḥisəm, yekāṣadrāsānaranya, saṅkegandanmatrā,  
 mtutāṃprativī, lakṣaṇanya, maganal·makaya, gu—nanyaganda, nahanlakṣananikāmpañcamahabutākavruhanā, ku  
 naṃ ikāmarāṅkəpana ikām·vaneḥ, apāni ikāṃsorāvākabyapaka—n·denikomñiruhur, ikānākasamvaṃgvaruhur, tumutta  
 nāyāmatamnyan, rvaguṇanya, sabda, sparṣa, ikābāyumvaṃ akāṣabyapakarimṇteja, matamnyan·tluguṇaniṇteja, sabda, sparṣa, ru

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**15r.2** kavkasāturu ] the *ā* seems to have been previously written as a *virāma*, whose bottom-right loop has been scratched away **15v.4** guṇanyarāṣa ] the *ṣa* has been obtained by closing with a stroke the bottom part of a *sa*, as can be inferred from its wider than usual shape and from the serif in the bottom-left **16r.4** nāyāmatamnyan· ] the *anusvāra* above the *yā* must be read as if attached to the *ta* added just below (this might have happened due to lack of space **16r.4** bāyu ] a stroke below the *bā* has been scratched away (if not, the *akṣara* would have been *i* **16r.4** matamnyan· ] here two attempts at writing *anusvāra* are found in immediate succession, the first one seemingly abandoned because it was too close to an *u* vocalization in the line above



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[16v]

pa, ikāṃtejalāvan·bhayū akāṣa, byapakariniāpah, matamnyanpat·gunanīm apah, śabda, sparsa, rūpa, rāṣa, ikāṃtam āpah, the  
 16 ja, bhāyū, ākāṣa, byapakarimprativī, matamnyan·limaś—guṇanīmprativī, śabda, sparsa, rūpa, rāṣa, gāṇḍa, nāhan·lakṣaṇānimk  
 ānpavorguṇa ikāṃpañcamahābhuta, yataginavebha—īrābhuvāṇa, āgēṇākasāmiṇḍuhur, yatasinaṅguḥ āṇḍabhuvāṇa  
 nāranya, devamānuṣatiryak, nāhanpinakesiniṇāṇḍabhuvāṇa, ikāṃ iruhursatyalokā, ikāṃnisor, yakāś

[17r]

mahālvēkā, isornim·mahālokā, tapvālvēkā, isornim·tapaulvakā, janalvāka, isvarnim·janalvēkā, svahlve  
 ka, isornim·svahlloka, bhuvahlloka, isornim·bhu—vahlveka, yekitahanantānaku, riṃbhuhloka, nāranyikā,  
 saptādv(i)pa, saptāvarṇava, isornim·bhuhlvāka, yatek—āsaptapatalanaranya, patuṅgal·tuṅgal·niṇaranyanāhan·pa  
 navruhana, āpātāla, āpātāla, netāla, nitāla, gabhastitāla, vāratāla, rāṣatāla, nahan·pa

[17v]

tin(k)ah·nikāmpātala, isornikā, yekāmāhānāraka, kvehnikāyekatpuluḥrvapatapnya, mahārorava, isor  
 17 niṃmahānāraka, yekitimirāgarndama, tan·vāptamkatuś—nanteja, isornikāṃtēmiragarddama, yatēṅvan·saṃhyamkāś  
 larudrāgni, āpvaḍumilāḥśadākala, isornikāṃkuli—tnim āṇḍabhuvāṇa, kumaluṃ isor iruhur iriṇan, isornim  
 kulitnim āṇḍabhuvāṇa, yatūṅvan·saṃhyamsatarudrākumulim ikem āṇḍabhuvāṇa, ikemkahanantayātāpatimbhuniani

[18r]

tatvakabeh, ndan·lakṣananim·kāmtatvahananke, kapva umyāpakerikāmtatvamaganāl·saṅkemriya, nihan·kramaś  
 nya, bhatāramahulun, byapakarikaṃ atmā, iṣkāṃnātm—ābyapakarimaya, ikāṃmayābyapakaripradāna, ikāṃpradā  
 nabyapakarimbudditatva, ikāṃbhudditatva, byapakariṇa—hōṇkāra, ikāṃ ahōṇkāra, byapakarimanah, ikāṃmanah, byaś  
 pakarim·dasendriyā, ikāṃdāsendriyābyapakarim·pañcatanmatrā, ikāṃpañcatanmatra, byapakaripañcamahābhuta, na

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17r.1 tapaulvakā] the reading *au* is uncertain, as the *ā* could perhaps be interpreted as a mistake, in which case read *tapol[ā]lvakā* 17r.2 yeki] this could be also read *yekā* 17r.3 saptādv(i)pa] *e* vocalization faded away but still discernible 17r.4 rāṣatāla] the *ṣa* has been obtained by closing with a stroke the bottom part of a *sa*, as can be inferred from its woder than usual shape and from the serif in the bottom-left 17v.3 ruhur] traces of cancelled *akṣaras* above the sequence 17v.4 patimbhunā] trace of an *i* vocalization scratched away above *na* 18r.2 iṣkāṃnātm—] a subscript *y* appears to have been scratched away between the *akṣara i* and the cluster *kāṇi*



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[illegible][illegible][illegible]

[18v]

han·lvirnya, yatamatamnyanpinakapatimbhunānīmtatvakabēḥ, ikāmbhulohakahanāntamanīke, huvusmankana, inētīnētmu  
 18 lanīpcarita, prastāvānikamcetanāsampara, dumēṣam\$—yogiṣvaratanvaṃṣiddi, ikāṃ atmajñek-mañetanā, makanimi  
 ttāmala, yādumehyatan-vruharijātīnya, mahyun-\$—pvabhaṭāravraharijātīnira, yamatamnyan-vehyamavaka, huvusnya  
 nmavak-, mabedatayarva, lakilakilāvanānakbhi, yatekāmamuktisadrāṣa, sadrāṣānaranya, amanis-, āpahit-,

[19r]

aṣapāt, ahasin-, ahāsam-, hapadēṣ-, yekāṣadrāṣānaranya, yatapīnananya ininumnya, matmahan-sukrarimnana  
 k-lakī, sonitānīnanakbhi, ikāṃtaṃsutraṣoni—tāpīnapāṅguhakēnīralāvanīkāṃkama, ikāṃsutrasonit  
 āhanarigarbhāṣa, yatamavija, yanākveḥhikāṃsu\$—trasaṅkemsonita, yekādādilanām, yapvanākvēḥ ikāṃ  
 sonitāsaṅkemsutra, yekādādivadvan-, yapvan-padakveḥnya, yatādādikdi, valavadi, ikāṃsutravadaditahulan-, otva

[19v]

tsumsum-, ikāṃso<sup>ni</sup>tāyadadirahḍagimpuhun-vulu, yasināṅguṣsaṅkemṇānaranya, salvinimmakasutrasonitāya, ma  
 19 nīkanalvinījanma, yan-devatā, yanmānuṣa, yanpāsu, ya—npākṣi, sarisrapa, sthāvara, mankānāṭaḥṭitaḥnyankatonmamañun  
 ·sarira, ikāṃṣābdatanmatrāyadaditalīna, ikāṃṣparsata—nmatra, yakadadikuliṭ, ikāṃrupatanmatrayatadadimatā,  
 ikāṃrasatanmatra, yekādadi ilat-, ikāṃgandatanmatrayadadi irum, yatekāpānaka ugvānīnīndriyā, sumahursamkuma\$

[20r]

rā, tan-karinikāṃgolakasinaṅguḥ indriyāsājñābhaṭāra, mankanalīsamkumāra, sumahurzbhaṭāra, dudutekamgolakasaṅkem  
 nīndriyā, aganāl-ikāṃgolakā, ikāṃ indriyāsu—ksma ika, nahan-lakṣaṇānyandudu, tahapiṭtuṅgal-ikā i  
 ndrāyālāvān-golaka, yankānalinantha, maṣekammatu—rutanpamgrahit-visavā apanhanamātanyatanpanon-, ha  
 natalīnanyatanpanīṇa, mataṇanmasukumaterum, yamatamnyansavayariṃsuksmā, apanīkammanahyatīnutnīm indriya, naha

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19v,1 so<sup>ni</sup>tā ] from the position of the *n* and the *i* vocalization, respectively below and above the *ā* that is part of the cluster *so*, is clear that the resulting cluster *nī* counts as an (unmarked) addition to *soṭā* 19v,2  
 pākṣi ] the *ṣ* in *kṣ*, normally a special ligature, is here written in a different way, more similar to its *akṣara* form



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[illegible][illegible]

[20v]

n-byaktānyandudu ikaṃ indriyāsaṅkegolaka, sumahursamkumarā, apadumehikāṃmaturumataguhurip-npasajñābhaṭā  
ra, apanhilamṭiturnya, kevalalupajugsavabhāvanimtu —ru, maṅkanalipsamkumarā, sumahurbhaṭāra, ikampañcaḥāyuyek  
ānūpinakāhurip, apan-ya ikamamānunsarira, niha —n-kramanya, hananāpiaranya, otvatniṣarira, hanahagomḥanadmā  
t, buṅkahlubnyarihōvāhōvāhhan-, minduhurtkaripusor, mapātayamaremsuku, hanamareṃvalakamḥanamareṃtaminan-, hanaṣ

 $[21r]$ 

mīṇḍuhurmarenḡurumūñān-tluprakārani(m)gurunḡurumūñān, yekādalaniskul, pingāla ikam̐ ikiva  
n-yekahavān-nivvaṃ, suṣumṇo ikam̐ itihab, yekāha——vāñibayu, nāhan-lakṣaṇāmikanapinakagurunḡurumūñān, han  
ātāpaṃyavaneḥmīṇḍuhur'karimata, lāvantiptaliṇa, ikam̐——dudugāteruhurmiṇḍuhur, yetātkarivuvunān, yasinaṅguhśiṣ  
vadvarānaranya, yekātumulu'y-tekemḡegorivalakam̐, ikām̐nādōmalitākabeh, yekāmamnubhēmkuḷit-manuvubhakēn-

[21v]

21 vulu, nāhan-lviriṇikānabiriṃṣarira, ikamtamṇabikabeh, yekāpinakoṅgvānipaṇcabāyunaṇanya, ridadinyan-limaga  
venya, (ma)taṇṇyan-limakvehnibāyu, nihan-nāṇanya, ——praṇā, apāṇā, samāṇa, udāna, byana, matamṇyan-udegi i  
kampaṇcabāyukabehprayatnaruməḡəp-gavenya, mvaṇṣ—pinakosvaṣəgavenyavaneh, uṅvānikaridadā, rihirumhiṇaṣ  
nya iruhurn, ikambāyusiṇyāpāna, yekamumgurisilit, ripusərhiṇanyavaneh, iruhurn, humisortkemsuku

[22r]

, gavenya asorākēnpīnān, matmahantahi, ika(m) ininum-matmahannēyēh, nīhangavenikambāyusiypāna, nī hangavenikambāyusišamana, yekahanarihati, ga—venya umaša irikāmpīnāninum, risarvvasandikabeh, sari nikāmpīnān-vinehnyamātmaṇāhampru, sarinikāṃ—ininum, yavinenyamatmahānarah, sarinikāṃ inambhumvineh nyamatmahānārhak, nāhangavenikambāyusišamāna, nihaṇ-gavenyakambāyusi udāna, sakvehnibypāramiṇdu

**21v.4** *pusərhiṇiṇaṇya*] the *repha* of *pusar* has been written at the top between the ligatures *sə* and *hi* (rather than above the former) because of lack of space



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[22v]

hur, miṇḍapākən-mātalāvananlupīṇnag-gavenya, ikaṃbāyusiḃyanā, yekamuṇḡvāmsarvvasandikabaiḥ, gavenyayeṢ  
 22 kāmavamahātuha, lāvanmaḥhilamīnakən-hinakāmbhək—, nahan-bedanigavenibāyu, yamatanyanpañcabhāyupaṢ  
 naṇḡuḥsaṃpandita, hanatapratyaḥḥanyavaneḥṇaranya, nag—ā, kummara, kraktāra, devadattha, danañjaya, ikaṃbāyusinagā  
 hekamatyēb-, sikummarā, yekamaṃgavektəg-ktəg-ri avakkabēḥ, sikraktarayekamaṃgavevahir-, sidevada

[23r]

ttayekamaṇvab-, sidanañjayayekamaṣabda, lāvantān-hilam ikaṣaṃkemṣarira, yan-tkaṃpāti, yekamaṇheriva  
 ṇkay-, nahanlakṣaṇānikaṃbhayū anpīnakahurip-, ya—dumeḥ ikaṃmaturutanmāti, apanikaṃbhāyutomolaḥci  
 netanāninātma, yapvan-māri ikaṃ atmācumetanem—ya, ikaṃbhāyuyānmaṃkanā, yasināṇḡuḥmātiṇaranya, len-sa  
 ṇkemṛika, ikāṇaphikahanānikaṃbhāyukunaṃvikārā, mati atahṇaranya, kadyaṇḡāṇimpinrāṃrinacun-, atavātibranimlāra

[23v]

kunaṃ, nimittanināphivikāra, yanimittanimpātivaneḥ, sumahursamkumāra, apadumehniṃ ṇmārinu<sup>me</sup>tanerikaṃbāyusajñābhaṭā  
 23 ra, lāvanāpadumehniṃkalaratka, sumahurḥbhaṭāra, niḥan-Ṣ—prastāvānikaṃ atma anmāricumetanekabhāyu, hanādarṃmādarṃmaṇa  
 ranya, darṃmaṇarānikaṃgavehayū, adarṃmaṇarānikaṃgavehal—ā ikaṃtaṃdarṃmadarṃma, yatekaṃginaveniṃjanma, yatekāmapāla,  
 yanāḡəṃgavenyahalaṣaṇkeṃgavehayū, yanimittanyanpaṇhīdeplāra, yapvan-agəṃ ikaṃ agavehayusaṇkegavehala, ya

[24r]

nimittanyanpagavesuka, yapvan-padāgavenyahalamvamaḥhayū, yahetunikamsukādukāṇkapaṇḡiḥdeniṃjanma, sdaṃpvayāmamukti  
 kārṃmapala, sumambhitayamaṇḡun-karṃmapalamuvaḥ apan—gavehayusatartālvinikāṃkārṃmapala, hanatakarṃmamnegina  
 vesadananya, mnekabhuktīpalanya, hanatakarṃmapalama—ṇkeginavesadānanya, hlam-rījanmasovahyanabhuktīpalanya, ā  
 pabyaktinyanihan-, kadyaṇḡāṇimmaṣavaḥ vadvā, masāmbhevāra, pāripalanimmaṣavaḥ, dmak-palanivadvā, tvas-pa<sup>la</sup>nisāmbhevāra, na

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22v,3 pratyakṣaṇya ] a cross is written above the kṣa, probably to indicate a mistake, to be omitted from the reading 24r,3-4 ā-pa ] the two elements forming the akṣara ā are split between the end of line 3 and the beginning of line 4



*[The page contains dense handwritten script in Devanagari style.]*

[illegible]

*[The page contains handwritten text in Tamil script.]*

[illegible]

[24v]

ha(n-)byaktinikaṃkarmmapalamne, ndyakarmmapalahlam·palanya, hanakarmmaginavemaṇkendatan·vnam·maveḥpalamaṇke, apa  
 24 dumeḥyanmaṃkana, tan·vnaṃ·maveṃpalamaṇke, āpanna—kveḥ inapekṣanya, yatekamaṇijjanmasovaḥ, ikaṃka  
 bhuktimāṇke, yekapalanikākarmaṇuni, rijaṇmantara, ṣ—ikāṃpalabhinuktimāṇke, yatekāhintaḥhinuktimāṇke, yaṇm  
 āhala, yaṇmahayu, padekahəntapalanyakabeḥ, yatahetuniṃ atmāmāricumetaṇākaṃbhāyurisarira, padānya

[25r]

kadyaṅgāniṃ apvaymanundikayu, yapvanḥənti ikaṃkayu, pjaḥprativiyatanikaṇāpvay, maṇkanatekā atmā, anpalaniṃdā(r)mma  
 darmmayamaṇun·ṣarira, lavānurip·, hintipva ikāṃkaṣ—rmmaphala, yatahetuniṃpāti apantanhanabhinuktimniṃ atma, ni  
 han·sahursampāra, kadikarmmapalaktahmamānūnhurip—, mvaṇṭanikāhetuniṃsukadūkabhinuktideniṃjanma, mataṃnyanmaṃ  
 kana, apantan·katonimkaṃkarmmapalarinjanma, yamatanyantanhanākarmmapalaṇaranya, apantan·byaktaya, yaṇkalinasamp

[25v]

āra, (ya)donikaṃpramāṇatluṇinintonākən·niuniparvvākapratyaksapramāṇa, anumānapramāṇa, agamāpramāṇa, iṣ  
 25 kām aganal·, yakaṃvnaṃdenikaṃpratyaksapramāṇa—, ikaṃsuksmayakavnaṃdeniṃ anumānapramāṇa, kadyaṅgāniṃṣ  
 kovuvusampāra, anumānapraniddā irikaṃkarmmapalā—nābhinuktideniṃjanma, sumahursampāra, tan·byaktāṇarānikaṣ  
 taḥ, āpantan·vārttamānāriratkabaiḥ, āpan·pratyaksapramāṇajugarikami, yaṇ·kvaliṇasampāra, niḥsaṇḥyaṇṇāḍitya

[26r]

, vārttamanākatondenimratkabeḥ, samtuviniṇikarisiramtumaṇke, atavādudukunam, yāpvan·dudusamtuviniṇilāvan·samtumaṇke  
 , āpapvayanmaṇkemaṇke, tanpapalenan·pvarupanira, āpa—nivəṇivərupanirāṇalitānirativipada, lāvanpadāpanasnira, te  
 janira, sumahursampāra, tuṅgāl·ktasaṃhyam aditya, samtuvə—ni, siramtumaṇke, yaṇmaṃkanalinasampāra, nditahan·niramaṇaṣ  
 vetan·, āpansumurup·kulvensiravni, sumahursampāra, sumurupisorilmaḥ, havānirayanmālvayāmaṇavetan·, yaṇmaṃṣ

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24v.2-3 ka-bhu ] traces of cancelled *aḥsaras* beneath the sequence split between line 2 and 3    24v.3 hintabhinukti ] trace of a cancelled *u* vocalization below the cluster *bhi*    25v.1 pratyaksapramāṇa ] the *ksa*  
 is written irregularly, with a closed loop at the bottom-right (perhaps the result of hesitation between *ksa* and *kṣa*)    25v.2 kaṃvnam ] traces of a *anusvāra* scratched away above *ka*



[illegible]

၁၂၃၄၅၆၇၈၉၁၀၁၁၂၁၃၁၄၁၅၁၆၁၇၁၈၁၉၂၀၂၁၂၂၂၃၂၄၂၅၂၆၂၇၂၈၂၉၃၀၃၁၃၂၃၃၃၄၃၅၃၆၃၇၃၈၃၉၄၀၄၁၄၂၄၃၄၄၄၅၄၆၄၇၄၈၄၉၅၀၅၁၅၂၅၃၅၄၅၅၅၆၅၇၅၈၅၉၆၀၆၁၆၂၆၃၆၄၆၅၆၆၆၇၆၈၆၉၇၀၇၁၇၂၇၃၇၄၇၅၇၆၇၇၇၈၇၉၈၀၈၁၈၂၈၃၈၄၈၅၈၆၈၇၈၈၈၉၉၀၉၁၉၂၉၃၉၄၉၅၉၆၉၇၉၈၉၉

[illegible][illegible]

[26v]

kanalinasampāra, nditakitanton-siramaluy-ñavetan, lumaku isorīṇlmaḥ, yātikāñajarākəntan-tinonyañā  
 26 ranya, advakītānyakamramāñāpratyaksajuga, apāṅka—n-katonsamḥyaññāditya, maluyāñāvetan-, mañkanapvayaṣ  
 , yamatamnyanhanapramāñānaranya, anuprasiddārīkahi—dēpanikaṃvastututuhutuḥu, huvus-rumuhunikāmsuksmā, i  
 kempva ikāṃkarmmapala, atyantasuksmānya, yatamatamnyan-anumāñāpramāñāpaniddāntarihananya, apan-byaktānyanhana, niṣ

[27r]

han-kasukadukakapāṅguḥdenijanma, lāvan-rapanyatanpada, hanaratu, hanavadvā uma, hanasugihanadukahanavaras,  
 hanalara, niḥantaṃtūryyak, magəṃmadmit-, kanisṭamādyā—mottama, karmmapalanimittanikamkabeḥ, sumahursampāra, n  
 ohan-vvaganikātaḥ, lāvanijenmatanpāda, kahadamña—damjugakātaḥ, yankvālīnaṣampāra, dadyan-kupvāṃmamanantan-kneṃ  
 vaig, ikaṃtanpamañan-yāvarg, yanpikahadañadamyāpaksakna, lavaṇtaṃvijatinanim-, kadyaṅgāṇimparipinakaṣ

[27v]

vinīḥ, kahadañādamṃpvekanpavvahajāḥli, jahlitinānəmakahadañādamṃpvekānpavvahapāri, mañkanahamñānikāṃratkabeḥ, yan-sika  
 27 hadañādamṃpaksakna, yāpvan-sinohan-sivvaganpakṣa—kna, dadyaṃvaṣṭutanpakanimittayanmaṃkana, kadyanāñāṇikdi amtiñā  
 nakāṇaka, kadyaṅgāṇimaməḥsusuvtuḥitahi, mañkāna—hamñānikamratkabeḥ, yan-sinohan-sivvagan-paksakna  
 , yapvandadivastumamkāna, yāmatamnyan-tanhogyapaksankasampāra, āpaduməḥ ikāṇjanmagumave ikādarṃmadarṃmasajñābhātā

ra, kasihanavarəṇ-rānakbhatāra, sumahurbhatāra, niḥan-kavruhanantanaku, prastavānikāṃdarṃmadarṃma, kadadideniñjanma, enak-vepahidəṇnikāṃñātmārisaya  
 , atguḥpasāmbhaddānyalāvanikaṃsarira, yatekāśukaliṃnya, yamata—nyanpaməṭṣuka, ikāṃsukasadāna, yātaginra, hitaniṃbuddi ikāṃbuddiyātama [28r]

nakājñāna, ikāṃjñāna, yātamavrattilimāṃpuluḥkveḥnya, ikaṃvratti—limāṃpuluḥyatekāmanatakveḥtanakvāṇvinilaṃ, yamatamnya akveḥprabeda  
 niñjanma, akveḥtakāhyun-, akveḥtalāranya, akveḥtasukanya, vrattinikāṃbuddilimāṃpuluḥ, yatekā ujarakna, niḥan-prakāryanahanacaturaisva

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**26v.3** kahi—dēpanikaṃ | the cluster *ni* has been written on an erased *virāṇa* following *p*    **27v.4** ikādarṃmadarṃma | the first *repha* is written above the second *akṣara* *da* because of lack of space above *mna*  
**28r.1** kasiḥana | *s* written without the connecting stroke in the middle (this is the second occurrence of this variant that is attested also in other manuscripts written in this kind of script, cf. folio 7r.1)    **28r.4**  
 caturaisva | the vowel *ai* is written in its *akṣara* form, provided with a *repha* on the top    **28r.1–4** ra- ... caturaisva | this folio (as well as the first two lines of the one that follows, 28v) has a much higher density of  
*akṣaras* (without any discernible reasons)



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[28v]

ryya, vvalukveḥṇikālāvan-bhāliknya, hanapañcavipāryyayanaranya ana aṣaktivvalululikurveḥnya, hanatatutṣiṇakveḥnya, hanata aṣṭasiddhinaranya, ndya  
28 talakṣaṇanikāṃcatu aisvarya, anuṃpinakavijaniṃbuddi, yansatvama—gēṃ iriya, darṃmaṇaranyanihan-, hanajñānamahyunrahayu, ikāṃdārmamamaṃ  
dadyakan-hayu, yekā inabhyasanya, ṣilarahayu aḡlēm—tāyamayajñā, manāḥrahayu, aḡlēm-tayamabrata, manāḥpuṣ  
nyaskavnamnya, uksahatarisamyajñānadikratātaya, aḡlēm-tayamayoga, nāhaninabhyasānya, ikāṃtagaveka

[29r]

beḥ, atavāśalaḥtuṅgal-rvatlukunamgaveyakna, darṃmata, ṇaranya, nihanthamjñāṇanaranya, ikāṃjñānamābyasākapaṅguḥhasaṃhyam  
parāmarta, ndanpramaṇatḷupinakasulūḥnya, ikāṃsamāddi—pinakasamḍānanya, yāsinanḡḥsāmyajñāṇanaranya, verāgyaṇara  
nya, ikāṃjñānatanārp-risuka, tan-trasṇārihurip-, —ndyasukanaranya, nyamḥhogā upāboga, pāriboga, bhogaṇara  
nya, ikāṃpināṇa<sup>r</sup>, upābhoga ikāṃmsniṇḍam, pāribhoga ikāṃkavulavnamvna, ikāṃtakabeḥ, tanāḥarpirika, hanatabhoṣ

[29v]

gakarīṇṇ, kadyanḡṇiṃsvaggakahyaṇan-, tanāhyunātaḥ irikākabeḥ, pārimānadrabyanya, drabyanyaṇaranya, huripnya, tanāḥa  
29 ṛpātaḥ irikākabeḥ, yātinanḡḥverāgyaṇaranya, —nihantham aisvaryaṇaranya, ikāṃkēṇahanandenibhoga upābhoṣ  
gapāribhoga, kinatvanāndenipadanyajanma, ya aisvarya—ṇaranya, ikāṃtakapat-, ikāṃdarṃma, jñāna, verāgya, aisvarya,  
vijanibuddikakabeḥ, ndan-yanāḡṇṣatvanimḡbuddi ika, yanpakavijācaturaisvāryya, yapvan-tamahagāṃbaliknicatu aisva

[30r]

ryya, pinakāvijanya, ndyabaliknyanihan-, adarṃma, ajñānā, averāgya, anesvāryya, adarṃmaṇaranya, ikāṇāmbhōk-manayākō  
n-gavehaya, liṃnya, ṇradān-ikāṃvvaṃmapuṇya, maṣ—bojanāmaveḥskal-tvas-hēnthidrabyanya, taniyātamaṇaṣ  
lasvargga, mankānāmāṇun-prasāda, maṇulurlinga, maṣ—homan-, maṇkāṇalimnyaribudḍinya, manāyākēṇ-darṃmanāḡṇṣtaṣ  
maḥnya, nihantham ajñāna, ikāṃṇiatmāpugum apantanhanatinutnya, luput-saṇkempratyakṣapramāṇā, anumāṇāpramāṇa, a

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29v.4-28r.1 ka-beḥ] *e* vocalization of *beḥ* is written in folio 28v.4; however, there seems to be a trace of another *e* vocalization written below the *ba* in 28r.1 and then carefully scratched away 29v.4 caturaisvāryya ]  
the vowel *ai* is written in its *aksara* form, provided with a *repha* on the top (cf. folio 28r.4)



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपदमुनि-  
 शिष्यं त्वत्पुत्रं त्वया मे वक्ष्यसे ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रे  
 युद्धे मया दृष्टं त्वत्पुत्रं धीमान् ॥ १ ॥

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

[30v]

nesvāryyānaranya, duḥkasadākala, nahan·kabalīknīkāṃmctureṃsvāryya, yatekāpinakavijaniḥbuddi, yantamasa, ♦  
 30 , apabyaktiniṃpalanya, ndya, paḷanyanihan·, ikājanmaya—npanabhyasādarṃma, yekānimittanyankavaveṃsvāga, salvirni  
 bhogabhinuttinya, hēṇṭipvapalanīkāṃgavehayu, maṇja—nmatayāriṇḍevatā, alavas·yadadidevatā, maṇjanmat  
 āyemānusa, yatekādiratu, atavāvvaṃsugīḥkratapunyaḥkunaṃdādinya, āpan·vāṣakanīkāṃbhogarisvārggayātuṣ

[31r]

mut·rimanusa, nihan·tapalanīṃsāmyajñāna, yandadisamādinariḥbhaṭāra, makasadānāpramāṇāṭlu, siratapāniastulān·bha  
 ṭāra, kadikaddyan·bhaṭarakasiddyanira, lavān·kaṣṭesva—ryyan·bhaṭāra, yatañnyan·valuyajanma, āpan·sakamakamasi  
 ra, āsisakahyuniradadi, sakaharṇirratka, nahan·ka—dībyannīsāmyajñānayanpinakavijaniḥbuddi, nihan·tapalanive  
 rāgya, yekilīn·rīmipraktatiloḥka, kadisukanīmmaturulvirnikāṃsukabhinukṭinyāṇkana, salavasnyahanaripraktati

[31v]

loka, maṇjanmatayādevata, nahan·palanīṃveragyayanpinakāvijaniḥbuddi, nihan·tapalanīṃ aīsvāryya, si, taprabhurīṃsvargga, a  
 31 ke ikāṃbhogabinukṭinya, rīvkaṣ·maṇjanmatayādevatā—, nahan·tāpalanīṃśvāryyayanpinakavijaniḥbuddi, nihan·tapala  
 nibalīknīya, ikāṃñāmbhōk·manāyakān·gavehayu, mā—tipvayādlāha, yekādaditriyyak·, pāṣu, mragapākṣi, āriṣṭra  
 pa, stāvāra, pāṣūnaranya, kadyaṅgāniṃsatvatatamolahrīṇāryya, kbā, sapi, asu, vōk, prakāra, mragānaranya, ikāṃsatvatamoṣ

[32r]

larinīlas·, kadyaṅgānīṃkidam, maṇjanan·, ityavamādi, pākṣīnaranyasaprakāranīṃmōr, kadyaṅgānīṃmānūsariṣapānaranya, ikāṃ  
 pramīlāmakaṇḍakudādānya, kadyaṅgānīṃ ulā, lintah, vda—t, iriṣpveḥṭektak·lituh, stāvāraṇaranya, kayukayu, o  
 dvād·, dukut·, nahan·pratyekānīṃtriyyak·, ¶¶\$—yatīkātmaṇiṃmahanpiṃkamvijā adarṃma, nihan·palanīṃ ajñā  
 na, yātekīmaputrān·ridevamānusatriyyak·, lāvan·svargganaraka, āpanākveḥ ikāṃgavehalahayukavañunde

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**30v.1** nikāṃṃ | two *anusvāras* have been written adjacently, although it is likely that only one is to be read; the scribe might have felt that the first one was too close to the preceding cluster, and hence added a second one without erasing the former   **31r.4** lvirnikam | faint traces of an erased sign appear above the cluster *ni* (probably a *repha*)   **32r.3** piṃkamvijā | the *anusvāra* above *pi* appears to have been intentionally scratched away





[32v]

nya, nūnipunāvvanjanmanya, palaninṅgavenyahalamvamhayutandaditankabhukti, yamatamnyan·kapaṅṅuḥḥikāṃcakraabhavadenya, nihan  
 ·palaniṃ ajiāna, yanpinakavijaninibuddi, nihan·palaniṃnā—verāgya, yekāmnərmarenāraka, salvirniṃlārabinuktinya, yanā  
 kveḥpāpanya, alavas·yahaneṃyāmāni, yāpvanākdik—gavenyahala, yātavineḥmadadyajanmanānuṣamuvah, yekāda  
 divvamvikara, tanyapadalāvāsasamsārajanma, vudug, vuta, vukuk, tuli, edān, ayān, vikət·sinkəl, bisu, nāhan·tma

32

[33r]

hanya, nihanatapalani aneṃsvāryya, yekākinasampayān, lāvankanyamanṅuḥsakaharpnya, matamnyantapanasān·sadākāla  
 , momopvekāmanah̄nya, kadaditaṃṣilamahalde—nya, dadiyāmahabək, manismanumya, palaninṅgaveṃnyamañkana, ya  
 matamnyan·tibārināraka, həntipvapalaninṅavenyahala—, sinavurākəntayārimādyapādadesaṃyāmabala, yatadadipipis̄  
 likā, nahan·palani anesvāryya, yanpinakavijaninibuddi, ikāmtakabeh̄yatekāpusniṃjanma, anuṃdumeḥyāhidəp·

[33v]

duḥkasātātā, yasinanṅuḥsaptabandānānaranya, pitu apūsāpuspituñaranya, nihan·ikām inājarākənkabəḥ, ndya inā  
 jarākən-, yankvalinanta, Yeki adarmma, ajiāna, averāgya—, anesvāryya, nāhanyam̄saptabandānānaranya, yanapayanəntisaṣaṃ  
 kemcakrabhāva, yātakāriḥ, yanmaṃkanalinanta, yanpa—ṅṅuḥḥikāṃsamyajiānəjuga, apandumeḥḥikam̄ ātmāmaluyaribha  
 tāraparamakāraṇa, mañkanalimbatāra, sumahursam̄kumāra, kāsihanarānakbhatāra, varahən·risadānaninṃmagavesāmadi, mañkana

33

[34r]

lisaṃkumāra, sumahurbatāra, mne ikājarāknakaliniṃyogapāda, kunam̄vijanikaṃbuddivuvusəntimuvah, ♦, hanapañcavipāryya  
 yañaranya, lvinnya, tamah̄, mahāmoha, tamistra—, nandātamiṣratamaḥnaranya, ikañāmbhəkmahyunmamukti, ikaṃbho  
 gavisaya, apanikiyapamuk·tvanantavisaṃsuka, ya—matamnyan·priḥtam̄kasugih̄han-, mahmāsa, manandaṇa, mahulu  
 n·mas·trirahayu, apantan·hanalvahasakeṃsukaninṃdadivvaṃ, mañkanalim̄nya, yatamatamnyanparmini amet·bhogasakā ♣

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33r.3 sinavurākən] *na* has been written on top of an original *vu*, whose traces are still dimly visible 33v.2 Yeki adarmma] *y* added between the *e* vocalization and the cluster *ki* 34r.3 pamuk·tvananta] the sign written below the *k*, found in the present instance, in folio 54v.1 and 59v.2, appears to have the function of killing the vowel (i.e. instead of a *virāma*) 34r.4 lvaha] the *v* forming the cluster *lv* is written below the *l* as if it were an independent *akṣara* rather than in its usual subscript variant 34r.4 ♣] an *akṣara u* (invisible on facsimile) was carefully scratched away so as to cancel it





[34v]

34 la, yekātamañnaranya, ♦, nihantaṃmohaṇaranya, hanarakavāḷḷiṣaṇkemṃavak-, siddirakvāṇaranya, dadimavak-daditanpa vak-, yekākahaṇp-kutmunan̄ku, marapvan-vnaṃhuma—lapsakaṇp-ku, yamohaṇaranya, ♦, mahāmohaṇaranya, i kaṃ āmbhəkmaḥyun-maṅḡihaknaḃsiddyan-, donanyakapa—ṅḡihaniṃ aṣṣevāryadeku, muktayakuriṃṣvāggamvammānusalveka, yekāmāhāmohaṇaranya, ♦, tamisrāṇaranya, ikāṇāmbhəkmaḥaṇp-rumaṇkapaṇaṃdvesavisaya, lāvanāṣṣevāryayataṣ

[35r]

misrāṇaranya, ♦, nandātamiśrāṇaranya, ikaṃ āmbhək-humalaṃphākenikaṃsukānaghata, lāvanakumālāṃnahuvus-hilaṃ, ika takaliḥ, yatekāpinakavijianiṃbuddiyanagṃṭamaḥ—nya, mamuhārasaṃśāra ikaṃkabeḥ, ♦, hanatanāvatusdiṇara nya, ikaṃ āmbhəkmatīṣ-, pradānaka, upādānaka, akalā—, abhāgya, nahantāṇādyatmikatusdiṇaranya, pradānakatusdiṇara nya, hanavvaṃtumohalaṇisāriranya, ndātanpaṇlarerimanaḥnya, paran-kunaṃmahalasariṇaṅku, mahalakuniṃgaveṇkuṇuni, yā

[35v]

35 ttamapalasariraṇkumaṇke, kunaṃyātanyan-lituhayu ikejanmaṇkusovaḥ, ndākamriḥmagavehayumaṇke, salvir niṃmakapalālīlūhayurijanmaṇkusovaḥ, yagavayaṣ—knākvamaṇke, maṇkanalim̄nya, lumkastāyamagavehayu, brata, yan-vajñā, yan-jñānakunaṃ, yekapradānakatusdiṇa—ranya, hanata upādānakatusdiṇaranya, ikaṇāmbhək-tanmalara kavkaśān-hutaṃdenikaṃvvatanya, atavāsvabhāvaṇikaṃvvatanya, kunaṃ ikaṃgumavekaluputāknaṇikavvatanyarisam̄śāra, ya

[36r]

taginaveyākṇyatanarusuḥ, yekā upādānakatusdiṇaranya, hanata akalatusdiṇaranya, hanavvaṃmanomahnoma h, ndaninaṅḡitayadeniraranya, ika āmbhək-mabhyaya—pinadṃmnyariṇāmbhəkmatīṣ-, yeka akalatusdiṇaranya, abagyatusdiṇaranya, ikaṃvvaṃmandabagya, tanpamaṅguhinaka—mbhək-salavasnidadinya, saṃkarilaranyambhəknya, umḡil-taya risaṃvrūḥmaṇajisaṃpāṇḍitaguruniratkabeḥ, siratapanaṃbhahanya, patakvananyariṇpraya, vinaraḥṭayadesaṃpāṇḍita, kino



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[36v]

ntayamañabhyasāvidi, enaktāmbhəknyanpanabhyasā, yatekā abhagyatusdīnaranya, nihatantamvāhyatusdīnaranya, hanavvamḥluput-sam  
 36 űkeviṣayā, kadyaṅgānivvamaharṇ-marabyahayu, mama — — — ṇāna enak-, manañdānadvedvet-rahayukunaṃ, huvus-pvakapa  
 űḡuḥdenya, tusdihataḥṇaranya, hanatavvammatmulāvan-ka — — — siḥnya, tusdihataḥṇaranya, hanavvammanemet-drabya, atavāmame  
 t-guṇakunamhuvus-kapaṅḡuḥhikampinetnya, tusdihataḥṇaranya, hanatavvamhuvussiddikariyyanya ikamṣapinetnya, tusdiṣ

[37r]

hataḥṇaranya, hanataḥvvammalārasakikit, halvampvalāranya, tusdihataḥṇaranya, hanatavvammanunūḥbhospipañanya, tu  
 sdihataḥṇaranya, nahantamnavatusdīnaranyapinatijaniṃ — — — buddi ikakabel, ♦, nihatantam asdasiddīnaranya, dāna, adyayana,  
 śabda, karttā, svatradaya, trayoduḥkavilāta, nahaṣ — — — ntam asdasiddīnaranya, dāna, ṇaranya, samvnam umehakən-kayanirariṃ  
 sampāṇḍita, lāvan-risaṃsarajanmākunaṃ, lvirnivinehakən-, tḥprakāranya, kaya, śabda, ambhək-rahayu, nihatakapirvanikasidya

[37v]

n-, samvnammañiṣasthrapurana, tatvajñānakunaṃ, siddihataḥṇarānika, hanataḥhuvusmanñabyasājinira, dadisirasidāvākyasavuṣ  
 37 vusnirasiddi, atavāsiradadimaṇṇēṣabdasakemsuksmā — — —, saṅkārītībranipānira, siddihataḥṇarānikā, hanatārkkāsiddiṣ  
 ṇaranya, ikamñīnātonitāṇ atitānagatavārktamana, — — — siddihataḥṇarānikāhanatahuvus-manmuguruviṣesa, siddiḥa  
 taḥṇarānikā, hanatavkasnikamḍyan-ṣaṇviku, samyogisvarājuga, apan-siravnamhumilanakənikanḍuḥkatluṇaranya, hanadyatmi

[38r]

kādukanarānikā, hanādiideviduḥkaṇaranya, hanatibhotikādukanaranya, rvaprakarānikā adyatmikādukanaranya, manaṣa, lāvan-ṣarira, manaṣa  
 ṇaranya, kāma, kreda, lobhā, bhāyā, suyā, kāmānaranyahyun — — —, kredāṇaranya, galak-, lobāṇaranya, tanpahuvusan-mañarjanādra  
 vya, bhāyanaranya, takut-, suyāṇaranya, ikamḡetan-vnammaḥ — — — s-, nahantamduḥkasamkemmaṇaḥ, nihatamdukasamkemmaṇarira, (o)ṛm-, gighi  
 l-, űlān-lārahataṇ-, puyā, kuris-, saprakāranimlāranpasāṅkān-, yekādyatmikādūḥka, yatikāhinilānakən-samyogisvara,

**36v.1** bhyasā, yatekā abhagya] a piece of wood or bark has been attached below this string of text by the restorer in order to connect the two disjointed parts of the folio **38r.3** (o)ṛm- ] the initial *akṣara* resembles an o, except for its lower part. A parallel in *Vīḥaspatitattva* 33.10 reads *urm*. **38r.3** samyogi ] the short straight line above the y of the cluster *yo* appears to be meaningless





[38v]

adidevidukānaranya, sinambhøriglap, hedān, kapasuki(m)ganabhuta, lāvan·pisāca, yeki adidevidukanaranya, kunam ikāmpinram, pi  
38 nalu, rinacun, tinluḥpinatukaṃ ulā, pināñaniṃvuhaya, saprakā—raniṃlārasaṃkemhavam, yekatibvetikādukanaranya, ikātakabe  
h, yāthilaṃdesaṃyogisvāra, sumahur·saṃkumāra, ikunapata—deniṃrasaṃyogisvāranhumilaṃnāknakālārasamañkanasājñābhaṭā  
ra, maṃkanalimsaṃkumāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, hlēm-ikāhujarāknarimiyogapāda, apan·tanhəntivratinikāmbuddivaneḥ, ndyavratti

[39r]

nibuddivaneḥ, yankvaliñanta, hana asaktiñaranya, vvalulikukveḥnya, lakṣaṇanyayekākavruhananta, ndyaya, yekiṃda  
sendriyā, tan·vnaṃhumidəp·riṃvisayanya, taliñatu—li, kulit·vudug, mātanpanon, ilat·bisu, i  
ruñapālg, tutuk·vulavun, taṇaharp·mañkana—kunam, tañankiṃkisukulumpuḥ, silit·mdu, tan·vnaṃñaniṃsiṃku  
nam, plāt·kdi, nahan·lakṣaṇānikāṃdāsəndriyā, antan·vnaṃriviyaṣanya, asaktihatañharanya, hanatabalikniṃkānavatu

[39v]

sdilāvan·asdasiddi, niḥan·lakṣaṇanya, halanisariranya, prastāvānyanpaniṃpuluniṃmagavehala, anopradānakaranya  
39 , hutamñyahidəpnyahutaṃnikavvatanya, dadiyāṃiṃgat, a—kālañaranya, tan·vnaṃhumorākən·taṅgiḥñiraranya, dadiyamumṣ  
paṃ, tan·vnaṃtumambhānasakahinanyavaknya, mohatayā, —tanapiliḥsalvarānya, visayanurāsa, hanavvaṃtumumukaharṇya, nda  
n·laubātayā, tanpatambhānikāṃhuvus·kapaṅguḥdenya, hanamañajanāsuka, alṃəḥmagaveya, hanatan·vnaṃrumakṣaha

[40r]

yunya, mvaṃkalituhayunya, arabilarahan, mahmas·tinotohakənyarisavumjudinita, mahurip·anpamuk·pva, hanakṣayā  
rāga, hanavvaṃmalārāndātambhan, avdimañinumamapyak·maṣ—pahit, matakut·mabyayaṣaṃmanambhā, hanavvaṃtanpatmulāva  
nkaṣiḥnya, ananiṣ·tan·vnaṃmuktidrabanya, nahan·baḷiṣ—knikāṃnavatusdi, asaktihatañharanikā, hanatabalikni asdasi  
ddi, adana, tardadimaveveḥ, asthamāgaveyadarṃma, anadyayana, tanpañaji, tvas·jijimotaniṃva, tan·byaktāvruḥhariviṣe



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[40v]

śa, anaśabda, tanpañabyasākasadakan-, anhakuḥyaṃ, āpatagaveyanimamriḥ, tvas-prahatin-nivadenya anatarḥka, ta  
 40 nkatonikāñatitānagatavārttamānā, asvāhadayaḥ, ta—npaguruviśeṣa, magurumatēkā, ndānkadiparahuvatu, vṛvādeṣ-maṇe  
 ntasāknārisaṃśārasāmudrā, yamatānyan-panlēmākən-riṃ—mahānāraka, ndyagurumanākanamrākinimamahānāraka, niḥanpanavruhaṣ  
 na, liṃnya, kit-taḥkahanān-bhaṭārasakāla, apan-yekimagaveliṅgamamañun-prasāda, mañanakən-pvayā, mañhanakə

[41r]

n-pinañaninim, yekitahanan-saṃhyamparamārtā, mamāñan-maturusaṃhyam ikā, lumaku, malunguḥ, asinātaḥ, tu  
 laḥsaṃhyam ikākabeḥ, norasalaḥ ikākabeḥ—mañkanalinya, yamatanyandadihumulahakənāpacāra, apantanya  
 napaliṃnya, dadiyamupum, dadinpañahalādraavyaniṃvaneḥ, —tanapa ikāyān-tuhutukita, apan-tuhutuñaranya, ha  
 yvāvdipati, apan-yekāmahabūtan-ñaranya, asi[mārgga]niṃpatitapva, apan-sipāti ikāmsinaṅguḥkamokṣan-ña

[41v]

ranya, mañkanalinigurunya, yekāgurumanabākəninaraka[ñara]nya, asaṭtinaranya, ñkerivratini(m)buddi, ◆, niḥan-taṃdukātraṣ  
 41 yaviḡhataḥikātan-vnaṃhumilañakən-dukatra—, apantanpanabhyāśāsamadi, matamnyantan-panabhyāśāsamadi, apa  
 ntanmañkānarakvāparamartāliṃnya, tuhumatasamhyamparamārtā—luput-saṃkenyogalāvan-samadi, apan-buddisira, huvu  
 ṣ-karuhun-ikaṃrāgadvesamohalāvan-sariratan-hana ikāribhaṭāra, apadeniṃsamādirisira, apansirapvadenisamā

[42r]

dinirasamvikumvaṃsamyogisvara, yatanyanpadalāvan-bhaṭāra, inakunyapvāknypapadalābhaṭāra, tan-vnaṃhumilañakən-dukā  
 nyatlu, yatamataṃnyan-asaṭtinaraniṃbuddiyanmaṃkana, suma—hursamkumāra, kuramtuṅgal-tavkasikāṃ aṣaktiyan-tkavvaluliṣ  
 kur, ndyagnapanya, niḥanyammanahmabalik-, apan-lakṣaṇa—niṃmanahmamikalpā, tapvan-vnaṃmamikalpā, yatasinaṅguḥmedān  
 -ñaranya, nāhan-gṇāpnikāṃ aṣaktiavalulikur, ikātakabeḥ, nimattaniñātmaśāra apanmamaṅguḥvasānā ikākabeḥrīpitta

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**41r.4** mahabūtan ] the cluster *bū*, which makes a better reading in the present context, may be read instead as a *ñū*: the vertical stroke attached to the right, in that case, should not be regarded as an *ā* written too close to the preceding *akṣara* but as one of its components (against this interpretation cf., however, note to folio 41v.1) **41v.1** manabākən ] as in line 4 of the preceding folio, *bā* very much resembles a *ñū*



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[42v]

42 , vruhpvasampāṇḍita, anmakveḥvāsānānikāmpārumakət, riṃcitta, yatamātaṃnyan·saṃviku, matakut·risaṃśāralāvanduka, ha  
 yvājñək·ribyāpāraṃsarira, huvuskāruhun·ikaṃśīlaha — — lāhayvātagināvayākən, āpan·yekamamuhhāralaralā  
 van·saṃśāra, apāran·yogyaghaveyaknātakarīḥ, — — nyamṭrikāyamaramārtā, ulaḥrahayu, sabdarahayu, ambhək·raha  
 yu, donikāsādānānimunābhyaśāmbhəkibhaṭāra, nihaṇ·varahvarābhhaṭāreyekideḷn·inətətən·tmən·tmən, rāsanariha

[43r]

ti, apanikimārggabnər, yapvan·hanamarāḥṛikitarimhayu, ndānapasalahan·lavan·lokamaṃruddālāvan·vvamkabehṭalāp  
 ·hayvāvinahil·, ndan·hayvātaginavayākən·, yanpaṣ — — ropaghatāgumavayākən·dukānimvaneḥ apan·jātinimmaṣ  
 gavehala, halātḥsarira, yapvanpagavehayu, haṣ — — yutkəṃsarirahayupvākahyuniṃrat, yamatamnyanāhayu ata  
 ḥgaveyaknantaḥaləhməm·, ikāṃluput·saṃkəṃ<sup>gu</sup> nādvāsa, mavyadapāriḷobhāmvamdvosa, yavat·kitaluput·saṃkəṃ

[43v]

lokabyapāra, tamriḥtagavebhaktirimbhaṭāra, apan·sirasaraṇāṇivnaṃmaṇihilanəkənpapa, siradumehṇivaṇamaṅguhāsukavi  
 43 seśa, ikāṃḥhinak·tanpabaliklara, hurip·tanpabali — — k·pati, milvāgavetaniluginave, vruḥṭankinavruhan·, yaṣ  
 palanibhaktirimbhaṭāra, kunaṃtkapniṃmagavebhakti, yatakvāṣ — — naknāntariṃsaṃguru, kənənənātāḥsaṃśāraṇimḍadījanma, sihurip·maṣ  
 kavāśanānpā, ikəpātiṇaranya, viparitanhanatutunya, apan·tapasuk·ritamah, viitanpakaniṃmitta, tayāriṇāḍitya

[44r]

, yātakalalavasān·naranya, baliknihurip·lalutanhinaknya, maṇkanatəḥəryvāṃḥidəp·sukaduka, kunaṃtāpanpa  
 vārtejanma, kadikveḥṇiṃhilamkveḥṇimtu, yatapanəḥ — — rānta anpaṇmamuvah̄ ikaṃ atmā, huvus·rumuhun·tayānhana  
 vvaṃjatisṃmāra, meṇət·ridadinyāṇuni, tanpalah̄denya — — tumuduh̄kavitanyaṇunipurbvakaḥlāvan·naranyaḍravyanya, naha  
 n·hnanyanatutur·apatanhanam̄tuduḥnya ikākabeḥ, ḷhəṃmarekan·rahayujanmanyanamuvah̄, maluyāḍadivvaṃgumavaya



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[44v]

knābhaktiribhaṭāra, mārgganijanmakahvatarihayu, yanyampadikitarisaṃsārātahniyātakadyaṅgāṇiṃvikarā, tanpadalāvan-saṃśā  
 44 rajanma, atavāyanpaṃdadyanakhosapi asuvik, ye—kakaptēk-tmən-, apatanhanagamānanikavruḥhariṃheyo  
 padaya, vnaṇṇatarakvāyamareṃsaṃpāṇḍita, tumakvānakna—kalinānijanmanya, mvaṇṇkalpasen-nijanmanya, yanapatekan-vru  
 ha, apan-huvusikaṃjanmanya, tanpasikaban-, lkastamneṃglēk-, apatan-knavruhan-tkanimpāti, sumahursanṇkumāra,ṣ

[45r]

aparanikāṃvāsanaṇaranya, sājñābhaṭāra, varāhəntaranakbhaṭāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, ikāṃkarmmatandaditan-kabhuktipalanya, akveḥpvakāṃka  
 rmma, yatamatamnyanmakveḥviriṇijanma, apan-palanimkaka—rmmayamamaṇun-śarira, yāmahalaśarira, yāmahayvakarmma, mahaṣ  
 yvaśarira, mahalamayupvekaṃkarmma, vīnaṇunijanmatuṅga—l-, yamatamnyanāsilihihiikāṃjanmariya, havus-dadideva  
 tāpalanigavenyayahu, tkapvapalanimḡavenyāhala, matmahantayatiyyak-, hētipvapalanikamtiyyak-, tkatapalani

[45v]

kāṃmānusa, muvaḥṭapalanikākarmmaṇuni, yatabhinuktinyanpamaṇun-karmmamuvah, maṇkanatajātinijanmakabeh, ikamṣ  
 45 karmmahuvus-bhinuktiyekāmamkasākən-saṇskāra—ricittasvevaṃsvavaṃ, yatamatanyan-kadisinurāt-ikāṃka  
 rmmarumakəṭiriya, kadyaṅganimṣisikihivak-yatama—gavetuturnicitta ikāṃhuvus-bhinuktinyaṇuni, yandevatā  
 , yanmanusa, yantiriyak-, ikāṃkarmmapalatinutnya, yatabhinuktinya, kapvātekāmamkasākən-saṇskārāricitta, nihanpada

[46r]

nya, kadyaṅgānidyun-anpinakāvān-vanivāni, iṅgukunam, huvus-hintihisinikamdyun-, vinasəhan-tayāpinahālilamndā  
 nhanāṭaḥ ambhənya, turumrumakəṭrikādyun-, maṇkanaṣ—tekāṃvāsānā, anpamkasākən-saṇskārāricitta, asinagəmvā  
 sanāricitta, yāpinakarupaniṃjanma, apānāsikinalpaṣ—ṇanimmanahyatitnutnīmārmmanyamaṇun-janmamuvah, saṇapasirakuma  
 vruḥhijanmamāṇkanasājñābhaṭāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, akuhuvus-maṇhidəp-saṃśāra, anekā ikāṃjanmabhinuktikuvkasan-, tkaniga



[illegible][illegible]

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ।  
 श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे अर्जुन उवाच  
 द्रुपदमुनिर्वाक्यं ब्रूयाच्छुश्रूष्य ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संढायामासीत्परिजनैः  
 सह तदा युधिष्ठिरमात्मजं विभक्तवान् ॥  
 धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुतसः  
 मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सज्जनाः ॥  
 अस्मै ह्यर्जुन श्रेयः परमं वदस्व मे  
 मया पूजितं त्वत्पादौ स्पर्शयस्व मे ॥  
 १० ॥

[illegible]

[46v]

veṇṇikuḥayu, kavāvatakurisampāṇḍita, vinariḥṭakuriṇḍarṇmaśāstra, yatana ibhayaśāṅku, alāvas-pvākumavaiyākāṇikaṇḍa  
 rṇmaśāstra, matitaku, muvaḥṭaku, muvaḥṭakumaṇḍanmananu—sā, hatutṭakuriṇḍanmaṅku, muvaḥṭakuhumulunakāṇ-sarira  
 ṇḥkurisampāṇḍita, vinaraḥṭakuriyogaḍarṇma, yata ina—bhyāśāṅkurirahineṇvṇi, yataḡinavaiyākāṇku, alavasākuy  
 ogisvara, sevutahun-lavaskuyogisvara, vinavatakurisṇvarga, inarīṇāntakusaṇṇilalohitā, tinarīṇāntakuhanaḥḍara,

46

[47r]

hanakbhagavandākṣā, samśātinaranira, mātipvasamśāti, kavkastaku, maluyātakuyogisvara, tiksṇāpvaḍenkvāgavesama  
 ḍḍi, mātitakumaṇḍanmatākuriḥṭaṭāra, ndyatan-vtusaṇke—suklasonita, mṭusaṇkeyogabhaṭāṭarakami, apan-limakve  
 ḥmamisanak, pātuṇḡālaniṇaranmami, kusikāsammatu—ha, tumuttasarga, lāvan-metri, samṇurusya, akusamṇātāṇja  
 laṇaranku, hanak-pamuṇḡu, risamṇaṇḥarṣi, atutṭakuriyosīsvaran, yatamaṇṇyan-manambhaḥṇibhaṭāra, sakavvatan-maṣ

[47v]

midadisiragavaṣakṛēman, anakusamkusika, mabhyaktakvāṇakna, kunamṇenṇupāṇḍim-taku, maṇḥkanalimṇirisaṇkusikapi  
 net-samḡarggasirakinonmaṇhaṇṭa, luṇhārasikā, pi—net-sammetri, sirakinonmaṇṇunvā, luṇhārasika, pinettāsam  
 purusya, sirakinonmamaṇḡuṇa, luṇhārasika, pinetāku, —mavkas-tābhaṭāra, mabhyaktinaku, kunamḍeyanṇupasaṭārku, maṇka  
 nalimḥhaṭāra, tanāsoveṇmātitasiratkatasamkusika, matutṭpavkas-bhaṭāra, inalapṇimratekāṇsava, piniṇḍim-nira, ndāta

47

[48r]

ṇpavemkamikabeh, āpan-kamipinapakamkasan-rideyamamitkatasamḡyamḥbrahmāvisnu, indra, yāma, baruna, kuvera, agneyā, neriti, bāya  
 bya, airsānya, sirasumambhāsāmbhōrikamikalima, ḍadisamkusikā—kinonmamṇḍemāśavabhaṭāra, sāmṇun-piniṇḍemṇira, ḍanuduk-siradesam  
 garggā, hinaṇṭāsiraḥinalap-siradesamkurusya, sira umḡuṇ—savabhaṭāra, tanasoveḥinalaptasiradesammetri, siratanunusavabha  
 ṭāra, sāmṇun-ḡinhēmatmahāṇāvu, luṇhātasirakabeh, akujugakavkas-kumukup-havubhaṭāra, inalapkutāvunira, saṇkaribhaktikumagu  
 ru, yatamataṇṇyan-ḥsapākāṇ-ikāmṣ

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**46r.2** muvaḥṭakumaṇḍanma ] traces of a cancelled *u* vocalization below *ta* **47v.1** kusikapi ] traces of a cancelled cluster, most probably *pi*, visible beneath the *ka* followed by a *pi* **47v.3** deyanṇupasa ] traces of an *akṣara* cancelled beneath the cluster *ṇpu* **48r.4-5** havubhaṭāra... ḥsapākāṇ-ikāmṣ ] the sequence reproduces the one in the manuscript, where an insertion mark is put above the *-ra*, and an extra line continuing the text in the line after its end runs in the bottom-right margin





- havuryyavaku, vaneḥpinahkuku, tan·sovehilamtarupaṅkupātanjala, sarupabhaṭāraṇunikālānirahurip, trinayānācatuṛbhujā, spadikāpakamjanmā  
[48v]  
48 stāna, samaṅkana ikāṁ<sup>ru</sup> papinaṅguḥku, tkaka<sup>de</sup>vatakab<sup>eḥ</sup>ma<sup>ma</sup> mujārigandāksāta—dipā<sup>di</sup> lava<sup>ṛ</sup> kombhaṁsaṁkirṇa, tkata<sup>saṁ</sup>hyaṇṇānantahumundānaku, mu<sup>li</sup>harinābhavā  
[padā, ta\$  
vihaṁhinnaḥṭākurikāhyaṇṇānikavvatanaku, yekirisirikaṇḍabhuvaṇa—ranya, iruhurnisaṁhyaṁśrakāṇḍi, alāvas·akurinābhāvapāda, kin  
ontakumuṅvārikebrahmāṇḍa, yātmākvāgurūriratkabeh, yamatamnyanpaṇaji ikāṁdevatākabehṇikerimbrahmāṇḍa, hanapva\$  
[49r]  
detyasinēlarudrākṣāṇaranya, yatakumavāsakēṇikembrahmāṇḍa, glōṁtekāṁdevatākabeh, denibhaṭārisarasvatōmaṇḍōm·  
rilidāḥnya, yatamatamnyanpalahujar, tanmatyadeni—devatādeṭyadanava, ānumatyānāku, yanhānānak·bhaṭāramitu  
saṅkesuklasonitāya umatyana, maṅkanalimnya, dadi i—kāṁdevatākabeh, māntakāsiḥrisaṁhyaṁk(ā)ma, umanaḥaku  
riragivāsa, yatanyanātmeṇhyun, tavihamṭasaṁhyaṁkamā, pināṇaḥniratakurimragā, dinēḥṇikutasaṁhyaṁkāma, rikatiḡa  
[49v]  
nimātāṅku, yamatamnyan·gsēṇavak·saṁhyaṁkāmamatmahan·vu, huvusmaṅkana, tumuttādevatākabeh, kapvatayahumaṇḍō  
mānambhaḥ, apan·giṁrigirinan·tumonisamḥyaṁkāmanpatma—hanāvu, yatamatamnyan·panambhaḥ umajārākēn·vuvusnikāṁtyesi  
nilarudrākṣā, pjaḥḥadenitanayanankumtusāṅkēsuklasve—nitā, tan·viḥampinintakasiḥan·kabeh, kinontayasu  
momahaḥbuntabhaṭāri uma, yamatamnyanpakānak·saṁhyam, śānapāti, lāvan·saṁbhraṅgiridi, katigānakusaṁkumāra, nāha  
[50r]  
n·kramanidadinkuṇuni, matamnyanavas·denkvāṇavruha ika(m)kā(r)mmāpalanpamkāśakēn·saṇaskararicitta, maṅkanali(m)bhaṭāra, su\$  
mahu/saṁkumāra, ndyatāmenaka irikimḍadijanmakabeh—sajñābhaṭāra, maṅkanalimsaṁkumāra, sumahuṛbhaṭāra, noraktahme  
nakirikimjanmakabeh anaku, apavānumṣuksaṇaranya, nya—pantahankvaliṇanta, aṇhiṁ ikāṁkamokṣan·juga, yekisuka  
viśeṣaṇaranya, apanhuvus·sāttājālāvan·bhaṭāraparamakaraṇa, maṅkanalimbhaṭāra, sumahur/saṁkumāra, saṇapatasirasinaṅguḥ



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[50v]

bhaṭārapamakāraṇaṇanira, sumahurḇhaṭāra, samlaṅṅṇkasuksmānira, sirasadāsoccā, alilaṃtakneṃmāla, sadāsukatarpakapurbvaṣ  
50 kāmjanmapisaniū, tankadikamikabeḥ, sakveṣaṃhyaṃ a — — sṭavidyesanā, huvus·karuhun·saṃhyaṃbrahmāvisnulāvanvatek  
·Ivekapala, makapurbvakamṣasārasikākabeḥ, kunaṃsa — — ṇkarigīnikabhaktiniriribhaṭāra, lāvan·tikṣṇānisamādinira, naha  
n·matamyaninalap·mulihamareṃkahyaṃṇan·, tatanmaṃkanabhaṭāraparamakāraṇa, sadisukajugasira, ndān·makavāsanaṣaṃ

[51r]

sarasira, maṃjanmamānususirahlēm·, nyapantahan·kvaliṇantanaku, tamatatathanagamāṇanirajanmanaku, apān·sarvvaṃṇāsira, sira  
kumavruḥhiratkabeḥvruḥsirarimaṇdesaṃsāra, lāvan — — lāra, ndātavnampmilagiā, tan·vruḥrideyanya, denimaṃhil  
āṃṇakən·lāra, lāvan·hanatācaduṣaktirisira, ndyaca — — duṣaktiṇaranya, nanavesyah, aṇavesyahṇaranya, takneṃrāga,  
dvesa, mveha, aṇavesāṇanikā, anevesyahṇaranya, takartaman·, tardadipinakavak·sirātaḥmakāvaksarvvabhāva,

[51v]

yeka anevesyahṇaranya, ikatakabaiḥ, yekāviḇhusaktiṇaranya, niḥantaṃṇāṇasaktiṇaranya, dūrādāsana, dūrāśravāṇa, dūrā  
51 tmānāna, durātmāsarbvagata, śravāṇaṇaranya, ṛmēnāḥa — — dohaparḥ, durādāsanaṇaranya, tumonādoḥaparḥ, aṣ  
tāvā<sup>ta</sup>tutupan·kunaṃ ikāvastu, katonātaḥdenira — —, durātmāṇaranya, vruḥṛjṇānaniṇadoḥaparḥ, durātmāsarbvagata  
ṇaranya, vruḥṛkrēyākabaiḥ, lāvan·sarbvavastu, nahantaṃṇāṇasaktiṇaranya, krēyāsaktiṇaranya, manojṇāvitvēm, vikārādarṃmatvēm,

[52r]

kāmarapitvēm, manovijṇāvitva(m)ṇaranya, adrasirasankemmanah, apānhanasirarirkabeḥ, ndātankaton·, vikārādarṃmatvēmṇaranya  
, tarḡinave, sirātaḥmagave, kāmarupitvēmṇaranya, saka — — harṇṇirātmananira, yapinakarupānira, nahanyakrēyāsaktiṇara  
nya, prabhusaktiṇaranya, abitaḥ, akṣayaḥ, arājah, amārah — —, abhitaḥṇaranya, tarmatakut·, akṣayaḥṇaranya, tarpakalvaṇan·,  
arājahṇaranya, takneṃtuha, amarāḥṇaranya, tarḥneṃpāti, apratihatagatiḥ, tanka<sup>ta</sup>ḥṇan·, nāhanyamprabhuśaktiṇaranya, ika, ta



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

- 52 saktibhaṭāra ika, yākabeh, yātapinakapanəddarisaktibhaṭāra, sumahursamkumāra, limbhaṭāra, ṇuni, tarpāvaka-saṃhyamparāmarta  
[52v]  
, tatāpivinvus-saktinira, ndyatarākətanisaktibhaṭāra—paramarta, saṃjābhaṭāra, saṃṇapakatonanikesvaryyanirasājñābhaṭā  
ra, maṅkanaliṃsaṃkumāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, saṃvyagisvarasampun—siddatāḥ, sirakatonanisaktibhaṭāra, apan-sirahumyapāra i  
kemrātkabeh, sumahursamkumāra, tanhanapvabhaṭāra, hanrəsasiddājugakatonanisaktibhaṭāra, matamnyantanhanasira, anhiṃsa
- 53 ktinirapanəṇrān-nihananira, muṅvāsampāṇditapvāsaktibhaṭāra, yamatamnyantayāsamhyamparamartāyanmaṅkana, sumahurbhaṭāra, tahapi  
[53r]  
ḥtanthayasamhyamparāmāta, apantan-saktiniravinehakə—nirasampāṇdita, ndyasaṅkanisaktisampāṇditakarīḥ, yanmaṅkanaliṇa  
nta, saktinikārihavaknirajugaśaktisamsiddā, sumahursamkumāra—, apadumehnyakabhibyaktāvkaśan-sājñābhaṭāra, hasirabaṭārariṣ  
samyogək-liṇanya, apadumehsirasiḥarisamyogi, aṅkaripamriḥniragavesamādi, satatāmrāhinevṇi, yamatamnyanāsiḥ  
[53v]  
bhaṭārarisamyogi, himilaṇakəṇirataklesāriralāvanlāranira, kabhibyaktākalarasayogivkaśan, āpanikaṃmālatumutuṣ  
pīsaktiniṃ atmānuni, hilaṃmarekāmāla, yankvalināsampā—ra, tan-vnaṃṇātātāmāhumilaṇakəṇmalanyajuga, āpantanavruḥla  
kṣaṇānimāmāla, matamnyantan-vruḥ ikaṃ atmārilaṣaṇaṣ—nimāla, apanivəṃ ivəṃ avaknyalāvanikaṃmāla, ndyavakāniṃ atmā  
yankvalinanta, yekāsinaṅguḥ atmāliṃsavruḥrisamhyamśastra, ikātaṃcitta ivəṃ ivəṃlāvan-malā, tahapiḥvnaṃ ātānātāmāhumil  
[54r]  
ānākəṇ-mālanya, yankvalinantasampāra, tanoramataṃdadyadevatātiryak-yanmaṅkana, mokṣa ikāṃjanmakabehyanmaṅkana, tinontapvokamjanmasaṃ  
śara, yatapaṇavruhananta antan-vnaṃ ikāṃ atmahumilaṇakəṇmalanya, —yapvan-vnaṃhumilaṇakəṇ-mālanya, yamatamnyan-siḥbhaṭārariyogi, apansi  
ravnaṃhumilaṇakəṇmālani<sup>ra</sup>, kadi<sup>śa</sup>ktibhaṭāra, maḥkanasaktisamsiddā, ya<sup>ma</sup>taṃnyaṣ—npada<sup>śa</sup>ktiniralāvanbhaṭāravkaśan, sumahursamkumāra, hanatakāribhaṭāra, rijaṇma  
saṃśāra, matam nyanmaṅkana, apā<sup>n</sup>-siddāsamādisamyogi, āpa<sup>n</sup>-yokābhibyaktan-bhaṭārarijanma, kapaṇguhani<sup>ra</sup>desam<sup>o</sup>gi, ya<sup>n</sup>-vruḥrimprayogasandipadanira, ka dyaṇḡgani  
[apva]

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55r.1 mokṣa] *e* vocalization of the cluster *mo* added below the *m*, unmarked 54r.1 *tinon*] *e* vocalization of the cluster *no* added below, between *ti* and *nā* unmarked 54r.2 *humilaṇ*] note the unique shape of the *ṭ*, which otherwise is usually obtained by adding one of the allographs for *ā* to the right of the cluster 54r.2 *riyogi*] *e* vocalization of *yo* written below, between *ri* and *yā*, unmarked 54r.4 *y<sup>o</sup>gi*] *e* vocalization of *yo* added below, between *saṃ* and *yā* 54r.4 *prayogasandi*] *e* vocalization of *yo* written below *yā* (unmarked)



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]





[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]



[56v]

56 ranya, paraninañənənəñ-vaneñ, ikāṃjñānamatutur ikāḥapyanya, yekāsvapnājñānānaranya, hayvāvineñḥmaṅkanarikalanīyo  
ga, nihantaṃstrismrētiñaranya, ikāṃjñānatuturikāṃvastubhi—nuktinyañuni, hayvāvineñḥmaṅkanarikalanīyoga, nahan-vraṣ  
ktinikāṃcittalimakveñya, yapvān·katutupaṇikāṃka—beñ, yatekāsināṅḥṣamādiñaranyayasinaṅḥṣāṃprajñāta,  
lāvanasāṃprajñāta, sāṃprajñātatañnaranya, ikāṃsamādətəñəñənāñdenipāt·ivriṇyanpāt·nihan·, hanasavitārkkāsamā

[57r]

di, hanatavicārasāmādi ikāṃjñānāmañekāgraharisuksmā, yāvicārasamādiñaranya, asmitāsamā<sup>di</sup>·ñaranya, inkanasāṃpurusa  
kevalya, vinotan·viśayadeniṃcitta, ndātan·ce—taneya, āpāvruḥsirānlāra, yavat·cumetanepavoṣ  
t·niṃcitta, yamatamnyan·hnaṃjugahumidəp·svaceta—nanira ikāsaṃhyaṃñātmā, anandāsamādiñaranya, ikāñāt māti  
tsṇadenyahumidəpāvaknyajuga, yatamatamnyan·kapaṅḥḥ ikāṃsukaviśeṣa, ikāṃpāt·yasinaṅḥṣāṃprajñātāñnaranya, yaṣ

[57v]

57 ntūṅgal·yan·rva, yan·tlu, yan·pāt·, sāṃprajñātātāñnaranya, yapvān·tanmaṃkana ika<sup>ka</sup>·beh, yasinaṅḥṣāṃprajñāt  
āsāmādiñaranya, ikātaṃ asāṃprajñātasamādipurbvak—ā, ikātasāṃprajñātasamādi, yatekādarmanicitta, hanakṣə  
pñānaranya, hanavimudañnaranya, hananiṃrodañnaranya, hana e—kāgrahañnaranya, kṣəptañnaranya, ikāñāmbhək·abvañumsat·ma  
remkadohan·, vikṣəptañnaranya, ikā ambhək·ñunikunik·vimudañnaranya, ikāñāmbhək·lñəñə, nirodañnaranya, ikā

[58r]

ñāmbhəkamhrat·, ekāgrahañnaranya, ināmbhək·laknārituṅgal·, nahan·kveñnidarmanicitta, ikāṃkṣəpta, vikṣəpta, vimudā,  
vimudā, tanpinakabhumi ikādeniṃsamādə, āpāpina—bhuminimśamāditaḥārīḥ, piliḥ ekāgrahalāvāniroda, sala  
ḥtuṅgal·kunamyeñinamaniṃsamādi, atavākarvakunaṃ,—sumahursapāra, vruḥtakami ikāṃsinaṅḥṣāṃprajñātaranya, apan  
·sabarinyan·hnaṃ ikāṃcitta, yatasamādiñaranya, yankvaliṇasāṃpāra, tan·yogya ikāṃhnaṃnicitta, saṅguhəñ·yoga, ā



[58v]

pan·hanasirayogisvaravidehalāvan, apārakṣeṭṭilīnā, vidēhanāranya, ikāsaṃyogisvarahnamluput·saṅkemsarira  
 58 , mārimakāvakekānaganāl, kevala ikāsuksmaṣ—sarirapinakāvaknira, prakratilīnānāranya, mārimakāvakikam  
 śarirasuksmā, apārānpinākāvaknira, yekimpradānata—tvajuga, asikatasamvidēhalāvanaprakratilīṇa, sirakamaṣ  
 harp·māmaṅguḥhakēnnyakamoḁṣan; apān·huvustan·hana ikāmcittarihidēpyara, tan·vruḥyarpānherkāla, ikāmdarmma

[59r]

saya, lāvanikamcittasaṇskāra, maṇkanapvaya, matamnyantan·pramanahnamnikāmcittajuga, āpantanhēnti ikāṃ anekāvisayabhi  
 nuktinya, tuturrup, āpāṇavruḥhanānta, antan·hēnti, niṣ—han·simanherripradāna, nūniveḥ ikāvideha, yapvan·jnēk  
 āmuktikasaddyan; dadisirasamṣaramahidēp·muvah, yagā—vecakraṇāranya, āpantanhanāsraddādirisira, āpasinaṅguḥṣraddā  
 diṇāranya, niḥanlīlāmniccitta, matanyan·paṅguḥ ikāmcittamalīmlam, saṅkepamriḥniramaṇabhyaśāyauḡasatātārirahinēmvñi, ṣ

[59v]

ndyapaṇavruharilīlāmniccitta, niḥanyametrē, karuṇā, muditā, upekṣā, yapaṇavruharilīlāmniccitta, āpasinaṅguḥmetrināranya  
 59 , niḥan·paṇavruḥhana, ikāmbabhēk·prāyojanākēn·ṣ—davāṇimṣukasamanmusuka, yametrināranya, kāruṇānāranya, ikāṃ  
 nāmbhēk·mrayojanākēn·ikāmmalarramamaṅguḥhasuka—, lāvan·luputarīśamṣāra, hikāruṇānāranya, muditānāranya, iṣ  
 kāmbāmbbhēk·kanumoda isaṅgumamvehayu, yamuditānāranya, upekṣānāranya ikāmnāmbbhēkumnam irikāmmamgavehala, nāhan·

[60r]

byaktānya ikāmlīlāmsamyogi, ikāmtacittamalīlāmrīyogi, yamaṃdadikēn·viryyamaṃdadyikēn·tutur, ikāmtuturyā  
 maṃdadyakēn·prajñā, ikāṃprajñāyamadadyakēn·samādi, —apasinaṅguḥviryyanāranya, glōmnēmmaṇabhyaśāyogalāvan·sadānva  
 nya, tuturnāranya, vruḥnirarikayogisvarān; tambhāṇimṣam—śarā, āpan·yamargganimaṅguḥhaknabhaṭāra, enakpvatuturniraribhaṣ  
 ṭāra, yamaṃdadyaknaprajñā, āpataṣinaṅguḥprajñātpētnirarikasāmyajñānan·tumuduhākēn·bhaṭāra, yamatamnyansiratambhāraṇāra

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58v.1 apārakṣeṭṭilīnā ] the final ā results from the correction of an original *virāma*, whose lower loop, albeit erased, is still dimly visible 59v.2 ambhāk· ] *virāma* written as a curved stroke below the *k* (cf. 34r.3 and 54v.1 and 60r.2 sadānva ] the *va* in the cluster *nva* is written as a subscript *akṣara* and not with the shape it usually assumes in ligature





[60v]

niprajñāsamyogi, matamnyansiratambhāraṇarāṇya, āpanābñrṭkanyaribhaṭāra, kadyaṅgaṇiṇṇhru abnṛlakunyadeniṇḥlār, maṅkanataprajñā  
saṃyogisvara ibhaṭāra, apatalvīrnisamādisamyogi, — anpatmājaribhaṭāra, niḥan·◊◊◊, ātmācetanastita  
ḥḥiliṇi ikāṃcitta, kavkas·tekaṃcittarisamhyam ātm—ā, yatekarumaket·ribhaṭāra, lanapvekāmsamādimāṅkanaka  
paṅgulḥanyadesamyogi, yamatanyan·kapāṅguḥḥikāṃkasiddyan·denira, lviṛnyakasiddyan·kanisṭa, madya, mottama, matamnyan·

60

[61r]

tlu ikāṃkasiddyan·, apan·tlulakṣaṇasamyogi, hanamradusambhega, hanamadyasambhega, hanatibrasambhega, mradusa  
mbhegaṇarāṇya, akdidenyaṇābhyaśāyoga, lāvan·sadā—nanya, amaṅguḥṭasirakasiddyan·ndānmālāvas·yakapaṅguḥ, ma  
ṇkanatasamṃādyasambhega, amaṅguḥsirakasiddyan·, ndān—rījanmanirasovaḥ ikānpamaṅguḥ, kunamṣamṭibrasāmbhega, ti  
bratkapiṇiragaveyoga, lāvan·pramāṇarāṇya, yematamnyan·paṅguḥ, ikāṃyogasiḍdi ijanmaniramanṅke, sumahursamkumāra,

[61v]

āpatakalyāṇikāsamtibra, matamnyan·maṅguḥ ikāṃyogasiḍdirījanmaniramanṅkeśāññābhaṭāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, hanamṇikām i  
svaraprañīdānarisirayekāhetuniran·vavaṃpaṅgu—ḥ ikāṃyogasiḍdi, isvaraprañīdānāṇarāṇya, kapāṅguḥhanhaṣ  
vak·bhaṭāradesamyogi, sumahursamkumāra, āpalakṣa—ṇanyaṇpaṅguḥḥikāvākḥbhaṭārasāññāhyamṃami, sumahurbhaṭāra, niḥan  
·lakṣaṇanḥavakbhaṭāra an·kapāṅguḥdesamyogi, kleśakārmmāvipakāśayaḥ, aparamraśṭasadevesvaraḥ, ikāṃnānetanāsaṃ

61

[62r]

yogi, tan·karāktān·deniklesakārmmavipakāśaya, maṅkanalakṣaṇabhaṭāra, arpaṅguḥdesamyogi, kleśaṇarāṇya, avidya  
, asmita, rāga·dvesa, abhinive(śa), kārmmāṇarāṇya, gavehala—, gavehayu, vipakaṇarāṇya, tasaktipalanyabhinukṭinimṣarira, a  
panikemṣarira, yekipalanimkārmmalāvan·sukaduḥka, — yekātānkaḥidēp·kālanimpyoga, yakālīnaniṃtan·kāraḥka  
ṇdenimḥklesakārmmāvipakāśayā, hanataseśaniṃkakārmmapalanāhuvus·kabhukṭi, yatasinaṅguḥ asayaṇarāṇya, yatik

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62r.2 abhinive(śa) ] ś written as an *akṣara* middling a *ka* and a *śa*, probably a minor mistake that was not deemed to be in need of correction





[62v]

āmagavetur<sup>ni</sup>imcitta, yanmahala, yanmahayu, yatekātanhanarisamyogi, yakalinianitan<sup>karā</sup>tāndeni asaya, lāvan·śatva  
 jñātasira, kumavru<sup>h</sup>irāt<sup>k</sup>abeh, sarvvakāryyakāktasira\$—gumavayekāmrāt<sup>k</sup>abeh, tātan<sup>kal</sup>vihan·keśvaryyanira, maṅkana  
 lakṣaṇābhaṭāra, sumahursamkumāra, maṅkanataṃ atmātan·—karāktāndeniklesakārmma<sup>v</sup>ipakasaya, mvam<sup>s</sup>arvvajñātayalāvan  
 ·sarvvakāryyakārta, tatankalvihan·kesvaryyanya, yankvalinasampāra, kārāttānmarānāt<sup>m</sup>ādenim<sup>k</sup>lesakārm<sup>mā</sup>vīpakasaya, ā

[63r]

pabhyaktānya, hananyaṃmañetapa, kadimañetanāmarānāt<sup>mā</sup>, yankvalisampāra, tanhana ikāmrāt<sup>k</sup>abeh, yatanhananā  
 tmā, ndānparbvajñāya, nhapantahanakvalinasampāra, tandadyi—yagumaveyadukanyavaknya, yanparbvajñāya, kālinanya, duduju  
 ga ikāmcetanānāt<sup>mā</sup>saṇelanabhaṭāra, mevəḥ\$—takarikapaṅgu<sup>h</sup>hanyavaknyabhaṭāra, tanpave<sup>h</sup>jugakapaṅgu<sup>h</sup>ha\$  
 denim<sup>j</sup>anmayan<sup>h</sup>in<sup>l</sup>amlāvan·pramāda, kunampavarahabhaṭārarihulun·, anum<sup>m</sup>eman·kagaveyanya, ikāmnābhyaśanamaṅkana

[63v]

, tumuntunajñānasamyogi, maṅkanalisamkumāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, hananya om.kāra, yatekənamadeyabhaṭāra, inajarākən  
 ·, risarvvasāstvakabeh, sirajapaknemp<sup>ra</sup>hinavni, apata\$—palaniṃ om.kāra, yan·lanajinapākən·, hilam<sup>s</sup>arvvavighnade  
 nira, lāvan·kapaṅgu<sup>h</sup>tāvakkbhaṭāra, sumahursamkumāra, ā—palv<sup>ir</sup>ni<sup>v</sup>ighnasājñābhaṭāra, sumahurbhaṭāra, nihan·lakṣananivī\$  
 ghna<sup>o</sup>, bhyadēhpramādalasya, sandehastyanamevaca, bhrantijñānavratatājñāna, bhūmyalābhāscamacali<sup>o</sup>, bhyadēnara\$

[64r]

nya, kadyaṅgani<sup>l</sup>āradyatmikā, vighna atekāmp<sup>r</sup>amadaña\_(ya), tan·gumavem<sup>i</sup> ikāmyogalāvan·sadānanya, al<sup>m</sup>əḥ  
 magaveyoga, śadenahanaranya, hala<sup>ḍ</sup>denyamam<sup>hi</sup>—(də)p·, kunam<sup>t</sup>an·lpas·n<sup>v</sup>am<sup>m</sup>ana<sup>b</sup>h<sup>y</sup>asāyoga, lāvan·dadi  
 nhanamārggāvanēḥ, anum<sup>m</sup>eman·kagaveyanya, sa—kem<sup>r</sup>ikāmyoga, maṅkanalim<sup>n</sup>isandehanya, vighnā atah<sup>n</sup>arani  
 kā, styanañaranya, tan·vnam<sup>m</sup>magaveyoga, makanimittan<sup>l</sup>əḥnyamvamluhyanhambhoknya, bhrantajñānanaranya, vulanun·vratājñā

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**64r.1** na\_ (ya) ] lacuna with space for two *akṣaras*, the second being a cluster whose final *ya* is visible      **64r.2** maṃhi—(də)p· ] lacuna around the binding hole, where the borders of a cluster *da* can be inferred



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[64v]

nañaranya, vuruṃmagaveṃyayoga, bhāmyalabhañaranya, tanhaṇaṃkahaṇṇya, tanpagaveyoga, cāmpalañaranya, ikisaḍāk  
 64 āla, tanhaṇakālanyaṃpagaveyayoga, nāhaṇaṇṇiṃvīṣ—ghnañaranya, yaṭakāhilaṇḍeṇiṃjaṇa, huvuṣṇyaṇhilaṃ ikāṃvighna  
 , alavaṇḍaṃjaṇiṇānanta, mahyaṇṭakitaṃmagaveyayoga, ya—(du)meṣaṃyogimañabhyaṣā, aṇaṇ·paṇaṇiṃjaṇayaṇṇaṇaṇabhyaṣā  
 yoga, laṇapekāyogaghṇāṇavayakāṇ·, yaṃataṇṇi(ya)\_mkaśākaṇ·saṇskāra, ikāṃsaṇskāraṇiṃyoga, yaṭamaṃave

[65r]

tuturisaṃyogi, ikāṃtuturyāmāṇuṇ·yoga, muvaḥ, ikāṃyogayāmaṃkaśākaṇ·saṇskāramuvaḥricittasaṃyogi, lvir  
 nyan·tkahaṇagāṃhaṇaṇṭṭ·lvirṇya, haṇalimaṭ—tkanya, ṇḍāṇaṇ·vuruṃmagaveṃduḥkahaṇisaṃyogi, piraṭakveḥ  
 nikākleśa, laṇaṇ·patalaṇaṇya, saṃahur·bhaṭā—ra, niḥaṇ·lakṣaṇāṇya ikāṃkleśa, asmitā, rāga, dvesa  
 , abhiṇivega, saṃaṇkaṇalviriṇkleśa, avidyañaranya, ikāṃjñāṇamaḥalakāḥliṇya, ikāṃ atmaṇyekaṭaṇ·laṇa, ha

[65v]

ḥaṇaṇataḥilaṃsvabāṇya, kuṇaṃ ikāṃpraṭivi apaḥṭejaḥbāyu akāsa, yekāṇagā, maṇkaṇatekāṃsinaṇguḥpaṣ  
 65 vītra, saṃvikumaḥbratayogisvara, yekāṣiṇaṇguḥ—pavītra, haḍva ateka, āṇaṇ·cāṃpurāsikā, āṇaṇimitta  
 nyan·cāmpurā, aṇaṇkaśakitaṇ·maṇaṇṇiraḍeṇibṛata—, taṇ·paṇoliḥṛivāḥyasuka, nāḥaṇmataṇṇyaṇ·cāmpurāṣi  
 kā, aṇuṇṇapavītra, akbhiraḥayu, yekāpavītra, nahaṇ·lvirraṇikleśa, avidyaṃabalikāḍeṇṇya, niḥanta asmitā, ikāṃ

[66r]

jñāṇaṇaṇ·vruḥ ipāḥaṇeṇāṇiṇi, italāṇaṇātmā, aṇaṇiṇeṃ ivə(m)hiḍeṇṇyaṇikaṇva, rāgaḥleśaṇaranya, hyuṇ·, dvesaḥleśaṇa  
 ranya, melik·, abhiṇeśaṇaranya, ikāṃrāgaḥlāva—n·dveśa, saṇmaṇaḍeḥ, yekābhiṇeṃveśaṇaranya, saṃpāṇḍi  
 tapva, kaḥaṇaṇtaṇ·tu abāṇeśa, byaktāṇyaṇṇiḥaṇ—, melikāṣiraṇiṃgavemaḥuḥarālāḥalavaṇ·saṃsara, mahyunta  
 sirarikalpaṣeṇ·maharṇ·riḥiṇaḥ·taṇpaḥalik·lāra, nahaṇ·kabhāṇeṃveṣaṇ·saṃpāṇḍita, ikāṭakabeḥ, a

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**64v.2** kālanyaṇpa ] traces of a cancelled *ya* visible beneath the cluster *nṇpa*    **64v.3** ya--(du)meh ] the shape of a *d* with *u* vocalization is visible at the border of the lacuna around the binding hole    **64v.4** —\_mkaśākaṇ· ] lacuna allowing space for two *akṣaras*, before which half of a *ya* forming the cluster *nṇya* is visible    **65r.4** maḥalakāḥliṇya ] the *ākāra* is written after a *visarga* by metathesis, resulting in an unpermitted sequence. I presume that *\*kāḥi* was intended, though the whole word appears to be still corrupt





[66v]

vidya anumbhuminikā, apan-yekāpupulānimityajñāna, sumahursamkumāra, apatatambhāniklesasamañkanasājñābhaṭāra, suma  
 66 hurbhaṭāra, yaktahprastāvānimbṛataginavayākən·desam—yogi, apan-nikāmklesāmakandil·akveṭṭaya, ikām  
 klesamagāṃ aganāl·tkanya, yekihilamdenimbrata—, lāvan·prānayamayoga, ikāhalit·tkanya, yekāṣ  
 hilamdenisāmprajñātasāmādi, ikāmsāmprajñātasāmādi, yapaṇaniṃsāmprajñātasāmādi, yapaṇaniṃpratyaharadi, yekā

[67r]

palanimbrata, ikāmbṛatayapaṇaniṃverāgya, yapaṇaniṃvaṛḡlāra, ikāmlaraṇaranya, yekātanyahavusan, apan  
 ·jātinim·mavakjūgāhanāmlāra, ikāmmavak·yekāma—valuyvaluyarivārgganarakālāvanmanusa, maputəran·ataḥṭa  
 n·pgat·, vruḥpvasam̐yogisvarāṇmakāñjātinimāvak—yamatamnyanpamriḥmagavesamādi, yatanyan·puputasam̐keca  
 krābhāva, māṅguhaknakalpasən·naranya, luput·sankebhāvacakra, umguhakənpavakbhaṭāra, nāhan·matamnyantantpalḥpal

[67v]

h, apan·ttiitiin·rimlārajātisam̐yogi, ikāñvāñnapuṅgumbṭaḥrimlāra, padanya, kadyaṅgāñimvvaṃknam̐imsavam̐nigarāgati, tanalārayaṣ  
 67 navakñimvvaṃkunam̐yanmatañvam̐knādenya, alāra ikā, sam̐yo—gikāharanmata, apantannenak·panoniñvānyan·knārim̐sāṃvvaṃ  
 nigarāgati, matakut·pvarimlārajātisam̐yogi, ya—matamnyanpagavem̐samādi, sahasadānānya, yekāpinriḥniṣ  
 ra, lāvan·brata, apānikābratayekāmag̐səṇəṃāla, nyam̐vvaṃmāñəsə apvay·rimkayu, tan·poliḥ ikā apvay·

[68r]

, yan·mləsikāmkayu, yapvanhakim̐ ikām̐ inəsə, irikāmgutāñāpvay·, māñkanatekāmsariralāvan·indriyā, ŋu  
 niveḥ ikāmcitta, bratayapamahakəṃ iriya, inəsə—tayaniprāñayāsamādiṃ, yamatamnyan·hidəp·avakbhaṭā  
 ra, tavat·kapāṅguḥpavakbhaṭāra, tavat·sakāmayo—gi, sumahursamkumāra, ndyatalakṣaṇāñnikāmyogasadināla  
 van·bratasājñābhaṭāra, nihañlakṣaṇāñnikāmyogasadinā, anum̐pañavruhanātāñaku, hana aṣṭaṅgāñaranya, yāma

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67v.2 ~~sam̐vvaṃ~~ ] a *anusvāra*, whose traces are still dimly visible, was erased    67v.3 sadānānya ] traces of a cancelled *akṣara* beneath the cluster *dā*, and of a subscript *ya* between *dā* and *nā*    68r.3 *yoga* ] traces of a cancelled *i* vocalization above *ga*



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

niyāma, aśanāprātyahāra, prāṇayama, dāraṇa, dyanā, samādi, samañkanakveḥṇiṇiṇyogasadāna, yāmañaranya, ahiñsa, satya,ś [68v]

68 astenya, brahmācāri, aparigraha, ahēñsuñaranya, tanpa—matimati, sahananiprāṇetanpātyana ikākabeḥ, lāvan  
·patyantakutnimāvakpati, matanṇyanmahābratañara—nsamvikutanpāmātīmāti, hanatavususniṇvaneḥ, tanaparakvañvaṇ  
mātimātisatva, yan·carvarisaṇhyam, atatābhojanakunam, mañkanapaknānya, tātanmañkanasaṇyogi, niḥan·vaneḥtanpaś

matyanasatvayan·parvvāṇikāla, tatānmañkanasaṇyogi, pisaninūsirānpamātyanasarvvāsatva, yatasinaṅguḥ ahiñsuñaranya, sa [69r]

tyañaranya, tanmadvaribratanya, tanmadvamovus, tanpaś—ñahalañuniveḥmalināmas, yekāśatyañaranya, yasinaś  
ṇguḥ asthenyañaranya, brahmācāriñaranya, yatanyantan·ka—lalaranāsamādi, yadoniṇtanparabi, yekābrāhmācarina  
ranya, apārigrahañaranya, tarpañakusarvvādravya, nāhan·lakṣaṇaniṇyamābrata, soca, santosa, tamaḥsvadyaya, isvaś

raprañidāna, socañaranya, māradinavak, lāvanāmbhak·hayvākākasadeniṇrāgadveśamoha, maradinamovus, hayv [69v]

69 āmuvusakēn·maṇlarerivaneḥ, maradinamolab, hayvo—makolaḥḍurbhyasāna, maradināñan, hayvopinañanikaṁsenuhu  
taken·pañanēn·samviku, lāvaninumēnirajñāna, yekā—sinaṅguḥsocañaranya, soliraniranaśi ataḥsantosaknani  
ra, atavāsoliḥnirananaṁopatapāñira, yasantosaknanira, ikāṁniindriyākabeḥprahēn·sakētana, ribratālāvan·sa

mādi, yatanyan·tanpadadyaknarāgayanpaṇnon·viśayakālīnanya, tan·garjitayanpaṇnīkēkidummenak, athapanāśalaku [70r]

naṇ, ilatnyamuḥārametpināñan, yanpamañan·rāśaś—menak, nahanlacalanimṇtapaññaranya, svadyayañaranya aḡlēmā  
ñunyakēn·matra, astāvāribhaṭāra, isvaraprāñidānaña—ranya, umaññāñēn·kasuksman·bhaṭārariratkaḇeḥ, nūniveḥryya  
vaknira astityanabhaṭāra, yatanyan·siddisamādi, yekā isvarapranidānañaranya, sumahu·saṁkumāra, apandoniṇkā

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69v,3 pañanēn... śocañaranya ] traces of cancelled *akṣaras* beneath this portion of text 70r.1 paṇnīkē~~śa~~la ] this reading is problematic, for the *śu* written below the cluster *ñā* as if in ligature results in an unpermitted sequence, and therefore the whole might be interpreted as a way to cancel the cluster. The exact placement below, and close to, the cluster *ñā* makes it less likely that *śu* would be an unmarked addition.



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]



[70v]

niyāmbatranhinānakēn, apanhuvusikāmyāmbatratamapagēhpinakābratasamyogi, sumahurbhātāramekastekamyā  
mabrata, kunamyatanyantadadyadesamyogi, yatāmaṣ—tamyān-gavayakna, ikāmnīyāmbabrata, nihanpalanikātiṣ  
nonta, antadadi ikāṃ ahənsudesamyogi, tātanha—natukārpalanya, vvaṃnādyintan-papra, vvaṃvanvaṭtanpatanḍinan-  
, lāvanasiṭhekāmsarvvasatvakabehrisira, nāhan-palanikāṃ ahənsubrata, nihan-tapaniṃsātya, jātismāravruhrīja

[71r]

nmanirāṇuni, nāhanpalaniṣātyayanginaveyakēn, nihan-palaniniṣtenya, tkajuga ikāṃdravyarisira, tanulihniṇaṇela, n  
āhan-palanitanpaṇahālā, nihanatapalanīṃtanpa—rābi, utsahariyogasira, āpantantālārān-samādinira, nāha  
ntapalanīṃbrahmācariyanginaveyakēn, nihanṭāpala—nījānatanpaṇaku, sidda asikāryanya, nihanatapalanīyāmbabrata  
ginive, palaniśoca, tan-sinasargadesamanyajanma, mvaṃkahideptasamhyamvisēadenya, kahanapalanīśocayan-gi

[71v]

naveyakēn, nihanatapalanīṃsantosa, agīmsukanyatanpavorlāra, nihanatapalanīṃtapa, ilanikāṃragādvēsamoha, mvaṃ i  
kāṃklēsakabeḥ, nāhan-palanīṃtapaginaveyakēn, —nihan-tapalanīṃsvadyaya, papaṇḡḡḡsīralāvansamhyam, saṇinastāvā  
nirapratidina, nāhan-palanīṃsvadyayāvinabhyaśā, niha—n-palanīṇisvara, praṇidānā, siddiyogisira, nāhanatapalanīyā  
mbratayaninabhyaśā, lumkasapvāṇabhyaśāyogamvaṃsadānanya, ametatasiradēsarahayū ubhvānanira, anusalahnivurahan

[72r]

, tātanavalanaridurjanā, pavitratamaradin-, yatanyansidyajñānanira, yan-gulhāyan-gunum, yan-halas-yan-sapingirilvah, ṣ  
yan-rinuśakunam, asiṃkahyunirahungvananira ikākabe—h, yapvan-huvusiranma uivān-, madyusataśira, masocātasira  
rumuhun-macaman-rā, mantranira, aghora, tatpursa—kunamhuvusmāṃkana, tumamatasirapagavayanirayoga, yanpaṣ  
deherān-, yangutā, yanumahkunam, mavaśuhasuku, mvaṃḡḡḡvākulvan-bhātāra atavākidul-bhātātakunam, manambhahatasiraruṣ

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70v.4 palani ] the codex presents a small hole in correspondence with the *i* vocalization, which is, nonetheless, still partly visible 71v.3 nahan ] the *ā* appears to have been corrected from an original *virāma*, which retains a trace of its elongated stroke 72r.1 durjanā ] *repha* written above the cluster *du*, leaning toward the *ja*; it is difficult to determine whether the scratch on the left of the *repha* is accidental or represents a trace of an original *anusvāra* which has now faded away (in which case read: rim durjanā). I consider the former case more likely

[illegible][illegible]

10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 8

[illegible]

[72v]

muḥun-, līnanirabhāvasiddhasamyogi, maṅkanalinanirayarpanambhāhribhātāra, hūvusmaṅkana, maṅguḥḥatasira, riṅgvaṅgvananira, yaṅ-pīta  
 72 , yaṅ-saṇḍi, yatanyantaṅgalinapaluṅguhñira, makapala—soveniraluṅguh, yaṅpagaveyoga, niḥan-lakṣamaṇanirasakṣa  
 ṇā, haṇapādmasānā, haṇasvastikāsānā, niḥan-lakṣaṇaṣ—niṃpadmasānā, ikāṭalapakaṅkalihūmupaṇṇakən-ripupulaliḥ, ya  
 pādmasānānaranya, ikāṇṭalapakaṅkalih, umuṅgū isorimupukaliḥ, yaḥhadrāsānānaranya, svasthikāsānānaranya, ikāṭala

[73r]

pakaṅkalih, umuṅgvarislāpupukaliḥ, ikālpalpaniṃtāṇankivatumupaṇṇikəsapvan-, tumumpaṇṇ tekāṃ nātəṇ-lumahātah, ikāṃvalakāmma  
 bñərapaṇadəgnya, təməṅgətekāgulu, hayvātumiṇā, hayvā—tumunḥkul-, mābñəṛājuga, ikāmatadəḷtuṃtuniṃ iruṃ, atavāmrama  
 jugakunaṃ, ikāṇilat-yahumlətana ikāṃhuntu isorṣ—iruhurmāgolambhemidəma, nāhan-lakṣaṇanirasakṣaṇā, hūvu  
 snyaṇmenakpaluṅguhñira, gavayāniratekāmpratyahārayoga, ikāṃ indrayāvatəkən-saṅkəmviśayanya, māṭahayvāvineḥ

[73v]

manona, talināhayvāvineḥmaṇḥa, iruṃhayvāvineḥmaṇambhūna, kulit-hayvāvineḥmahidəpāpanastis-, kututuk-hayvāvi  
 neḥmaṇsabda, taṇan-hayvāvineḥmaṇgamələsukuhayvāvine—ḥlumakvā, nāhandeniṇamatak-indriyā, maṇahayvāvineḥmamikaṣ  
 73 lpa, buddihayvāvineḥmaṇāṇəṇānā, aḥaṇkārahayvāvine—ḥṇakvā, nāhandeniṇamatak-tyantaḥkāraṇa, hūvusnyanasəṃ-pəṇə  
 kākabeḥ, yatamatamṇyan-hnaṃ ikāṃcittahumidəṃ, tankvatan-kva, ekātvacitta, saṃhyaṃ ātmāyatasiṇaṅguhyaogaharanya, hu

[74r]

vusnyanekāṭva, gavayəṇirataprāṇayamayoga, ḥlas-lakṣanaṇiṃkāprāṇayāmayoga, recaka, kurmbhaka, puraka, vinitvākṇə  
 kabāyusaṅkeriruṃ, saṇəḥsaṇəḥhayvādras-saṇiṇaniṃ—maṇṇəsəp-bhāyuriniṇuṃ, kuṇṇitamuvah, ekātvajñānanira, sakavaṇṇi  
 maḥkuṇṇi, sabhagyanmasoveya, āpaṇānyasvajātiniya—taninabhya, ə, ikāṃkuṇṇi uttamā, taṇ-paməṭvakən-bāyulu  
 mñājugatanpambhəkan-, apan-cetanāsamḥya atmā, yekāḥiniḍəpnira, taṇpantara, yatamatamṇyanḥilaṇ ikābāyurisaṣ

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72v.1 nanira, ] some traces of cancelled signs are very dimly visible beneath the sequence (the only clearly decipherable one is an *i* vocalization above *na*) 72v.4 umuṅgū ] this perhaps may also be read as *umuṅguā* (*umuṅgā* would have been the correct form) 73r.1 vatumupaṇṇikəsa ] a string of wood has been attached below the line in order to connect the two broken parts of the folio 73r.4 hārayoga, ikāṃ indra ] a string of wood has been attached below the line in order to connect the two broken parts of the folio



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[74v]

ikanya, apantan-cittacetanādesamhya atmā, padanya, kadyaṅgānivvetumitisivatutinunvanmapāṇḍesamabāṇhilamjuga ini  
 74 sēpnivatunapanas\*, maṅkatāmbāyuhilamdenicittanināṣ—tmā, yamatamnyan-visēsa ikā ekātvakuñci, ndan-yanhuvu  
 s-ikāṇrecaka, kumvāka, puraka, apatapalanikāṇpr—āṇyāmayoga, yan-kvalinānta, hilaṇtamahṇinātilavanikāṇ  
 cittadenya, yamatamnyan-hilaṇcittasamyogidenya, apāṇikāṇmanah-lavānāṇnāṇan-anekāparanya, umsut-makalis

[75r]

·tankavnaṇtinimpel, yavat-makvelḥ ināṇnāṇan-rikāṇiyoga, tavat-vurumṣamādisamyogi, matakut-pvasamyogi  
 vurumṇasamādinira, yamatamnyanpinriḥginaveyākēnik—āpraṇayāma, apāṇikāṇ umaṅkusikamcittamēṇhā, apāṇikāṇpra  
 ṇayāma atahdumēḥnyahumnaṇṇa ikāṇnaṇ~~ṇ~~ṇāṇnāṇmakve—ḥ, lāvanēsatekādāraṇayogadeniprāṇayāma, apasiṣ  
 ṇaṅguḥdāraṇayogaṇaranya, ikāṇcitta ekātva atguḥrisvadeṣanya, yan-rihati, yan-rimṇyāvāṇimsarikunam, yan-citta ninātma<sup>ku</sup>

[75v]

nam, asthityayan-ekatvabhāṭarakunam, ikāṇtapan<sup>e</sup>kagrahanikāṇcittasalaḥtungal-yasināṅguḥdāraṇadyanayogaṇaranya, o  
 75 , niḥantasamādiyogaṇaranyahayocittahilaṇprayaṣ—tnanyarivvahnimḥatmāhanapa, taḥarācittanyasenārībhaṭārasīṣ  
 rakatkēnikadyanasamyoginḥkamṭayasināṅguḥsamādikaha—n-piṇṇihasdagayapanakāsadyanasamyogi anpaṅguḥ ikāṇka  
 mokṣan, ikātam aṣṭaṅgā, yapinakabāhiraṅgadenimṣampraṇāṭa, nāhan-desamyogimaṇābhyaṣāprastāvinyan-kapaṇguḥ i

[76r]

kāṇkasiddyan, yapinakasadānaniranpagaveyogamuvah, prasthāvānyan-vnaṇsakāmakama, yapvanhilam ikāṇsahajamāla, i  
 rikeṇṭasirāṇpadalāvan-bhaṭāra, sumahursampāra, aṇe—l-dāhattanarāṇikāṭah, apāṇ-tanpaṇḍadyaknakamokṣan-i  
 kamṇyoganebyasā, yankvaliṇṭa, aparanyapvamadadyaknaṇka—mokṣan, yankvaliṇṭana, sumahursamṣevaka, diḥṣajugamadadyakō  
 n-kamokṣan-paṇṭamatamnsarvvajñātakam atmā, yan-diḥṣajugapamḥidepasampara, ikāṇtāṇtmāyāntinpartvajiṇātan-sinaṅgu



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]



76      ḥ ikākamokṣan-, tapvankadadi ikākasarvvājñānīnātmādenidikṣājuga, yamatanyan·bhyasānātaḥ, ikāmyogasa [76v]

mādimneglāk, sumahursamkumāra, ndyakahakṣamānikamka — — — siddyan-, kapaṅguḥḍesaṃyogi, nihaṇ·niñētākənanta, ikāṃṣ  
madadyaknakasiddyanisaṃyogi, ikāṃḍāraṇā, dyana, samā — — di, rumakət-tariṅkana, yatanyanilusam̃yogimatmahan·prati  
vi, apanikāṃḍāranya, dyana, samādirumākəttritratvatuṅgal, yasinaṅguḥsaṃyāmāṇaranya, anuṃpinakasadanāsam̃yogimagave

[77r]      kasiddyan-, ndān·denirānaṃyāma, saṅkesor·deniṃrānaṃyāma, apantan·dadi ikāṃtatva iruhursināṃyāma, hanyatapa ikāṃ

tatva iruhūr, yatamataṃnyan·saṅkesora ataḥde — — — nirānaṃyāmarumuhun-, yapvanmahyun·siratumirvāśaktinisinḥā  
, ikāṃsiṃḥasināṃyāmaśaktinya, yapvan·mahyun·sira — — — tumirvāśaktinigarada, sināṃyāmānirāśaktinya, yapvan·mahyun·  
siravruḥharitikanipātiniṇira, ikāṃḍarmmadarmmasināṃyāmanira, aparānikāṃḍarmmadarmmaṇaranya, ikāṃḡavehalamvvaṃḡavehayu, a

[77v]      pan·palanidarmmayamagavehurip·mvam̃sarira, yapvanhəntipalanikāṃḍarmmadarmmasināṃyāmanira, tkapātiniṇirayanmaṅkana, yapvanmāhyu

n·piratan·knelapāvlikāṃ, hanām̃rata isoṛṇiṅguruṃ — — — gurum̃ṇan-, yekāsaṃyāmanira, yapvān·mahyunpiratumonasaṃṣ  
siddyalāvandevatā, ikāṃbāyusi udānasam̃yāmanira, ha — — — natajotiḥmtusaṅkem̃vuvūn·yapinakasuluṇṇira antonpam̃siṣ  
ddālāvan·devatā, yapvan·mahyunsirakatona·dumilahavaknira, ikāṃbhāyusiśamānayāśayāmanira, yapvanmahyunpira

[78r]      gumsəṇanāvaknira, kadyaṅḡāṇiṃbhasmāśeṣa, mamkasākṇāvva·jugāvaknira, ikāṃbāyusisamāṇayāsaṃyāmānira, yapvānmahyunpira

tankapətəkariṃplāvan·vvam̃, ikābāyusi udānayasaṃyā — — — manira, yapvan·mahyunpiratankatona, sam̃yāmanirapanonivvam̃va  
neḥ, mvam̃saṃyāmanirāvakniratan·katona, yapvanmāhyun·ṣ — — — siramaṃḡlayāṇariṇākāṣa, sam̃yāmaniravakniramahaṇanakaḍikapuṣ  
k-, huvusiramahaṇan·vnaṃptasiramamapahipunti, atavāmuṅḡvam̃savam̃niṅgarāḡatikunam̃, yatapaṇavruhanirahaṇanḥavaknira, huvu

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77r.1 tapa ikāṃ] ā in the following line      78r.4 paṇavruha] *ṇia* has been written as a *v* with a dot to the top-right so as to form the shape of a *ṇia* (cf. 84r3)

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[78v]

78 smamkana, samyāmaniratapasamandānhavaknirālāvan-kāṣa, yanaharp-sirasadāyovana, ikāmpañcamahābhutasamyāmanira  
sakatuṅgal', ikāmpṛativisayamānirarumuhun-, ya—pvanhuvusikāmpṛativisamyāmadenira, bhyaktāsīrālvat-tanka  
nindenimkādgā, tanramatāvaknirayantibemvataṃ, atavā—tibemkaramñjugasira, ikāmkaramñjugarmet-  
, avaknirasrada, nahanpañavruhan-rimhalahñimpratividenira, samyāmaniratekamve, tankapetek-sirayankalburimbānu,§

[79r]

sināyamānirāteja, pañavruhanirayanalaḥ ikāntejadenira, tan-gsəsirayankatururimñapuy-, sināmyāmanirempkambā  
yu, pañavruhanirannalaḥ ikāmbāyudenira, halaḥ ikāṃ—bāyuyanmamkana, lāvan-tankatub-siradeninānin-, nūni  
vehhuripniratan-vikarā, yamatamñyan-dirghayusa sam§—yogi, piratalavasnirahurip-, salavasniṣativitkaniṃmahāpralā  
yādlāha, irikāñhilamśarirasayogi, ndātan-vikārajñānanira, apantan-knepātisamhyam atmā, lāvan-prajñāsiratan-

[79v]

79 knelupa, samyomamñiratekam akāśa, yapvanalahdenirānākāśa, tantibājugasiradenināvanava, mvamlituhayutekā  
vaknira, kahyunhyun-vinulatan-tarknetuha, nāhan—byaktānyanalaḥ ikāmpañcamahābhutadesamyogi, mantalvirni  
kāmkasiddyan kapāṅgāḥ desamyogi, prastāvānīprayatnā—nira, apanhana upāsargañaranya, anumikapāṅguḥ desamyogiṣ  
, apasinaṅguḥ upasargañaranya, ikāmpinakādagidenimpradānatatva, yatamaṅgūhricitta, karipvekāṃcittadesamyo

[80r]

gi, hanatavāśanānikāmsatvarajaḥ tamah, turuṃtapvanīhilam, yasināṅguḥ upasargañaranya, lvirnya, prajñā, madras, mabyet,  
upasargganikāmsatva ikāmprajñā, yatamavak-risaṃ—yogi, yatamataṃnyan-panurun-prajñāsamyogi, apabyaktā  
nīprajñāsamyogi, ikāmpñajītapvan-denira, vrusi—reryyatanya, mvam upātpetinya, nihanta upasargganimsatva, lāva  
n-gavenirahambhuṃgandāvamīni, atavāgavemñiramanon-devatārupamañanugrahanalvirnya, upasargganisatva ikāṃ, niha§



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[80v]

ntam upasargganirājah, śaktihidēpnirayyavaknira, apanikāṃvastututankavnamridaṇudenira, yekā upasarggarājah, nihan-upasargaś  
niṇṭtamah, mogaptampanonira, mvaṇṇjñānira, vulaṇṭtanatu — turijñānira, maṇkatavakniramalupakabeḥ, abyetan-vnam  
molaḥ upasargganitamah ikām, yapvan-maṇkana ikām u — pasarggakapaṇḡḥdenira, magaveyataprayogisandi, apu  
yāpuya, yanpamaṇanasarvāpyak, yapvan-agamśalahpanon-lāranira, edān-kunaṇ, siḥpənāṇḍihən, tambhānahə

80

[81r]

hanalimolāvan-bavamatanira, yapvan-atuturkdikdik, konən-tasiratuturarijñānanira, sumahursamkumāra, ena  
kikāyāparovaṇasira, yapvan-tuṅgal-tuṅgal-si — repatapānira, apata upayanira, sumahurbhaṭāra, hanaktapaṇhilam  
lāra, prastāvāyan-dirghavyasamyogi, sumahursamku — māra, kasihanahulun-varahənikāpaṇhilamlāra, sabarinyan  
·papasaḥ ikāmpradānatatvajugalāvan-atmā, ṇuniveḥyanyapasahasamhyamñātmālan-citta, yatahetusamyogi

[81v]

takneplāra, sumahursamkumāra, umapadenim amasahaknasamhyam atmālan-pradānadi, sumahurbhaṭāra, yadonikāmprayoś  
gasanditinakonakənisaṃguruyapvanan-mahyun-sira — samyogi umasuka irikāṃvvaṇvaneḥ, ikāṃdārmmaḍārmmayatapga  
tinira, hanataseṇanyakdikdik, matanyan-tanmāti —, yapvanhuvus-pgat-siddāsiramasukanāṇvvaṇvaneḥ, yapvan-ma  
hyunsiramāṇḡḥha amśesvaryya, ikām ekādaśendriyāśasamyanira, yapvanālah ikām, kapaṇḡḥ ikām aśtesvaryyadeni

81

[82r]

ra, apatalvirnyanihan, animan-laghiman-mahiman, prasti, prākamya, isitva, vāsitva, yātrakā, ma, vāśayətva, nāha  
nyam aśtesvaryyaṇaranya, animan-ṇaranya, māgaṇal-aś — vakniratambhayan-vkasanmalittaya, apasinaṇḡḥhalit, vnaṃsira  
masuk-mturiprativi, kadyaṇḡṇimvvaṇmasilurup-rivvaṇ, maṇka — natasamyogi, vnaṃmasuk-mturimprativi, maṇkanayān-panlakula  
ku, tankavadādenimgunumkarsisēpinurug-nira, ikāvaturtrasikādenira, ndātan-vikāra ikāvaknira, yatakālīs



[illegible]

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[82v]

ianinilit-, laghiman·nīaranya, abyētāvākniratatambhayan·vksanmahānānkadikapuk-, yāmatanyanpamlayamri akāśa, mvam  
82 madrastalakunirasankemanahyekālaghiman·nīaranya—, tarkalvihan·gṇṇirayarśāharp·gṇṇa, atavāpinujātasira  
sapanira, prāptihīnaranya, sakaharpirātaka, sakaś—hyun·nirahana, nihan·artanipraptivaneh, dadisiragumamēl·ś  
samhyamvulān·saṅkempalingīhanira, prakamyānaranya, sakaharpirarupanira, isitvānaranya, maṇakaṛkadihvāsāyitvānaranya, ś

[83r]

mañutus-, yatrakāmavāsāyitvanaranya, sakāmākāma ikāsamhyam incā, yatrakatahalitandenira, ṅkān·n·vāśaś  
yōtvapramāṇasira, vnaṁtasiramadaṇdayantan·kapintuhu—ikāninutunira, nāhansinpaṁ aśēśvāryyānaranya, anmaṁkanaka  
siddyan·saṁpāṇḍita, tkakavighnarisira, lvinrya, ikā—devatāmāmava upābhogamvam anakbhīrahayu, mahalp·sinaś  
ṇḍamnya, kapvāmālvihlvīhhyun-, yatamanusumśumyogi, syammuliharimsvargga, ndānhayvasiramāṅguh, apan·bañcana ikā, guma

[83v]

vehvuruṇīyogasamyogisvaradonikā, yatamatamnyanpamhulihlulihharīhati, akuyātahtutakneṁkvāpasyamniṁt  
83 ādevatābyaktakumahidēp·śāṁsaramuvaḥ, apan·jati—niṁśaktiniṁvīśaya, luputikāṁsukaviśēśadenya, ikāṁlārata  
n·vurumkabhuktideku, ikāṁkasiddyanhuvus·kabhukti—deku, tanulihkvāninakinak-, haliḥkvāgavebratalāvaś  
nsamādi, sajivaniṁrāttikā, hilāṁnapvāyadeniṁviśayasakarm, lalukasmālamku, pakṣanikāhananikā, indrajalasadraś

[84r]

sya, kadikilāt·kabhuktinya, yadyan·malavasibhinukti, ndātan·vurumavehlāra, ikāṁlāra, anekālvarnya, tavat·pve  
kāṁjanmākatabānlāra, kavatkadasyatanaṁyā, meviḥmaś—luy·janmamuvah, anhiṁkbbhosapi asuvāk·tmahanya, yekāka  
takutkukamumanah, yanaṅṅānan·pasyamnikāmvatākdēva—tā, maṇkanalimniravarahvryavaknira, nīhansahursampāra, satas  
·kveḥhanikāṁviśayakabhuktidenimiva, tan·yamamhadēpālārayan·vruḥrikatatvan·bhatāra, matamnyanmamkana, apantanhanatuś

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[84v]

84 hutuhunipikā ulaḥkabeḥ, matamnyantanhanatuhu, anhilanadonikākabeḥ, maluyarisañkanya, ndisañkanya, sañkesamhyamta  
yā, malilaṁtānkavaranaṁ, sirasiñaṅguḥṇiskālanaranya, a— — nuṁkalinañirātḥkabeḥ, niyatatan-salaḥparān-, mañkanapvaka  
tatvaniṁjanma, mvaṁkavruḥḥan-saṁhyamparārtā, ndyatamātaṁṣ— — nyan-saṁsayarinulāḥkabeḥ, apamatamnyanpamuhārālāra, kabhu  
ktyanimviśayā, mañkanatakḥhosapi asuvək, sabarinyanmatimulihritayā, tamatandinalihmulihritayā, apankatonhilamṣ

[85r]

ikāmvaṅkya, yekā inakuntamokṣa, jñānanyalāvan-cittanyatanavruḥhirikā, lā<sup>va</sup> nikāmtayā ansinaṅguḥparāmārtā, apata  
pañupākāranya, ndyakaśiddhyankadadidenya, sumahursampāra— —, tan-mvākṣatañaranipikā, yanpamaṅguḥḥakasiddyan-, kunamyan  
·hilamjuga, yamokṣañaranya, yankvaliṇasampāra, kapantaṣ— — katayan-tka, apan-dudu ikāñahurip-, kadilaṅgōṁnikāmha  
na, kapan-tekāmtayāntapratyaksā, sumahursampāra, dlāharidakanipralaya, yantayā ikamrātḥkabeḥ, mañkanalimsampāra, ṣ

[85v]

85 apayan-mtu ikāratḥkabeḥmuvah, yekāmajarakən-yanliṇaritaya ikāmrat-, apansañkemtayāsāñkānyamtununi, yanmamkaṣ  
naliṇasampāra, ciruddātekopakṣāntahanmamkana, matamnyaṣ— — siñaṅguḥviruddā, apanliṇarimtayā ikāmjagat-lita, mtupvayamne  
siñaṅguḥṭamtusañkemtayā ikāmjagat-, advatan-tayā— — ṇaranikā, yantaliṇañijagat-anāvṭu, yankvaliṇasampāra, tandadiṣ  
tamparamartāmañkana, sumahursamḥkumāra, aparāñimkāsiñaṅguḥsamppāratayā ulihaniṁjagat-, lāvan-sañkemniṁjat-mtu, kasiha

[86r]

navarāḥṇhulun-bhaṭāra, ikāmsiñaṅguḥsamppāratayāparāmārtā, hekānasinaṅguḥprakrati<sup>va</sup>kna, tayāpasamḥniṁcittasatvarā  
jatamah, lakṣaṇanyaptamṭanpacetanā, apantan-hana— — kaprajñāñiriya, ṇuniveḥ ikācetanā, apamaṁtamnyansinaṅgu  
ulihaniṁjagat-apan-ya ikākṛəyasaktibhaṭāraṇa— — ranya, mayāmayā ikā atmāyātaktibhaṭāraparāmākāraṇaṣ  
, tavat-pvekāñātmacumetanekāmprakratitvatva, tavat-mtu ikāmjagat-, yāpvan-marri ikāmprakratitvatvaci

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85r.2 ṇaranipikā ] the ligature *np* is not sure; the second element strongly resembles a hastily written *p*, but perhaps it could also be read as a *y*



[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

[86v]

netanādenirāṃ atmā, liṇa ikāṃjagat-malvirisaṅkanyariṣakratitvatva, maṅkānastitinikāmrāt-saṅkanyahūni, sumahuṣ  
saṅkumāra, apādumeṇhnikāprakratitvatvasaṅguhñin—tāyādesampāra, sumahur̥bhaṭāra, apantan-hidēpn̄ya, nūniveḥṣ  
ikāṃñlaksāṇa, tanparāmartaṭpvekāṃṭayāsinaṅguhṣ—sāmpāraviṣeṣa, taḥatanparāmarta ikāṃ, apansaṅkanijagaṣ  
t-lāvanulihñanya, mvaṃ inulihñakentaya, vrūpvasamyogi, antan-paramarta ikāṃṭayā, yatamatamnyantanikāpalaniṣ

86

[87r]

samādisamyogi, ndyatatalakṣaṇasamhyamparamartā, anum{tujuni}samādisamyogi, yankvalinanta, ikāmcetanāsarvvajñasamkuṣ  
mavruḥhi ikārtkābeḥ, sarvākaryyakartā, saṅguma—v{e} ikāmrātkabeḥ, nditakahanañira, yankvalinanta, kahanā  
nira ikāmrātkabeḥ, ndātankaton, apantan-pala—kṣaṇa, tanparupa, tanpahidēp, pisaninu, apabyaktānyanhaṣ  
na, yankvalinanta, niḥan-utpāptistilināṇajagat, {yoka i}ncābhaṭāra, ikāmprakratitvatva, yasinaṅguhñiskālānaranya, aṣ

[87v]

hyun-pasiragumavayājagat-yamatamnyan-tām atmā{cume}tanekāmprakratitvatva, matamnyan-mtunādasan̄kem̄niskāla, sa  
ñkenādāmtutām̄vindu, saṅkem̄vīndumtutām addācandra, sanke a—rddācandra, mtutā oṃ, kāra, saṅkem̄ oṃ, kāramtutām̄tryaramtutām̄pañcaṣ  
kṣara, saṅkem̄pañcaṣara, mtutām̄jagat-kabeḥ, nāhanlakṣa—ṇaṇim̄kāniskalatatvanpamtukn̄ajagat, sumahursampāra, kadisaṅkem̄  
prakrati ikāṃvīndunāda, apan-saṅkem̄bhaṭāra ikāṃvīndu{ñādamt}u, yanmamkanalināsampāra, yandadiḥatām̄darmmātūṅal-sumaṇḍānāda

87

[88r]

rm̄marva, ndyadarmmarvaṇaranya, nyam̄cetanālāvan-acetanā, \_dyanañaracetanya, bhaṭāraparamakāraṇa, ndya acetanānaranya, nyampraṣ  
kratitvatva, yekātandadipinākādarmm̄manatūṅal, padan(y)a—, kadyaṅṅāṇim̄tñahivem̄, sēṅguhñen-tatñahvñā, apamatamnyantanādadiṃa  
ñkanabhaṭāra, apan-siravnam̄makeccā ikāmrātkabeḥ, yanmam(ṣ)—kanalināsampāra, saśārakapvabhaṭārayanmakana, sadenyan-saṃśāra  
bhaṭāra, yan-kvalināsampārā, tanpalvir-kapva ikāmrātkabeḥ, denyantan-palvir ikejagat, apan-kasaṃśayaknā, yanmamṣ

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**86v.1** īnuni ] traces of an *akṣara* previously written beneath the *ni*, along with a cancelled *i* vocalization    **86v.2** pnyā ] traces of a cancelled cluster, probably *si*, written beneath    **87v.3** lakṣa ] lacuna around the binding hole, which has not caused any loss of text (the bottom of the cluster *kṣa* is preserved in the loose fragment)    **88r.2** padan(y)a ] the lower part of *y* is missing because of a lacuna





kanalīnasampāra, ndyajagat·tanpalvirtinonta, apantapv(ā)pratyakṣāya, tavat·tanpalvir ikām jagat, tavat·pralayā, pra  
 88 layānaranya, matvəgataḥtālanyan·tka, apan·iccā(ṣ) — — bhaṭāra inapekṣānyan·, ♦ ♦ ♦, tlasinurattināntiragapun·, iti  
 darmmapātañjālasamapta., ♦ *titimasapadupvan·vulan·kasāpulu — — h, pacāvara, u, trivara, dva, saptavara, a, aṣṭavara, yama, vukuvuyai, isaka*  
*, parabimśakalavaṅgaḥgunavvaṃ, ♦ ::::,*

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**88v.3** *titimasa* ] a minute trace of ink after the ♦ reveals that an original *pada lingsa* was cancelled and covered with the new text starting with *ti* **88v.3–4** *titimasa ... vvaṇṇ, ♦ ::::,* ] written in an ink of a lighter tone, in a slightly different, more slanted script



Critical Edition  
&  
Parallel Translation

- siddhir astu ◦ ov  
 sañ kumāra ikā manañkil ri bhaṭāra, kālanira hana ri puñcak niñ gunuñ  
 kelāsa, dadi sañ kumāra mamūjā, mañhanākən pañcopacāra, ri huvusnira  
 mamūjā, manambhah ta sira ri bhaṭāra, ri huvusnira manambhah, maluṅguh  
 5 ta sira, tumañākən ikañ tattvaviśeṣa,  
     liñnira,  
 [1] sājñā bhaṭāra, kasihana rānak bhaṭāra, varahən ikañ *samyajñāna*, yatānya-  
 n hilaña sandeha rānak bhaṭāra,  
     sumahur bhaṭāra  
 10 hayu iku takvantānaku, ikañ *samyajñāna* naranya, evəh kapaṅguhanya, apa  
 dumeh ya mevəha, yan kva liñanta, tātan vənañ samyajñāna, yatan hana  
 / samādhi, ikañ samādhi tan dadi ikā tan kinavruhan sañ hyañ paramār- 1r  
 tha, apan kapaṅguhan sañ hyañ paramārtha don in samādhi ginavayakən<,>  
 mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,  
 15      sumahur sañ kumāra  
 [2] sājñā bhaṭāra kāsihana ñhulun varahən ri lakṣaṇa sañ hyañ paramārtha,  
 mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
     sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 nihan lakṣaṇa sañ hyañ paramārthānaku kavruhanta ♦  
 20      *acintyo niṣkalaḥ śāntaḥ, dhruva-m abyaya-m īśvaraḥ,*  
     *asau sūkṣmaḥ paraḥ śāntaḥ, śivaḥ sakalanīṣkalaḥ ♦*

apan sira sinaṅguh *acintya*, apa tar kavənañ inañənañən, *niṣkala* sira tar  
 pāvak, tan pavarṇa, ta/n bañ, tan aputih, tar kuniñ, tan hirəñ, kapila dvi- 1v  
 varṇādi, tan hana ikā kabeh ri sañ hyañ paramārtha,

12 ikā tan ] *em.*; ik·tan *cod.* 15 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 16 kāsihana ñhulun ] *em.*; kāsīḥhana  
 hulun *cod.* 19 paramārthānaku ] *em.*; paramātānaku *cod.* 20 *acintyo niṣkalaḥ śāntaḥ* ]  
*em.*; *acintya nislāla śānti cod.* 20 *īśvaraḥ* ] *conj.*; əśariñ *cod.* 21 *asau sūkṣmaḥ paraḥ*  
*śāntaḥ* ] *conj.*; əsān suksmə pāri śānti *cod.* 21 *śivaḥ sakalanīṣkalaḥ* ] *em.*; śivi sak·liniskāli  
*cod.* 22 *niṣkala* sira ] *em.*; niskāta sira *cod.* 23–24 dvivarṇādi ] *conj.*; duāvarṇnadi *cod.*  
 24 paramārtha ] *em.*; paramātā *cod.*

3–5 dadi sañ kumāra mamūjā ... ikañ tattva viśeṣa ] Cf. Vṛh 1: sira ta masə mamūjā ri bha-  
 ṭāra / saha pañcopacāra / ri huvusnirān pamūjā / manəmbah ta sira / ri huvusnirān manəmbah /  
 maluṅguh ta sira / tumakvanakən sāri sañ hyañ aji kabeh / 20 *dhruva-m abyaya-m*  
*īśvaraḥ* ] cf. SBhSS VP 4.7d and Vṛh 7d: *dhruvam avyayam īśvaram*

14 mañkana ] *post corr.*; mañka *ante corr.* 23 kuniñ, tan hirəñ, kapila ] *post corr.*; kuniñ,  
 kapila *ante corr.*

Let there be success!

Kumāra appeared in the presence of the Lord, when He was staying on the peak of the Kelāsa mountain. Then Kumāra paid worship, performing the five offerings; having finished his worship, he respectfully saluted the Lord. Having finished his salutation, he sat down and enquired about the supreme doctrine.

He spoke thus:

[1] If you please, Lord, be kind to your son! Teach me the *right knowledge*, in order that your son's doubts will vanish.

The Lord spoke:

Good is your request, my son. What is called *right knowledge* is difficult to obtain. If you ask why it is so difficult, [the answer is]: right knowledge is not within reach if there is no absorption. The absorption not coming into being, the *Summum Bonum* is not known, for the obtainment of the *Summum Bonum* is the result of performing absorption. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[2] If you please, Lord, be kind to me, teach me about the characteristics of the *Summum Bonum*! Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The characteristics of the *Summum Bonum*, my son, should be known by you as follows:

*The Lord—unfathomable, formless, appeased, constant, immutable—  
that is Śiva, subtle, supreme, appeased, with form as well as formless.*      Śloka 1

Because it is designated as *unfathomable*, for it is not capable of being made object of thinking. It is *formless*, it does not have a body, nor a colour. It is not red, not white, not yellow, not black, brown, bi-coloured, and so on; all of these do not exist in the *Summum Bonum*.<sup>1</sup>

1. The sentence might refer to the idea, common in Śaiva literature, that the Lord in His personalized aspect as Sadāśiva possesses a mantric body and has five faces made up of the five *brahmamantras* (the addition of one more colour, *dvivarna*, may be a mere redundancy). For instance, the *Pūrvaka Bhūmi* (HOOPYKAAS 1974:11–13; 40–41) homologizes the five Kuśikas with the five faces of Śiva and links them to the colours white, yellow, red, black and 'five coloured' (*pañcavarṇa*); similarly, the *San Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* (52.11–12) links the *pañcatathāgatas* forming the body of the Buddha with white, blue, yellow, red and 'multicoloured' *viśvavarṇa* (whereas in b11 it characterizes the Mahāyāna-path and Supreme Reality simply as 'not black, not white' *tan hiraṇ, tan putih*). For similar examples in San-

- tātan kəna ri tuha pati, tan palvañ tan patambhəh, *abyaya* juga ya, nitya humidəñ, sira ta suka tar pahuvusan, inak tar pabalik lāra, hurip tar pabalik pati, sira ta ləvih sañkeñ rāt kabeh, sira tika ləvih tar kaləvihan, *vibhuḥ* ta sira, *vibhuḥ* ñaranya, humibəkiñ rat kabeh, ndātan katon, sira kətah manon, 5 tan kinavruhan, sira ta mañavruhi, apan sarvajña sira, sira kumavruhiñ rat kabeh, sarvakāryakartā sira gumavay ikañ rat kabeh, a/pan byaktinya nihan, 2r kita kabeh mahurip, molah<,> umambhək, vruh riñ abhiprāya, nahan byakti sañ hyañ paramārtha an hana ri kita lāvan iñ rāt kabeh, ikañ hiḍəpta ri sañ hyañ paramārtha, ya ta inañənañənta ri rahineñ vəñi, kavih pva ñaran iñ 10 prājñā, samapada lakṣaṇanya lāvan sañ hyañ paramārtha, ya ta matañnyan *samādhi* ñaran ikañ inabhyāsa sañ mahyun ri suka viśeṣa, apan yekā sinañguh kaləpasən ñaranya, hana pvekañ samādhi ri sañ hyañ paramārtha, ya ta maməkaskəkən sañaskāra riñ citta, ya ta sinañguh *samyajñāna* ñaranya, dudū sañke / mithyājñāna, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra, 2v
- 15 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[3] aparan ikañ *mithyājñāna* ñaranya sājñā bhaṭāra, kasihana ñhulun varahəñ iñ lakṣaṇa nikañ mithyājñāna, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
nihan lakṣaṇa nikañ mithyājñānānaku, ikānañ humiḍəp humadikārəkən sa- 20 hiñan i kavruhnya, makasādhana pratyakṣa juga, liñnya, tuhu ikā sañ hyañ paramārtha tan pāvək, tan pavarṇa, apan tayā sira, apa byaktanyan tayā sira sañ hyañ paramārtha, apan tayā sañkanta ñuni, mithya pva kita hələm, tayā- 3r tah paranta, ya ta matañnya/n tayā paramārtha,

skrit sources, cf., e.g., *Vāmanapurāṇa* 2.34–35, *Mṛgendravṛtti* YP 7a (= KP 3.50) describing the four faces of Śiva as yellow, black, white and red, *Pañcāvaraṇastava* (cf. GOODALL et al. 2005:33–42).

1 *abyaya*] *em.*; *yayā cod.* 2 humidəñ] *em.*; *humidə cod.* 3 ləvih] *em.*; *lvah cod.* 3 ləvih] *em.*; *kālvi cod.* 3 kaləvihan] *em.*; *kalvahhan cod.* 4 humibəkiñ] *em.*; *humimbəhən cod.* 7 abhiprāya] *em.*; *abhəprayā cod.* 7 nahan] *em.*; *nihan cod.* 9 kavih] *conj.*; *viḥ cod.* 12 samādhi] *em.*; *samādə cod.* 13 ñaranya] *em.*; *ñanya cod.* 15 sañ] *em.*; *sa cod.* 19 ikānañ] *conj.*; *ikañ mithyājñāna conj.* E; *ikañnā cod.* 20 kavruhnya] *em.* E; *tavruhnya cod.* 23 tayā] *conj.*; *yā cod.*

19–20 sahiñan] *post corr.*; *sahañan ante corr.* 23 matañnya/n] *post corr.*; *matañnyan/n ante corr.*



It is not affected by old age and death. It does not diminish, it does not increase. It is entirely *immutable*, it constantly remains still. It is pleasure without end, enjoyment that does not turn into pain, life that does not turn into death. It is more extensive than the whole universe. It surpasses, not being surpassed.<sup>2</sup> It is *pervasive*. *Pervasive* means: it fills the whole universe. It is not perceived: it itself perceives. It is not known: it itself knows, for it is omniscient, it knows the whole universe. It is omnipotent: it creates the whole universe. For the evidence of this is as follows: all of you live, act, desire, know intentions. Thus is the evidence<sup>3</sup> that the *Summum Bonum* is within you as well as in the whole universe. Your thought about the *Summum Bonum*, that is what you [should] reflect upon during day and night. One who has wisdom is one who has knowledge, his characteristics are of one level with the *Summum Bonum*. This is the reason why *absorption* is what is constantly practiced by him who desires the supreme pleasure, for that is what is designated as *release*. Furthermore, there is the absorption toward the *Summum Bonum*: that leaves behind the latent impressions in the mind. That is called *right knowledge*, as distinct from the *wrong knowledge*. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[3] If you please, Lord, what is the *wrong knowledge*? Be kind to me, teach me the characteristics of the wrong knowledge. Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The characteristics of the wrong knowledge are as follows, my son: one who experiences while giving authority to what is within the boundaries of his knowledge, using direct perception only. The words of those [upholding this view] are: 'Indeed the *Summum Bonum* does not have a body, does not have a colour, for it is non-existence. What is the evidence of the *Summum Bonum* being non-existence? Because non-existence was your cause in the past, and without an effect<sup>4</sup> you will be in the future; mere non-existence will be your end. This is the reason why the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence.

2. Emending *kālvi tar kalvaḥhan* into *lāvih tar kalāvihan*; cf. *Navaruci* (p. 52, line 8): *lāvih tan kalāvihan* (referred to the Lord), translated by PRIJOHOETOMO (1934:109) as 'uitmuntend, niet te overtreffen'.

3. In the DhPāt *byakta* is an alternative form of *byakti* (Skt *vyakti*): cf. OJED (284, 2347).

4. Thus I have rendered *mithya*, which in Old Javanese, besides 'false, deceitful', can also mean 'without effect, not to come about' (OJED 1144). My translation is justified by the *hələm* 'in the future' at the end of the clause, which makes the translation of *mithya pva kita* as 'you are wrong' unlikely.

- tayā pva sañ hyañ paramārtha, ya ta matañnyan tan ≤suv≥a≤l≥a ikañ hulah kabeh, apan yātāyāta iki havak, ikañ agave hayu ñaranya, adva ikā, syapa tumon phala niñ gave hayu, syapa sañkeñ svarga, syapa pratyakṣa vruh in kahyañan, mañkana liñnya, tapvan pratyakṣa vruhnya riñ kahyañan, mvañ  
 5 sañke svarga, ya matañnyan adva ikā kabeh, mañkana tañ magave hala sinañguh pāpa, syapa sañke naraka, sa≤ñ a≥byaktā vruhnya riñ mahāraurava, matañnyan pāpañ vañ magave ha/la, tapvan hana pratyakṣa vruhnya ri ya-  
 10 mani, ya matañnyan sam≤e≥nakari kita hulahanta, apan yāya hulahanta ri sañ hyañ tayā, mañkana liñnya, ya ta matañnyan tan pavatəs ikā hulahnya, arok majəmur, ikañ hala hayu iriyā, lāvan hiḍəpnya, ikañ ambhək mañkana, ya ta *mithyājñāna* ñaranya, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [4] takarin tuhu pakṣa nikā mañkana, sājñā bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ ku-  
 māra,  
 15 sumahur bhaṭāra,

1 paramārtha ] *em.*; parārtā *cod.* 1 ≤suv≥a≤l≥a ] *conj.*; subā yā *conj.* E; \_\_ā\_ā *cod.*  
 4 vruhnya ] *em.*; vrunya *cod.* 7 pāpañ ] *em.*; pāpphañ *cod.* 8 yāya hulahanta ] *em.*; yāya hulihanta *cod.* 13 liñ ] *em.*; li *cod.* 15 sumahur ] *em.*; sumahu *cod.*

3–4 syapa sañkeñ svarga, syapa pratyakṣa vruh in kahyañan ] Cf. Vṛh 28.7: syapa karih vruh riñ svarga ñaranya / [syapa sañkanya /] 5–6 mañkana tañ magave hala sinañguh pāpa, syapa sañke naraka ] Cf. Vṛh 28.7–8: syapa sañka niñ naraka / pāpa magave hala /

1 ≤suv≥a≤l≥a ] lacuna in the middle of the folio with space for three *akṣaras*; the traces of ink appearing at the borders of the lacuna are compatible with the conjectured sequence 6 sa≤ñ a≥byaktā ] lacuna with space for one or two graphemes; the absence of any trace of ink below the visible part of the *sa*, as well as the protruding serif preceding the cluster *bya*, make no room for the possibility of filling the lacuna with *syapa* (as in the preceding sentence); *ña* fits well in the available space 7 ha/la ta° ] *post corr.*; ha / ta° *ante corr.* 8 sam≤e≥naka ] the lacuna between the *akṣaras* *sa* and *ma* can nicely be filled by an *e* vocalization

The *Summum Bonum*<sup>5</sup> is non-existence: this is the reason why all the actions will not have any consequence,<sup>6</sup> for this body comes [to exist from nothing] and goes away [into nothing].<sup>7</sup> One who is said to do good deeds, he is wrong. Who sees the fruits of doing good deeds? Who [has come] from heaven?<sup>8</sup> Who knows about the abode of the gods by means of direct perception?' So he says. 'His knowledge of the abode of the gods, and of the cause of [going to] heaven, is by no means based on direct perception. This is the reason why all of that is wrong. Likewise [it is wrong that] one who does bad deeds is regarded to be a sinner.<sup>9</sup> Who [has come] from hell?—whose knowledge of the Great Raurava[-hell] was based on evidence? [And who knows] the reason why the man who does bad is a sinner? There is no direct evidence whatsoever for one's knowledge of hell. This is the reason why your acts should aim at pleasing yourself, for in any case your acts are with regard to the Holy Non-Existence'. Such are his words. This is why his actions are unrestrained—good and bad are mixed up indistinguishably in him—and his thoughts, as well as his heart. Such a disposition is called *wrong knowledge*. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[4] If you please, o Lord, is such a view really correct? Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

5. I have emended *parārtha* into *paramārtha*, which fits better with the context. In any event, it is possible that the author here might have been playing with words, interpreting *paramārtha* as 'the Supreme Effect' (= *parārtha*).

6. I have conjecturally reconstructed the word *suvala* from a lacunose sequence of *akṣaras*, taking it to be the irrealis of *suval* 1, 'reply, return, repayment' (OJED 1877).

7. I have interpreted the sequence *yatayāta* as the Sanskrit compound *yātāyāta* (*yāta* + *āyāta*) 'come and passed by', which would hint at the materialist view that the body just comes to exist from nothing and disappears into nothing when it dies. Another, less likely, possibility could be to divide *ya tayāta iki hawak* 'this body, it will just not exist', which presupposes the reading of *tayā* as an irrealis.

8. An alternative translation, following the interpretation of *saṅka* as 'cause' instead of 'from', may be: 'Who [sees] the cause of [going to] heaven?

9. Although I cannot escape the impression that here (as well as in line 7) *pāpa*, instead of 'sinner' or 'evil', might have been intended to mean 'bound to punishment in hell'; cf. the use of *naraka* in the parallel passage in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 28.8 in the sense of 'marked out for hell' (OJED 1175), and OJED (1271) s.v. *pāpa* 2, 'punishable for sin'. The point here seems to be not so much that one who has committed bad deeds is evil as that he will go to hell because of his actions, and hell does not exist because nobody has ever come back from there.

- ya ta matañnyan *mithyājñāna* ña≤ranya≥ ambhək mañkana, apan adva ikā,  
 byaktānyān adva ikā, tuhun ta/n hana ikañ rāt kabeh, yan taya sañ hyaṇ 4r  
 paramārtha, mvañ tātān ahuripa kita kabeh, yan tayā sañ hyaṇ paramārtha,  
 katon pvekiñ huripta, mvañ hana nikañ rāt kabeh, ya ta pañavruhananta ri  
 5 tan tayā sañ hyaṇ paramārtha,  
 nihan sahur samithyājñāna, kadi sañ hyaṇ paramārthātaḥ pinakahurip  
 niñ rāt kabeh, apan dudū ikañ hurip avaknya, yan kva liña sañ para, apa ma-  
 tañnyan *paramārtha* panañguh i sira ya ta karih, yan lena sañke cetanā, apan  
 cetanā pva mūla nikañ hurip an hana, ikañ *ceta/nā* ñaranya, tan palakṣaṇā 4v  
 10 ikā, tan pagati, tuhun mabvat hanā kasornya sañkeñ paramārtha, lāvan tan  
 sarvajña,

1 ña≤ranya≥ ] *conj.* E; ña\_\_ *cod.* 2 tuhun ] *conj.*; tuvin *cod.* 2 yan taya ] *conj.*; yan  
 tayantaka *cod.* 3 mvañ ] *em.*; mnañ *cod.* 4 rāt ] *em.*; rārat *cod.* 5 tan ] *em.*; tən  
*cod.* 6 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 7 avaknya ] *em.*; avakānya *cod.* 9 nikañ ] *em.*; niñkāñ *cod.*  
 10 pagati ] *em.* E; pabhati *cod.* 10 kasornya ] *em.*; kaso\_nya *cod.*

2–5 yan taya ... tan tayā sañ hyaṇ paramārtha ] Cf. Vṛh 49.12–14: yan sañguhan tayā kadi  
 pakṣanta / kadi hana tekañ rāt kabeh / nihan huripta tuvi / ndah kadi hana teki yan taya  
 bhaṭāra

1 ña≤ranya≥ ] *conj.*; lacuna with space for 2 or 3 *akṣaras*; the provided reading is inferable  
 from the traces of graphemes at the borders of the lacuna 8 sañke cetanā ] sañke cetanā  
*post corr.*; sañke catanā *ante corr.* 10 kasornya ] the *repha* is illegible because of a lacuna  
 in the codex due to physical damage

The reason that such an attitude is called *wrong knowledge* is that it is wrong. The evidence that it is wrong [is]: indeed<sup>10</sup> the whole universe does not exist, if the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence, and all of you could not live, if the *Summum Bonum* would be non-existence. This life of yours is visible, as is the existence of the whole universe: from this you can infer<sup>11</sup> that the *Summum Bonum* is not non-existence.<sup>12</sup>

One possessing wrong knowledge speaks as follows: ‘How is it possible<sup>13</sup> that the *Summum Bonum* is what serves as life for the whole universe? For the life of its body does not exist!’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply]: What is, then, the reason why *Summum Bonum* is the designation of it? If it were something else than sentient—for sentient is the origin for life’s existence—what is called *sentience* would be without distinctive characteristics, without a [definite] state,<sup>14</sup> really it would be heavy, it would be standing lower<sup>15</sup> than the *Summum Bonum*, and not omniscient.

10. The meaning of *tuvin*, ‘and furthermore’, does not fit here, where the reason adduced as evidence is expected to be enunciated. I interpret *tuvin* as a scribal confusion for *tuhun* ‘indeed, truly’; both words cover the same syntactical and semantical role in sentences enunciating the factuality of a previous statement. OJED (2088 s.v. *tuvi\** 11) suggests that confusion with *tuhu* ‘true, right, sincere, in fact, indeed’ occurred in the form *tinuvi-tuvi*, ‘to do in earnest, take seriously’.

11. Literally: ‘this is the means through which you can know’ (*ya ta pañavruhananta*).

12. The sentence ‘The reason why I am in this way, for the Lord *Summum Bonum*, it is said, serves as life for the whole universe’ (*matañnyan mañkana hulun apan bhaṭāra paramārtha rakva pinakahurip niñ rat kabeh*) has been apparently copied in the wrong place by mistake in 210.8–9 and seems to fit in the present discussion. However, I do not feel confident enough to insert it in a definite place of the text.

13. For a justification of the translation of *kadi* as ‘how is it possible’, cf. Introduction, p. 28.

14. That is *tan pagati*, following ENSINK’s emendation of *bhati*, not attested in OJED and of uncertain meaning, into *gati* (cf. p. 75). The form (*m*)*agati* is glossed in OJED (501) as ‘having the position or condition of, being in a state of; to be in motion; to go, succeed, be successful (*tan pagati*: useless)’; I find the translation of *tan pagati* as ‘useless’ not appropriate in the present philosophical context and understand it as referring to a logically inadmissible entity lacking distinctive characteristics and defying the possibility of being described. In *Bhuvanakośa* 2.14 the form *tar pagati* glosses the Sanskrit word *anirgata* ‘invisible’ (?) referring to the Lord and *Summum Bonum*.

15. I take *mabvat anā kasornya* as *mabvat hanā kasornya*; the interpretation of the form *mabvatanā* as the irrealis of the transitive *ambvati* (where *am-* = *ma-*, which is frequently attested in the codex) ‘to burden, press hard, overwhelm’ is made unlikely by the fact that *kasornya* does not constitute a proper object of the verb.

ika tañ cetanā mañkana, ya tekā mañhanākən hurip, tan lena ikā yan lena  
 sañke paramārtha, lāvan nihan patakvanañkva ri sañ para, ikañ paramārtha  
 liñta, an pakalakṣaṇa tayā, cetanā tan pacetana kunañ, kari sira, sumahur  
 sañ para, vāhya ñaranikātaḥ, yan cetanā sañ hyañ paramārtha, tayā pisañiñu  
 5 juga sira, aləñis tan avayavi, ya ta sinañguh śūnya ñaranya, ya ta sinañguh  
 niṣkala ñaranya liñ sañ pa/ra mañkana, ndi ta deśa nikañ tayā mañkana, 5r  
 kapan tikiñ rat kabeh tēka tan hana, sumahur sañ para, hilañ tēkekiñ rat  
 dlāha, apan tayā sañkanya ñūni, apa dumeḥ ika rat hana vəkasan hana juga  
 tan pakanimitta, hana hana tan pakapūrvakañ ginave, mañkana yan hilañ  
 10 tan hana humilañakən ya, mañkana liñ sañ para, tamatan dadi vastu tan  
 pacetanā, gumaveyāvaknya hana lāvan tayā, kady aṅgān iñ ləmah, tan dadi  
 ikañ gumaveyāvaknya, sañ apa gumave hananya mvañ hilañnya, yan kva liña  
 sañ para, bhaṭāra sañ hyañ paramārth/a ñaranira liñ mami, 5v

2 patakvanañkva ri ] *conj.*; patakvanañkvan *cod.* 2 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 5 avayavi ] *em.*;  
 aveyāve *cod.* 5 sinañguh śūnya ] *em.*; sanañguh sunya *cod.* 5–6 sinañguh niṣkala ] *em.*;  
 nañguh niskala *cod.* 6 liñ ] *em.*; li *cod.* 6 ndi ] *em.*; nda *cod.* 9 ginave ] *em.*; guṇaveḥ  
*cod.* 10 humilañakən ] *em.*; hamilañakən *cod.* 11 iñ ləmah ] *em.*; iñkañ ləmah *cod.*  
 12 yan ] *em.*; yāñ *cod.*

3 cetanā tan pacetanā kunañ, kari ] cetanā kari *post corr.*; cetana kari *ante corr.* 4 sañ  
 para ] sañ pāra *post corr.*; sa pāra *ante corr.* 5–6 sinañguh niṣkala ] nañguh niskala *post*  
*corr.*; śanañguh niskala *ante corr.*



The sentient in such a way is what brings life into existence. Could that be anything different from the *Summum Bonum*? Moreover, as follows could be my question to the opponent:<sup>16</sup> the *Summum Bonum*, which you defined as having non-existence as distinctive characteristic, is it actually sentient or insentient? The opponent answers: ‘The explanation of that is outwardly visible:<sup>17</sup> if the *Summum Bonum* is sentient, it is non-existent, just impossible, [like] gleaming without a body.<sup>18</sup> That is designated as *void*; that is designated as *formless*’. Thus answers the opponent. [I reply:] where is the place of such a non-existence? At what moment will this whole universe suddenly cease to exist? The opponent answers: ‘This universe will disappear suddenly in the future, for non-existence was its former cause. What is the reason why the universe exists in the end? It just exists without having a cause; existence exists without using as a former state something that has been created. Similarly, if it vanishes, there is nothing that causes it to disappear’; thus speaks the opponent. [I reply:] it is not possible at all that insentient matter creates the body of what exists and does not exist. ‘Take, for example, the earth: there is no one that creates its body. Who is the one who creates its existence and disappearance?’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] according to me He is the Lord *Summum Bonum*.

16. The particle *an* implied by the reading of the cod. does not make sense here as we would rather expect a *ri*, indicating the recipient of the question; my emendation presupposes a multi-step mistake involving the confusion of the grapheme *r* with *n* (cf. p. 74).

17. Cf. OJED (2172) s.v. *vāhya*: ‘(being) outside, outward, external, outwardly visible, pertaining to the world of the senses’. It is possible that the word must be here understood in the figurative sense of ‘apparent, easily recognizable’.

18. Having emended *aveyāve* (*avayavay*) ‘beckon, wave, signal’ into *avayavi* ‘having members or parts, a whole; body’ (cf. Introduction, p. 77). Since the adjective *alāñis* ‘shining, gleaming, sleek, glossy, shiny, smooth’ is sometimes associated in Old Javanese texts with the outward appearance of human beings and with bodily hairs, as in *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin* 5.40 (*vulu ny avaknya malāñis* ‘the hairs of his body gleamed’) and 7.86 (*parambut malāñis avak nikā* ‘his body was hairy and gleamed’), I understand the sentence as depicting an example of something impossible, like the gleaming of a body without the body actually being there. A passage of the *Navaruci* (p. 48 line 26) presents this simile to characterize the paradoxical essence of the Lord creator of the universe (*kañ agave rat*), called *anantaviśeṣa*, defining Him as follows: ‘He is “the Holy One without a body”, He is “the Holy One who gleams”’ *sira sañ hyaṇ tan paśarīra ṇa*, *sira sañ hyaṇ alāñis ṇa*; compare also the mention of the heaven of Sañ Hyaṇ Lāñis in the Old Sundanese poem *Sri Ajnyana* (p. 236, line 923). Although the import of this passage of the *Dharma Pātāñjala* is not completely clear to me, it apparently intends to avail the position that the *Summum Bonum* is insentient.

- sira vənañ mañhilañakən mañhanākən, apan sira prabhu, vənañ makechā  
 ikañ rat kabeh, sira vicitrān təmən, vənañ mañhilañakən pāpa lāvan lāra,  
 nāhan kadibyan bhaṭāra kinabhaktyan, sumahur sañ para, hana kapva sañ  
 hyaṇ paramārtha liñta, hana sira, ndātan palakṣaṇa, tan pāvak, tan katon,  
 5 tan kagaməl, tan vənañ inañənañən, ya sinaṅguh sūkṣma ñaranya, suma-  
 hur sañ para, avyāhata tañāñkva vuvusta, [sumahur sañ paramārtha] sakā-  
 makāma, tathāpi lakṣaṇā, yan kva liña sañ para, <tan> katon ta/h sañ hyaṇ 6r  
 paramārtha, ndān kāryanira ya katon, ndya gavenira, nyañ tiryak lāvan ikin  
 aṇḍabhuvana, təlas karuhun janma mānuṣa, yeki gavenira, sumahur sañ pa-  
 10 ra, apa pramāṇanta sumiddhākən ikā pakṣanta,

6 avyāhata tañāñkva vuvusta ] *conj.*; abyavahā taña ko vuvusta *cod.* 7 tathāpi ] *em.*;  
 tapitapi *cod.* 7 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 8 nyañ ] *em.*; nyan *cod.* 10 ikā ] *conj.*; iko *cod.*

1 sira ] *post corr.*; si *ante corr.*

He can destroy and create, for He is the Almighty, being able to will into existence the whole universe. He is of manifold qualities to the highest degree, able to destroy sin and suffering. Thus is the Lord's divine quality, which is worthy of being worshiped. The opponent replies: 'According to you, the *Summum Bonum* exists. It exists, without any distinctive characteristics whatsoever. It has no body. It is not visible. It is ungraspable. It cannot be fathomed!' [I reply:] that [entity] is designated as *subtle*. The opponent replies: 'Your statement is not a response to my question'.<sup>19</sup> [I reply:]<sup>20</sup> 'Let it be as you wish'. 'Nevertheless,<sup>21</sup> there would be a characteristic'.<sup>22</sup> If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] Not visible<sup>23</sup> is the *Summum Bonum*, but what is visible is its creation. What is its creation? Here it is: the animals as well as this world, not to speak of the human beings. These are its creation. The opponent replies: 'What is your valid means of knowledge in order to prove this position of yours?

19. I am not confident about the translation of this sentence, which I suspect to be corrupted and perhaps incomplete. The sequence *abyavahā tañā kva vuvusta* is problematic. I propose to emend *abyavahā tañā ko* into *avyāhata tañānkva*: *avyāhata* means 'contradictory, rising objections' (lit. 'not hitting'; OJED 2346) and this fits in the context, referring to the Lord's definition of the *Summum Bonum* as subtle; but *tañā* 'question' does not as no apparent question is being asked either before or after this sentence. For the *ko* I offer two possible interpretations: either the particle *kva* 'thus, so, like this' or the irrealis of the clitic first person pronoun *ku* (*tañānkva*).

20. The indication that the Lord is speaking through the clause *sumahur sañ paramārtha* instead of *sumahur bhaṭāra* is unusual and unneeded in the present instance, where the subject (i.e. the Lord) has to be understood; therefore I have expunged it from the constituted text; it is arguable that the scribe made a mistake, probably influenced by the sequence *sañ para* occurring further down. The sentences uttered by the Lord and the opponent, however, make perfectly sense as they are, thereby rendering further emendations unnecessary.

21. OJED 1948 glosses *tapi* III as 'even (= *tathāpi* q.v.)'; since the reduplicated form is attested nowhere, I emend the dittography *tapitapi* into *tathāpi*.

22. The opponent's point here seems to be that the *Summum Bonum*, which was previously defined as having no characteristics whatsoever (cf. also *Vṛhaspatitattva*, śloka 8b *anirdeśyam alaṅṣaṇam*, and 50.10–15), is described by the Lord as subtle (*sūkṣma*) in order to escape the criticism of the opponent who stresses the absurdity of positing an invisible and unfathomable *Summum Bonum*. Since subtlety itself is a characteristic, the Lord's view is shown to be inconsistent.

23. The addition of the negation *tan*, which may have been dropped by eyeskip under the influence of the following *ka* (*ta* and *ka* are very similar in the script) is vital to the internal logic of the sentence. On the invisibility of the Lord in the world, compare below, 336.15: *kahananira ikañ rāt kabeh, ndātan katon*.

- apa tan pratyakṣa katon bhaṭāra, gumave ikin aṇḍabhuvana, mvañ tiryak  
 lāvan janmamānuṣa, yan kva liña sañ para, nihan śakti bhaṭārān hane kita,  
 ndya ta ya nihan, ya dumeḥ kita vruḥ in heyopadeya, ikin sañ dumeḥ kita  
 mañhiḍap[,] suka duhka ri śarīra, ya tekā *jñānaśakti* bhaṭāra nara/nya, cetanā- 6v  
 5 maya dumeḥ nikañ rat mahuripa kabeh rasekā ri hatinta, hana kari sira,  
 tayā kari sira, saṅguh tayā vruḥ lumakṣaṇe sira, ya tikā dumeḥ naranya, ni-  
 han sahur sañ para, kadi śakti bhaṭāra cetanā, apan papupul niñ śarīra ikā  
 magave hiḍap, ya ta sinaṅguh *cetanā* naranya, yan mañkana liña sañ para,  
 mapekañ vvañ mati mañipi hana śarīranya tan vikāra, apekā tan pañetanā,  
 10 māvasānañ avuka juga, nahan byakta nikañ mithyājñānānaku,  
 <sumahur> sañ kumāra,  
 [5] kevala salah pveka mi/thyājñāna sājñā bhaṭāra, apa dumeḥ ikā mañkana, 7r  
 kasihana varahən rānak bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
 sumahur sañ hyaṇ,  
 15 nihan prastāva nikā matañnyan mañkana, jñāna bhaṭāra kāla ikā, sañ pina-  
 kāvak bhaṭāra yan pamralayākən rat, nahan mūla nikañ mithyājñāna,

4 nara/nya] *em.*; nara/ranya *cod.* 5 rasekā] *conj.*; rāseta *cod.* 6 tayā kari] *em.*; tayā  
 tari *cod.* 6 lumakṣaṇe] *em.*; lumaknaṇe *cod.* 6 dumeḥ] *em.*; meh *cod.* 8 sañ] *em.*; sa  
*cod.* 9 mapekañ] *em.*; mapvekañ *cod.* 9 pañetanā] *em.*; panetanā *cod.* 10 mithyājñā-  
 nānaku,] *em.*; mityājñānāku *cod.* 13 liñ] *em.*; li *cod.* 15 prastāva] *em.* E; prastātā  
*cod.* 15 mañkana] *em.*; makana *cod.* 16 nahan] *em.*; nahanahan *cod.*

12 dumeḥ] *post corr.*; meh *ante corr.* 16 nahan] naha *post corr.*; nahanahan *ante corr.*;  
 along with the superfluous *akṣaras*, the scribe mistakenly cancelled also the last *n*-, whose  
 presence would have yielded the correct form *nahan*.

Because the Lord is not visible through direct perception—He who has created this world, along with the animals and the human beings’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] that is the power of the Lord, which is within you. How is it? As follows: it causes you to know about what is to be avoided and what is to be done. It is that which causes you to experience pleasure and pain within the body. That is the *power of knowledge* of the Lord, made of sentience, the cause of the whole universe to live; it is a feeling within your heart. Does He exist? Does He not exist? Truly, a knowledge to characterize<sup>24</sup> Him does not exist. That is what is called cause.<sup>25</sup> The reply of the opponent is as follows: ‘How could it be that the sentient is the power of the Lord, for the coming together [of elements] of the body creates awareness. That is designated as *sentient*’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply]: how could it be that the man dies while dreaming? His body exists without damage! How could he not be aware of [anything]?<sup>26</sup> Only when [the body] will be rotten it will have an end. Thus is the evidence of the wrong knowledge, my son.

Kumāra spoke:<sup>27</sup>

[5] Nothing but wrong is this wrong knowledge. If you please, o Lord, what is the reason that this is so? Please be kind, teach me! Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Venerable [Lord]<sup>28</sup> spoke:

As follows is the reason why it is so: That is the knowledge of the Lord Kāla, whose body the Lord takes on when he destroys the universe. Thus is the origin of the wrong knowledge.

24. The meaning of *lumaḥṣaṇa* here is in harmony with those provided by OJED (959) under the passive voice *linakṣaṇan* ‘to distinguish clearly, describe accurately, define’ rather than with those provided s.v. *lumaḥṣaṇa* itself, i.e. ‘to act, start acting, take action, achieve st., efficient’.

25. Having emended the nonsensical *meh* into *dumeh*, ‘cause’. The point here seems to be that what causes human beings to have any experience, and the whole universe to live, cannot be defined by means of intellectual knowledge (*vruḥ*), which is itself the result of that cause (cf. Part III, p. 344).

26. According to the Lord, not being aware of anything (*tan pañetanā*) amounts to death; cf. 234.9, where it is said that when the Soul ceases to be aware of the breaths, death occurs.

27. Unlike several other instances in the text, where I feel that an explicit indication of the speaker was not necessary but simply understood, here I have emended the text by inserting the clause *sumahur saṅ kumāra*, which is likely to have been missed out by way of eyeskip with the *saṅ kumāra* immediately preceding it.

28. It is possible that the word *bhaṭāra* was left out by mistake, since this is the only place in the text where the Lord is referred to by means of *saṅ hyaṅ* only.

yapvan hana viku maṅkana jñānanya dlāha, yekā paṇavruhananta tēka mahāpralaya, maṅkana liṅ bhaṭāra,

sumahur saṅ kumāra,

[6] apa ta upāya niṅ janma yan maṅkana, yatanyan tan kavava riṅ mithyā-  
 5 jñāna sājñā bhaṭāra, kasihana va/rahən rānak bhaṭāra, maṅkanā liṅ saṅ kumāra, 7v

sumahur bhaṭāra,

nihan deya ni janma yan mahyun samyajñāna, tēlu kvehnya, pratyakṣapramāṇa, anumānapramāṇa, āgamapramāṇa, nāhan saṅ *pramāṇa tēlu* ṅaranya,  
 10 *pratyakṣapramāṇa* ṅaranya, ikaṅ vastu tan parakva, yekā *pratyakṣapramāṇa* ṅaranya, *anumānapramāṇa* ṅaranya, hana vastu tan katon, ndan siddha hi-  
 ḍəp niṅ vvaṅ iriya, apan hana cihna paṇavruh iriya, nihan padanya, kady  
 aṅgān iṅ deśa ri sabraṅ, dadi hiḍəp niṅ vvaṅ riṅ hananya, apan hana katon  
 ikā vvaṅ dudū rū/panya kady aṅgān iṅ brāhmaṇa lāvan pujut<,> nambi, 8r

4 ta upāya] *em.*; taddapaya *cod.* 8 yan] *em.*; yen *cod.* 11 siddha] *em.* E; pidḍa *cod.*  
 11–12 hiḍəp] *em.*; həḍəp *cod.* 12 iriya] *em.* E; iraya *cod.* 12 iriya] *em.*; iraya *cod.*  
 12 nihan] *em.*; nāhan *cod.*

8 nihan deya] *post corr.*; nihanaya *ante corr.* (unmarked)



If there is a man of religion whose doctrine is like that in the future, that is the sign by means of which you may know that the time of the great destruction has come. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[6] If it is so, what are the means of the human beings, in order not to be carried away by false knowledge? My lord, if you please, be kind, teach me! Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

As follows is what should be done by the human beings if they desire the right knowledge. Threefold is its number: the valid means of knowledge of direct perception, the authoritative means of knowledge of inference, the valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture. Thus are the *three valid means of knowledge*. The *valid means of knowledge of direct perception* means: the entity that is not a matter of guess.<sup>29</sup> That is the *valid means of knowledge of direct perception*. The *valid means of knowledge of inference* means: there is an entity which is not visible, but the thought of men about it is sure, for there is a sign by means of which one can recognize it. For example:<sup>30</sup> like the foreign countries across the sea, it is possible that men know about their existence, for one sees thus, namely that there are men of different appearance, like the Brahmans and the Pujut,<sup>31</sup> the Nambi,<sup>32</sup>

29. Supposing that *marakva* (for which we have regularly denasalized *parakva*) is the equivalent of *aṇrakva*, translated in OJED 1494 as ‘to rely on someone else’s words, still be unsure about, guess?’. The base-word *rakva* is glossed in OJED as ‘an emphatic particle suggesting the opinion of others (“so they say”, “as you know”, “naturally”), but by no means always’. PIGEAUD (1960:5) refers to it as an ‘uncertainty form’ meaning ‘so it is said; uncertain’ (cf. also PIGEAUD 1980:207).

30. My translation of *padanya* is not attested in OJED, which s.v. *paḍa* v (1223) gives ‘equal; the equal of’, but is justified by the occurrence of the word throughout the text to introduce examples and by the existence of the Modern Javanese form *padané* (from *padanya*), which means precisely ‘for example’. Compare also the Modern Javanese *upamané* and Indonesian *umpamanya* ‘for example’ (from the Sanskrit *upamā*, ‘comparison, resemblance, equality, similarity’).

31. Cf. OJED (1434): ‘a part. group of people (dark-skinned, Negrito?), as slaves or *vatak i jro* (*pāmāṇamāṇan*)’. The *pāmāṇamāṇan* group of the Kraton inmates (*vatak i jro*) denoted persons of abnormal physical appearance like dwarfs, albinos and suchlike.

32. Cf. OJED (1171) s.v. *nambi*: *tuha(n) nambi, juru nambi* ‘among the *vatak i jro* (*mañilala dravya haji*) ... It is not clear which group (socially inferior? foreigners?) is meant’. The word appears in Old Javanese inscriptions from the 9th to the 15th century alongside the names of what are likely to be categories of merchants of foreign origin, such as *juru cina*, *juru/tuha dagaṇ* and *juru/tuha huñjaman* (probably Persians; cf. ABRAHAM 1988:25).

parasi, ya tikā tinonta, athavā hana kəta vastu tan katon, ri deśa ri nūsa ka-  
hananya, kady aṅgān iñ maṇik, kasturi, kapur kunañ, yekā byaktanyān hana  
nūsa ri sabrañ, ikā ta jñāna humidəp hana nikā, yekānumānapramāṇa, āga-  
mapramāṇa naranya, varahvarah niñ vvañ sañke deśāntara, ndān yan paci-  
5 hna ikā, yāpvan tan pacihna adva ikā, yapvan hana cihna, ya ta sinaṅguh  
āgamapramāṇa naranya, nāhan yañ *pramāṇa təlu* naranya, yatānyan tan /  
kasasar i jñāna, tinut sañ viku,

8v

[7] sañ sinaṅguh *paṇḍita*, tatan vruh ulun ri lakṣaṇanira, [matanyan  
maṅkana hulun apan bhaṭāra paramārtha rakva pinakahurip niñ rat kabeh],  
10 lāvan sañ paṇḍita, apa matañnyan tan vavañ sātmaka ri bhaṭāra, maṅkana  
liñ sañ kumāra,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,

1 tan katon] *em.* E; kan katon *cod.* 2 kapur] *conj.*; kupu *cod.* 10 sātmaka] *em.*;  
sañtmāja *cod.* 11 liñ] *em.*; li *cod.*

4 varahvarah] *post corr.*; varavarah *ante corr.* 8–9 matanyan ... kabeh,] the sentence is  
out of place here, mistakenly copied between the two questions uttered by Kumāra

the Persians.<sup>33</sup> These are seen by you. And further, there still are entities which are not seen, they originate in [foreign] lands, in [other] islands, such as gems, musk, camphor.<sup>34</sup> These constitute the evidence that the islands across the sea exist; it is the mind that infers that they exist. That is the *valid means of knowledge of inference*. The *valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture* means: the teachings of the people from the foreign lands, but [only] if there is a proof; if there is no proof, they are [to be considered] false. If there is a proof, that is designated as the *valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture*. Thus are the *three valid means of knowledge*, so that there is no going wrong of the knowledge according to the men of religion.

[Kumāra:]

[7] The reverend one who is regarded to be a *master*,<sup>35</sup> I do not know about his distinctive characteristics. And also, a master, what is the reason why he does not become one (*sātmaka*)<sup>36</sup> with the Lord at once? Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

33. The word *parasi*, not listed in OJED as an ethnonym, is attested in four Old Javanese inscriptions (cf. DAMAIS 1970:758) and one Old Sundanese manuscript (cf. HOLLE 1867:459). Even when, in India, Parsi denotes Zoroastrians, this is only by extension of the basic meaning, which is 'Persian'. On the 'Persian trade' across Africa, Southeast Asia and China, cf. WOLTERS (1967:130–138).

34. Conjecturally emending *kupu* into *kapur* (the change of *ka*° into *ku*° might have been triggered by the following *kunañ*, while the loss of *repha* is a trivial mistake). Whereas *kupu* (which, according to OJED 929, is attested only as *kupu-kupu* or *kukupu*) 'butterfly' hardly makes sense in the present list, *kapur* 'camphor' fits well in the context as it was one of the products commonly traded by (Tamil and Persians) merchants in the Sumatranese outposts, such as Kota Kapur and Barus (cf. WOLTERS 1967:122, 185). The fragrance of the musk-deer (*kasturi*) mentioned in the present list was a much-sought product from the Indian Subcontinent, which is mentioned, among the others, in a Tamil inscription from Barus (cf. SUBBARAYALU 2002:22).

35. The term *paṇḍita* in Old Javanese sources denotes more than 'a learned person', being also connected with proficiency in yoga: cf. НИНОМ (1994:36–37), who notes that 'a well disciplined intellectual function is closely related to erudition'.

36. *sañtmāja* in the codex (cf. *satmāja* in 212.3 and *sāttāja* in 282.4). From the context in which the word occurs there is no doubt that it refers to the relation between the liberated Soul (*ātmā*) and the Lord (*bhaṭāra*), and therefore must be emended into *sātmaka* 'identical with' (cf. Introduction, p. 78); the corruptions are likely to have occurred through contamination with the cliché *ātmaja* 'son'. Compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 30.4: *sātmaka lāvan bhaṭāra* (*sātmaka* AE; *sātmā* CG; *sātma* G). For additional instances of *sātmaka* in Old Javanese sources, cf. Part III, pp. 413–418.

hana kətah *mala* naranya, anuñ rumakət ri ātmā, ya tekā tan vavañ hilañ, apan ivəñivəñ ikañ citta lāvan ātmā, ya tekātəguh sumaputa ri sarvajñā niñ ātmā, yapvan hilañ ikā, niyata sañ yogīśvarān sātmaka ri bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,

5       sumahur sañ / kumāra, 9r  
[8] aparan iku sinañguh *ātmā* naranya, ndi ta sañka nikañ mala, kasihana ñhulun varahən mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,

nihan pavarahañkva ri kita, ikañ sinañguh *ātmā* naranya, bhaṭāra sañ hyañ paramārtha, sira sinañguh śiva parameśvara, sira ta kaharan āditya, 10 padanira lāvan āditya, ikañ cetanā, ya kaharan tejanira yar āditya, lunhā pva teja sañ hyañ āditya, lumrā ri daśadeśa, mañkana tekañ cetanā, apan savibhuḥ bhaṭāra humibəkiñ rāt kabeh,

hana ta *māyātattva* naranya, sūkṣma padālitnya / lavan śivatattva, ndān 9v  
acetanā kasornya sañkeñ śivatattva, deśanya i sor sañkeñ śivatattva, yeka  
15       tambhay ni mamuvus tattva maganal, i sor nikā, hana ta kalātattva nara-  
nya, i sor nikañ kalātattva, hana ta rāgatattva, i sor ni rāgatattva, hana ta  
vidyātattva, i sor ni vidyātattva, hana ta [i sver niñ] pradhānatattva, i sor  
niñ pradhānatattva, hana ta triguṇatattva, i sor niñ triguṇatattva, hana ta  
buddhitattva, i sor ni buddhitattva, hana tāhañkāratattva, i sor niñ ahañkā-  
20       ratattva, / hana ta manahtattva, i sor ni manahtattva, hana ta daśendriyatat- 10r  
tva, i sor niñ daśendriyatattva, hana ta pañcatanmātratattva, i sor niñ pañca-  
tanmātratattva, hana ta ākāśatattva, i sor niñ ākāśatattva, hana ta bāyutattva,  
i sor ni bāyutattva, hana ta tejatattva, i sor niñ tejatattva, hana ta āpyatattva,  
i sor niñ āpyatattva, hana ta pṛthivītattva, yeka vəkas niñ mamuvus tattva,  
25       maganal, ika ta kabeh, ya binyāpakan sañ hyañ ātmā, astam bhaṭāra para-  
makāraṇa, ya matañnyan / vibhuḥ śakti bhaṭāra vaneh 10v

3 sātmaka ] *em.*; satmāja *cod.* 7 liñ ] *em.*; li *cod.* 9 parameśvara ] *em.*; paramesaś-  
vara *cod.* 12 humibəkiñ ] *em.*; humibkəñ *cod.* 19 tāhañkāratattva ] *em.* E; ta hiñker-  
atatva *cod.* 19–20 ahañkāratattva ] *em.*; ahəñkoratatva *cod.* 25 astam ] *em.*; astā *cod.*  
26 matañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.*

1 hana ] *post corr.*; ha *ante corr.* 5 sañ / kumāra ] *post corr.*; sañ pā / kumāra *ante corr.*  
(seemingly a confusion of the speakers *para* and *kumāra*, promptly rectified by the scribe)  
14 sañkeñ ] sañkeñ *post corr.*; sañam *ante corr.* 22 ākāśatattva ] ākāśatatva *post corr.*;  
ākātattva *ante corr.* 22 i sor niñ ākāśatattva ] i sor niñ akasātattva *post corr.*; i sor akasātattva  
*ante corr.* 23 hana ta āpyatattva ] *post corr.*; hana āpyatattva *ante corr.*

There is *maculation*, something that adheres to the Soul. That is what does not disappear at once, for the mind is inextricably intertwined with the Soul. That ends up in tightly covering the omniscience of the Soul. If that disappears, it is certain that the leader among yogins will be one in nature with the Lord. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[8] What is that which is designated as *Soul*? What is the origin of maculation? Please be kind to me, teach me. Thus spoke Kumāra.

[The Lord:]

As follows I shall teach you: what is designated as *Soul* is the Lord *Summum Bonum*. That is designated as Śiva Parameśvara. He is to be considered as the sun. He is like the sun. The sentient is to be considered as His splendor when [He is] the sun. The splendor of the sun goes, spreading over the ten quarters of the sky. Such is the sentient, for, endowed with the Power of Pervasion of the Lord, it fills the whole universe.

There is the *principle of Māyā*, subtle, just as fine as the principle of Śiva. Yet, it is insentient, its position is below the principle of Śiva. That is the beginning of what they call the coarse principles. Below that there is the principle of activation. Below the principle of activation, there is the principle of attachment. Below the principle of attachment, there is the principle of awareness. Below the principle of awareness, there is the principle of unevolved matter. Below the principle of unevolved matter, there is the principle of the three constituents. Below the principle of the three constituents, there is the principle of intellect. Below the principle of intellect, there is the principle of self-identity. Below the principle of self-identity, there is the principle of mind-stuff. Below the principle of mind-stuff, there is the principle of the ten faculties (of sense and action). Below the principle of the ten faculties, there is the principle of the five subtle elements. Below the principle of the five subtle elements, there is the principle of atmosphere. Below the principle of atmosphere, there is the principle of wind. Below the principle of wind, there is the principle of fire. Below the principle of fire, there is the principle of water. Below the principle of water, there is the principle of earth. This is the last of what they call the coarse principles. All of them are pervaded by the Soul, and also by the Lord Supreme Cause. That is why pervasion is another power of the Lord.

- ndan lakṣaṇa nikaṇ saṇ hyaṇ ātmā, an byāpaka irikaṇ tattva samaṅkana, *ūtaprota*, *ūta* ṇaranya, kady aṅgān iṇ miṇak haneṇ pēhan, maṅkana lakṣaṇa saṇ hyaṇ ātmā an byāpaka irikaṇ tattva kabeh, *prota* ṇaranya, kady aṅgān iṇ tuntun iṇ maṇik maṇekadeśa, maṅkana lvir nikaṇ ātmā an haneṇ rat kabeh,
- 5 ikaṇ *ātma prota* ya tekā caritakṇānaku, prayatnā ta kita ruməṇə varah-  
varahku, ikaṇ ātmatattva, sarvajña sarvakāryakartā pinakaśakti nikā, vibhuḥ  
pva ya rikā māyātattva, hilaṇ ta śakti nikaṇ / ātmā vəkasan, mari sarva- 11r  
jña, mari sarvakāryakartā, apan mala svabhāva nikaṇ māyā, rumakət pvekaṇ  
mala riṇ ātmā, ya ta mataṇnyan mapuṅguṇ svabhāvanya, tuhun cetanāmā-  
10 tra juga ya, vibhuḥ pva ya rikaṇ kalātattva, mapalenan ta ya lavan bhāvanya,  
kady aṅgān iṇ anak niṇ tavvan an hana riṇ salyaṇ, maṅkana tekān ātmā  
an papalenan saṅkeṇ bhāvanya, makaśarīra ikaṇ kalātattva, byāpaka pva ya  
rikaṇ rāgatattva, mahyun ta ya maṇetanā, byāpaka pva rikaṇ vidyātattva,  
manon ta ya viṣaya vəkasan, apan ikaṇ vi/dyātattva pinakasuluhnya, ya ma- 11v  
taṇnyan panon viṣaya, ndya viṣaya tinonya, yekā pradhānatattva, lakṣaṇa  
nikaṇ pradhānatattva, pətaṇ tan pacetanā lupa pinakajātinya, ya tekā pina-  
paṅguhakən de bhaṭāra, cetanā ṇaranya, tutur, pradhāna ṇaranya, lupa, tu-  
tur matəmu lāvan lupa, ya tekā maṇhanākən triguṇa, sattva rajah tamah,  
15 lakṣaṇa ni sattva, prājñā mahaṇan, lakṣaṇa niṇ rajah, adrəs molah, lakṣaṇa  
niṇ tamah, abyət apuṅguṇ ikā nāhan lvir ni triguṇatattva, 20

2 *ūtaprota*, *ūta* ṇaranya ] *em.*; uttaprokta, utta ṇaranya *cod.* 2 pēhan ] *em.*; pəhāna *cod.*  
3 *prota* ] *em.*; prokta *cod.* 4 tuntun ] *em.*; tuṇtun *cod.* 5 *ātma prota* ] *em.*; atmā prokta  
*cod.* 5 caritakṇānaku ] *em.*; caritantānaku *cod.* 7–8 hilaṇ ta śakti nikaṇ / ātmā vəkasan,  
mari sarvajña, mari sarvakāryakartā ] *em.*; sarvvakāryakārtā *cod.* 8 svabhāva ] *em.*;  
svarbhava *cod.* 11 anak ] *em.*; yānak *cod.* 12 bhāvanya ] *conj.*; bavaṇnya *cod.* 13 rikaṇ  
rāgatattva ] *em.* E; riṅkā rāgatatva *cod.* 18 rajah ] *em.*; raja *cod.* 20 ikā nāhan ] *conj.*;  
kahanān *cod.*

3–4 *prota* ṇaranya ... maṇekadeśa ] Cf. Vṛh 14.3–4: *prota* ṇaranya / maṇisūtravat / kady  
aṅgān iṇ maṇi maṇekadeśa gatinya / 7–8 hilaṇ ta śakti nikaṇ / ātmā vəkasan, mari sarva-  
jña, mari sarvakāryakartā ] Cf. TJ 5.16–17: kavəkas taṇ cetanā ləṇələṇə / mari sarvajña mari  
sarakāryakartā / 11 kady aṅgān iṇ anak niṇ tavvan an hana riṇ salyaṇ ] Cf. TJ 35.16–18:  
kadi tala niṇ tavvan lakṣaṇa saṇ hyaṇ ātmā / hana riṇ sapadapada / ātmā ya ta inaranan  
hanak niṇ tavon /; Vṛh 14.47–49: kady aṅgān iṇ umah niṇ tavvan / matap matumpaṇ-  
tumpaṇan / ikaṇ māyā yāṅkəna umah niṇ tavvan / ikaṇ ātmā yāṅkən anak niṇ tavvan /

2 *ūtaprota*, *ūta* ṇaranya ] uttaprokta, utta ṇaranya *post corr.*; uttaprokta ṇaranya *ante corr.*  
3 kabeh ] *post corr.*; beh *ante corr.* 13 maṇetanā ] maṇetannā *post corr.*; maṇatannā *ante*  
*corr.* 17 lupa, ] *post corr.*; lupa *ante corr.*



The distinctive characteristic of the Soul in pervading the principles thus [enumerated] is *woven crosswise-and-lengthwise*. *Woven crosswise* means: like the butter that is within milk, such is the characteristic of the Soul in pervading all the principles. *Woven lengthwise* is like the string of the pearls that stand in a row. Such is the nature of the Soul in being in the whole universe. The *Soul being woven lengthwise*, that I shall explain to you, my son. Listen carefully to my teachings: The principle of Soul is omniscient and omnipotent; it pervades the principle of Māyā. Eventually the power of the Soul disappears, it ceases to be omniscient and omnipotent, for maculation is the nature of Māyā. Maculation sticks tightly to the Soul: this is the reason why its nature is being ignorant; in reality it is only sentience. It pervades the level of the principle of activation, and it becomes differentiated from its [true] nature. Like the children of the bees that are in the holes [of a hive]: thus is the Soul while being differentiated from its [true] nature, having as body the principle of activation. It pervades the principle of attachment: it desires to be sentient of [the external reality].<sup>37</sup> It pervades the principle of awareness: finally it perceives the external reality, for the principles of awareness serves as a light for it. That is the reason why it perceives the external reality. What is the external reality that is perceived by it? It is the principle of unevolved matter. The characteristic of unevolved matter is darkness without sentience, unconsciousness is its original condition. They are caused by the Lord to meet. Sentience is consciousness, and unevolved matter is unconsciousness.<sup>38</sup> The consciousness meets with the unconsciousness: that brings about the three constituents, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. The characteristics of *sattva* are insight and lightness. The characteristics of *rajas* are force and movement. The characteristics of *tamas* are heaviness and ignorance. This is the nature of the principles of the three constituents.

37. The verbal form *mañetanā*, 'to perceive in a conscious manner, to be aware of' necessarily needs an object, which here must be understood.

38. The words *tutur* and *lupa*, besides 'conscious(ness)' and 'unconscious(ness)' can also mean, respectively, 'memory, recollection' and 'forgetting, loss of memory or consciousness'.

- saṅka ri triguṇa mētu / taṅ buddhi, lakṣaṇanya, nda *bāhyadarśana* ṅaranya, 12r  
tan pacetana ikaṅ buddhi, ndan makacetanā ya, makacetanā ṅaranya, tan  
vruh ikaṅ buddhi, ndan kadi vruh ya, tan pahidəp ikaṅ buddhi, ndan kadi  
maṅhiḍəp ya, apan mētu saṅke tattva rva tattva rva ṅaranya, ātmā lāvan  
5 pradhāna,  
saṅke buddhi mētu tāhaṅkāra, lakṣaṇanya <magave hurip> lāvan maṅaku,  
ndan lakṣaṇa niṅ ahaṅkāra ya, ṅaranya tēlu, si *vaikṛta*, si *taijasa*, si *bhūtādi*,  
ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si *vaikṛta*, ya tekā sattva svabhāvanya, <ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si *tai-*  
*jasa*, ya tekā rajah svabhāvanya,> ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si *bhūtādi* tamah svabhāva-  
10 nya/, nāhan lakṣaṇa niṅ ahaṅkāra, an mijil saṅkeṅ buddhi, tēlu prakāranya, 12v  
ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si *vaikṛta*, yekā saṅka niṅ manah mētu lāvan daśendriya, *da-*  
*śendriya* ṅaranya, śrota, tvak, cakṣuh, jihvā, ghrāṇa, vāk, pāṇi, pāyu, up-  
astha, pada nāhan kveh niṅ indriya sapuluh, savēlas lāvan manah, lakṣaṇa  
niṅ manah mamikalpa,  
15 sumahur saṅ kumāra,  
[9] takarin tuṅgal ikaṅ manah lāvan buddhi lāvan ahaṅkāra, sājñā bhaṭāra,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,

1 *bāhyadarśana*] *em.*; bhāyadārśanā *cod.* 2 makacetanā ya] *conj.*; kamacetanā ya *cod.*  
2 makacetanā ṅaranya] *conj.*; kamacetanā ṅaranya *cod.* 3 vruh ya] *em.*; vruya *cod.*  
7 *bhūtādi*] *em.*; bhutādā *cod.* 8 svabhāvanya] *em.*; svarbhavanya *cod.* 10 saṅkeṅ]  
*em.*; saṅko *cod.* 11 daśendriya] *em.* E; daṣondrayā *cod.* 11–12 *daśendriya*] *em.* E;  
daṣondrayā *cod.* 13 niṅ indriya] *em.*; ni nirindriyā *cod.* 13 savēlas] *em.*; savkas *cod.*  
13 lāvan] *em.*; lāvana *cod.* 15 sumahur] *em.*; sumahu *cod.* 16 lāvan ahaṅkāra] *em.*;  
lavan· haṅkāra *cod.*

2–4 tan vruh ikaṅ buddhi ... kadi maṅhiḍəp ya] Cf. TJ 10.16–17: buddhi tan pahidəp /  
ikaṅ buddhi ndan ahiḍəp ya / kadi tan vruh ikaṅ buddhi / ndan vruh ya kadi tan pacetanekaṅ  
buddhi / 6–10 saṅke buddhi mētu tāhaṅkāra ... si bhūtādi tamah svabhāvanya] Cf. TJ  
12.7–8: tuhun pinakaparanti jugeka hananya de niṅ ahaṅkāra tri bhedanya / lvirnya / si  
vaikṛta si taijasa si bhūtādi / nahan ya ahaṅkāra // ahaṅkāra si vaikṛta yeka buddhi sattva /  
ahaṅkāra si taijasa yeka buddhi rajah / ahaṅkāra si bhūtādi yeka buddhi tamah //; Vṛh  
33.21–23: saṅka riṅ buddhi mētu taṅ ahaṅkāra / tēlu prakāranya / lvirnya / sāttvika / rā-  
jasa / tāmasa / nahan bhedanya / si vaikṛta yeka sāttvika / si taijasa yeka rajah / si bhūtādi  
yeka tamah / 11–13 yekā saṅka niṅ manah ... upastha] Cf. TJ 12.9–11: ahaṅkāra si  
vaikṛta yeka magave manah mvaṅ daśendriya / lvirnya / cakṣu śrotra ghrāṇa jihvā tvak /  
nahan taṅ sinaṅgah *pañcendriya* ṅaranya / vāk pāṇi pāda upastha pāyu yeka sinaṅgah pañ-  
cakarmendriya ṅaranya /; Vṛh 33.23–25: saṅka riṅ ahaṅkāra <si vaikṛta> mētu taṅ manah  
lāvan daśendriya / lvirnya / śrotra / tvak / cakṣuh / jihvā / ghrāṇa / vāk / pāṇi / pāda / pāyu /  
upastha /

From the three constituents comes forth the intellect. Its characteristic is the *perception of the external reality*. The intellect is without sentience, and yet it serves the purpose of sentience.<sup>39</sup> To serve the purpose of sentience means that the intellect does not know, yet it is as if capable of knowing. The intellect is without thinking faculty, yet it is as if it thinks, for it came forth from the two principles. The two principles are: Soul and unevolved matter.

From the intellect comes forth the self-identity, its characteristic is to preserve life<sup>40</sup> and to relate [everything] to the own I. Further, the characteristics of the self-identity are three: the one *modified*, the one *consisting of passion*, and the one which is the *origin of the gross elements*. The nature of the *modified* self-identity is *sattva*. The nature of the self-identity *consisting of passion* is *rajas*.<sup>41</sup> The nature of the self-identity which is the *origin of the gross elements* is *tamas*. Such are the characteristics of the self-identity in originating from the intellect. Their types are three. The modified self-identity is the origin from which the mind-stuff comes forth, together with the ten faculties. The *ten faculties* are: ears, skin, eyes, tongue, nose, mouth, hands, anus, reproductive organs, and feet. Such is the enumeration of the ten faculties. They are eleven with the mind-stuff. The characteristic of the mind-stuff is to ideate.

Kumāra spoke:

[9] If you please, o Lord, is it not so that the mind-stuff, the intellect and the self-identity are identical?

The Lord spoke:

39. After emending the reading *kāmacetanā*, attested twice in the line, into *makacetanā*, i.e. *cetanā* provided with the prefix *maka-* ‘to have as’ or ‘to serve the purpose of’ (this latter meaning of *maka-* is attested more rarely and corresponds to the passive form *pinaka-*, cf. ZOETMULDER 1983:57–58). The corruption of *makacetanā* into *kāmacetanā* could have been caused by a copyist having thought of *kāmacetanā*, and to have imputed to it a meaning such as ‘sentient due to desire’ (?). In support of my emendation I point at the form *makacetanā* attested in the *Tattvajñāna* in a similar context and meaning: *bhaṭāra mahulun makacetana sañ hyaṇ ātmā / sañ hyaṇ ātmā makacetana ikaṇ citta / ika citta makacetana ikaṇ ahaṇkāra* ‘The Supreme Lord serves as sentience for the Holy Soul, the Holy Soul serves as sentience for the mind, the mind serves as sentience for the self-identity’.

40. A word has apparently been omitted between *lakṣaṇanya* and *lāvan*; I have conjecturally filled the lacuna with the sequence *magave hurip*, which I have drawn from a parallel in 218.3 defining self-identity as follows: *yekā magave hurip, lāvan prayatna maṇaku jñānanya*.

41. I conjecturally inserted this sentence in the text, which is required in order to make the series of three items complete, supposing it was dropped due to scribal error.

- dudū ikā, apan lakṣaṇanya tan pada, byaktānyan tan pa/da, yan kva liṇanta, 13r  
 nihan ikañ buddhi adhyavasāya lakṣaṇanya, *adhyavasāya* ṇaranya, vruh niñ  
 ahala lāvan ahayu, lāvan niścaya ta ya, ikañ ahañkāra yekā magave hurip,  
 lāvan prayatna mañaku jñānanya, kunañ ikañ manah mamikalpa gavenya,  
 5 liñnya, kapan kunañ papaṅguha lāvan kahyunku, mvañ syapa mapaṅguh-  
 aknāku, apa karaṇaṅkvā kunañ, ndi deśa kapaṅguhanaṅkvā, nāhan lakṣaṇa  
 nikañ manah an pamikalpa, lāvan umahas ta ya riñ daśadeśa, nāhan papale-  
 nan i manah sakeñ ahañkāra / lāvan buddhi, 13v
- ikañ ta katəlu, ya tekā cinetanā sañ hyaṇ ātmā, anəhər pinakasāadhanān  
 10 paṅgrhīta viśaya, ikañ śrotendriya ya, haneñ taliṇa, ikañ tvakindriya, ya ha-  
 neñ kulit, ikañ caksuhindriya, ya haneñ mata, ikañ jihvendriya ya haneñ  
 ilat, ikañ ghrāṇendriya ya haneñ hiruñ, nāhan tañ *pañcabuddhīndriya* ṇa-  
 ranya, ri denyan pakasahāya buddhin paṅgrhīta vastuviśaya, *pañcakarmen-*  
*driya* ṇaranya, ikañ vakindriya ya haneñ tutuk, ikañ paṇīndriya ya haneñ  
 15 taṇa/n, ikañ padendriya ya haneñ suku, ikañ pāyvindriya ya haneñ lət, ikañ 14r  
 upāsthendriya ya haneñ bhaga puruṣa, nāhan tañ *pañcakarmendriya* ṇara-  
 nya, matañnyan *karmendriya* ṇaranya, apan makapūrva karmekā nimitta  
 niñ ātmān paṅgrhīta viśaya ikā, ikā ta kabeh, ya ta *daśendriya* ṇaranya,

2 *adhyavasāya*] *em.*; *andyavasaya cod.* 5 kapan kunañ] *conj.*; *kapanakuñna cod.* 5 lā-  
 van] *em.*; *lalāvan cod.* 7 nikañ] *em.* E; *niñkā cod.* 10 paṅgrhīta] *em.*; *panpagrhitā*  
*cod.* 10 śrotendriya ya] *em.*; *srotendrayā aya cod.* 10 tvakindriya] *em.*; *tvakindrayā*  
*cod.* 11 jihvendriya] *em.*; *jihvandriyā cod.* 13 paṅgrhīta] *em.*; *paṅgrahit· cod.* 13–  
 14 *pañcakarmendriya*] *em.*; *pañcakamendriyā cod.* 14 vakindriya] *em.*; *vaki,hndriyā*  
*cod.* 14 paṇīndriya] *em.*; *pahēndriyā cod.* 15 pāyvindriya] *em.* E; *pāhvindriyā cod.*  
 16 *pañcakarmendriya*] *em.*; *pañcakāmendriyā cod.* 17 *karmendriya*] *em.*; *kammen-*  
*driyā cod.* 17 makapūrva karmekā] *conj.*; *makapurvvāvekāmme cod. (post corr.)* 18 pa-  
 ṅgrhīta] *em.*; *paṅgrahit· cod.* 18 ikā ta] *em.*; *ikā kata cod.* 18 ya ta] *em.*; *ya tan cod.*

17–18 matañnyan ... viśaya ikā] Cf. Vṛh 33.88–90: umapa teki rva de bhaṭāra majarakān  
 indriya / umuṅguh lāvan inuṅgvan / apan ri hana nikañ golaka ya ta nimitta niñ ātmān  
 paṅgrhītañ viśaya //

2–3 niñ ahala] *post corr.*; *ni hala ante corr.* 17 makapūrva karmekā] *makapurvvāve-*  
*kāmme post corr.*; *makapurvvākāmme ante corr.*

They are different, for their distinctive characteristics are not the same. The evidence that they are not the same—if you would ask—is as follows: the characteristic of the intellect is the faculty of decision. *Faculty of decision* means: the knowledge of what is bad and what is good, and determination. The self-identity is what maintains life, and its knowledge is engaged in relating [everything] to the own I. Further, the activity of the mind-stuff is to imagine, [as when] one thinks: ‘When will I be united in wedlock with my beloved? And who will cause me to be united in wedlock with her? What will be my stratagem? Where is the place where I will obtain her?’<sup>42</sup> Such is the characteristic of the mind-stuff as it imagines. And also: it roams about in the ten quarters of the space. Thus is the difference of the mind-stuff from the self-identity and the intellect.

Those three are perceived in a conscious manner by the Soul and consequently they serve as means to grasp the external objects. The faculty of hearing, it resides in the ears. The faculty of touch, it resides in the skin. The faculty of sight, it resides in the eyes. The faculty of taste, it resides in the tongue. The faculty of smell, it resides in the nose. Thus are the *five faculties of perception*, [they are called thus] because they have the intellect as helper in grasping the physical sense objects. The *five faculties of action* are [as follows]: the faculty of speech, it resides in the mouth; the faculty of grasping, it resides in the hands; the faculty of motion, it resides in the legs; the faculty of defecation, it resides in the anus; the faculty of reproduction, it resides in the female and male genital organs. Thus are the *five faculties of action*. The reason why they are called the *five faculties of action* is that they have action as prominent factor. It is the cause of the Soul in grasping the external objects. Those ones together are called the *ten faculties*.

42. I interpret the sentence in direct speech as referring to the thoughts of a man about his future partner, although the absence of a discernible context and the ambiguity inherent to the lexicon makes this translation somewhat uncertain. For instance, the form *papaṅguh* derives from the base *paṅguh* (OJED 1259) ‘to come together, meet, live together, be united in wedlock’; but *amaṅguh*, *kapaṅguh* and *pamaṅguh* are glossed in OJED as passive verbal forms meaning ‘to find, meet with, obtain, meet, encounter, come upon’; *kahyunku*, from *hyun* ‘wish, desire, love’, can mean both ‘desire, wish; what one desires or wishes’ and ‘the beloved’ (OJED 663); *karaṇa* (OJED 802) means ‘cause, reason’ but also ‘stratagem’ or ‘trick’ (comparable to *upāya*). Even though a more general translation of the passage is possible, I find the context of courtship the most probable.

tumambhəh pvekañ <buddhi> ahañkāra lāvan manah, ya ta sinaṅguh *trayodaśakaraṇa* ñaranya, ya ta sādhanā niñ ātmān paṅgrhīta viṣaya ikā, kārya nikañ ahañkāra si vaikṛta ikā ka/beh, huvus ikāta,

14v

nihan ta gave nikā ahañkāra si bhūtādi, hana pañcatanmātra ñaranya,  
 5 śabdatanmātra, sparśatanmātra, rūpatanmātra, rasatanmātra, gandhatanmātra, nahan tañ *pañcatanmātra* ñaranya, amijil sanke ahañkāra si bhūtādi, ikañ ahañkāra si taijasa, yekā tumuluñ si vaikṛta lāvan si bhūtādi, an pagave kārya,

nihan lakṣaṇa nikañ *śabdatanmātra*, tutupi taliñanta, hanekañ śabda ka-  
 10 rəñḥ, yā tekā *śabdatanmātra* ñaranya, *sparśatanmātra* ñaranya, hana bāyu madrəs kahidə/p denta, huvus pvekañ bāyūmirira kahidəpta tisnya ri kulit,  
 ya tekā *sparśatanmātra* ñaranya, nihan tañ *rūpatanmātra* ñaranya, sampun sumurup sañ hyañ āditya, hana tejanira kavəkas atunu, ya tekā *rūpatanmātra* ñaranya, rasatanmātra, ña, kady aṅgān in vvañ mamañan rasa mamani  
 15 mapahit, huvus pva ya hənti, hana ta rasanya kavəkas riñ tutuk, ya tekā *rasatanmātra* ñaranya, nihan tañ *gandhatanmātra* ñaranya, kady aṅgān in hasəp caṇḍana, agaru kunañ, huvus luñhā kukusnya, kavəkas tañ / gandha riya, ya  
 15v tekā *gandhatanmātra* ñaranya, nahan tañ *pañcatanmātra* ñaranya,

2 paṅgrhīta] *em.*; paṅgrahit· *cod.* 7 tumuluñ] *em.*; tumulu *cod.* 7 bhūtādi] *em.*; bhutādə *cod.* 9 hanekañ] *em.*; haneñkā *cod.* 13 atunu] *conj.*; āturu *cod.* 15 hənti] *em.*; hintā *cod.*

7–8 ikañ ahañkāra ... kārya] Cf. TJ 15.1–3: kunañ lakṣaṇa nikañ ahañkāra si taijasa / yeka kadi vayuh lakṣaṇanya / tumuluñ si vaikṛta lāvan si bhūtādi / milu magave ekādaśendriya / lāvan pañcatanmātra //; Vṛh 33.26–27: ikañ ahañkāra si taijasa // yeka umilu mamətvakəñ kārya nikañ ahañkāra si vaikṛta lāvan si bhūtādi / 9–10 tutupi ... śabdatanmātra ñaranya] Cf. TJ 12.7–8: śabdatanmātra ñaranya tutupi taliñanta kalih / hana śabda karəñḥ / lit nikañ śabda yeka śabdatanmātra ñaranya //; Vṛh 33.9–11: tutupana taliñanta / hana śabda karəñḥ / litlit nikañ śabda karəñḥ / yeka śabdatanmātra ñaranya / 12–14 sampun sumurup ... rūpatanmātra ñaranya] Cf. TJ 12.9–11: rūpatanmātra ñaranya duvəgi kālasandhyā sumurup sañ hyañ āditya kulvan / hana ta tejanira kavəkas mātramātra / lit nikañ teja yeka rūpatanmātra ñaranya /; Vṛh 33.34–35: huvus sumurup sañ hyañ āditya / hana ta tejanira kavəkas / litlit nikañ teja katon / yeka rūpatanmātra ñaranya /



Adding intellect,<sup>43</sup> self-identity and mind-stuff, they are designated as the *thirteenfold organ*. That is the means of the Soul to grasp the objects. All of them are the effects of the modified self-identity. Thus far about that.

As follows is the activity of the self-identity which is the origin of the gross elements. There are the *five subtle elements*: sound, touch, form, taste, smell. Thus are the *five subtle elements*, originating from the self-identity which is the origin of the gross elements. The self-identity consisting of passion, that helps the modified one and the one which is the origin of the gross elements in performing a task.

The characteristics of the *subtle element of sound* are as follows. Close your ears. There is that sound which is heard. That is the *subtle element of sound*.<sup>44</sup> The *subtle element of touch*: imagine that there is a strong wind; imagine its coolness on your skin after it has stopped blowing. That is the *subtle element of touch*. The *subtle element of form* is as follows: the Sun has already set. There is the remaining part of its light that is ablaze.<sup>45</sup> That is called the *subtle element of form*. The *subtle element of taste*: like when a man tastes either a sweet or a bitter flavour. When it is finished, the left-over of its taste is in the mouth. That is the *subtle element of taste*. The *subtle element of smell* is as follows: as when there is the smoke of sandal-wood, or of aloe; when their smoke has dissipated, their scent remains. That is the *subtle element of smell*. Thus are the *five subtle elements*.

43. The addition of *buddhi*, presumably left out by mistake, is required to make the sentence logically and doctrinally coherent.

44. That is to say, a very subtle and almost unperceptible sound: compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.9–11, defining *śabdatanmātra* as the finest part of the sound that is heard (*litlit nikaṇ śabda karṇā*) when the ears are closed.

45. The points seems to be that light is still dimly visible when the sun has just set below the horizon: compare the parallels in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.34–35 and *Tattvajñāna* 12.9–11. I have emended *āturu* ‘sleeping, dormant’ into *atunu* ‘ablaze, on fire’ (compare *katuru* → *katunu*: 324.14). The former word would make sense only if interpreted as a figurative description of the dormant (light of the) sun, but would still be somewhat redundant in the clause.

- sañke pañcatanmātra, mētu tañ pañcamahābhūta, nihan kramanya, ikā śab-  
 datanmātra pamətvakən ākāśa, guṇanya śabda, lakṣaṇanya magave ugvan,  
 sakeñ sparśatanmātra, mētu tañ bāyu, lakṣaṇanya mañulahakən, guṇanya  
 sparśa, sakeñ rūpatanmātra, mētu tañ teja, lakṣaṇanya prakāśa panas, guṇa-  
 5 nya rūpa, sakeñ rasatanmātra, mētu tañ āpah, lakṣaṇanya mələs, guṇanya  
 rasa, nəm prakāra / niñ rasāmanis, apahit, apədəs, asəpət, ahasəm, ahasin, 16r  
 yekā *ṣaḍrasa* ṇaranya, sañke gandhatanmātra, mētu tañ pṛthivī, lakṣaṇanya,  
 maganal makakāya, guṇanya ganda, nahan lakṣaṇa nikañ pañcamahābhūta  
 kavruhana, kunañ ikā maraṅkəpana ikañ vaneh, apan ikañ i sor ya kabya-  
 10 pakan de nikañ i ruhur, ikañ ākāśa muṅgv i ruhur, tumut ta bāyu matañnyan  
 rva guṇanya, śabda, sparśa, ikā bāyu mvañ ākāśa byāpaka riñ teja, matañ-  
 nyan təlu guṇa niñ teja, śabda, sparśa, rū/pa, ikañ teja lāvan bāyu ākāśa, 16v  
 byāpaka riñ āpah, matañnyan pat guṇa niñ āpah, śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa,  
 ikañ tañ āpah, teja, bāyu, ākāśa, byāpaka riñ pṛthivī, matañnyan lima guṇa  
 15 niñ pṛthivī, śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa, gandha, nahan lakṣaṇa nikān pavor  
 guṇa ikañ pañcamahābhūta, ya ta ginave bhaṭāra bhuvana,

1 mētu tañ ] *em.*; mtu ta *cod.* 2 pamətvakən ākāśa ] *em.*; pamtvākən kāśa *cod.* 3 mētu tañ bāyu ] *em.*; mtu tā bāyu *cod.* 6 nəm prakāra ] *em.* E; namāprakāra *cod.* 6 rasāmanis ] *em.*; rasa manis *em.* E; rāṣanmis *cod.* 6 ahasəm ] *em.* E; ahisəm *cod.* 9 apan ikañ i sor ] *em.*; apani ikañ sorā *cod.* 10 nikañ ] *em.*; nikoññ *cod.* 10 muṅgv i ] *em.* E; mvaṅgva *cod.* 10 bāyu ] *em.* E; nāyā *cod.* 15 nikān ] *em.*; niñkān *cod.*

10–16 ikañ ākāśa muṅgv i ruhur ... ya ta ginave bhaṭāra bhuvana ] Cf. TJ 13.13–14.2: ikañ ākāśa muṅgv iñ ruhur / tumūt tañ vāyu / ya ta matañnyan rva guṇa niñ vāyu śabda sparśa // ākāśa vāyu teja / ya ta matañnyan tiga guṇa niñ teja śabda sparśa rūpa // ākāśa vāyu teja āpah / ya ta matañnyan pāt guṇa niñ āpah śabda sparśa rūpa *ṣaḍrasa* // ākāśa vāyu teja āpah pṛthivī / ya ta matañnyan lima guṇa niñ pṛthivī śabda sparśa rūpa *ṣaḍrasa* gandha //13// nahan lakṣaṇa nikañ pañcamahābhūta an pavor guṇa / ginave aṇḍabhuvana de bhaṭāra /

9 ikā maraṅkəpana ikañ vaneh ] ikā maraṅkəpana ikañ vaneh *post corr.*; ikā vaneh *ante corr.* 10–11 matañnyan rva ] *post corr.*; rva *ante corr.* 13 śabda, sparśa, rūpa, ] śabda, sparśa, rūpa, *post corr.*; śabda, rūpa, *ante corr.* 15 sparśa, rūpa, ] sparśa, rūpa, *post corr.*; sparśa, *ante corr.*

From the five subtle elements come forth the five gross elements. Their succession is as follows: the subtle element of sound brings forth the atmosphere. Its quality is sound; its distinctive characteristic is to create space.<sup>46</sup> From the subtle element of touch comes forth the wind. Its distinctive characteristic is to set in motion; its quality is touch. From the subtle element of form comes forth the fire. Its distinctive characteristic is shining and heat; its quality is form. From the subtle element of taste comes forth the water. Its distinctive characteristic is wetness; its quality is taste. The kinds of tastes are six: sweet, bitter, hot, tart, sour, salty. Thus are the *six tastes*. From the subtle element of smell comes forth the earth. Its distinctive characteristic is coarseness and bodily concreteness; its quality is smell. Thus the characteristics of the five gross elements should be known. Furthermore, they come together matching one another, for those below are pervaded by those above. The atmosphere positions itself above. The wind follows. For this reason, their qualities are two: sound and touch. The wind and atmosphere pervade the fire. For this reason, the qualities of fire are three: sound, touch and form. The fire along with the wind and the atmosphere pervades the water. For this reason, the qualities of the water are four: sound, touch, form and taste. The water, the fire, the wind and the atmosphere pervade the earth. For this reason, the qualities of the earth are five: sound, touch, form, taste and smell. Thus are the characteristics of the five gross elements in combining with the qualities. These are caused to create the World by the Lord.<sup>47</sup>

46. I translate *uṅgvan* as 'space' instead of 'place, position' (OJED 2125), for the expression *magave uṅgvan* appears to be based on the idea, found in Sanskrit sources, that *ākāśa* ('atmosphere' or 'ether') creates the space where the other elements are located; cf., e.g., *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 19.6; *Mrgendratāntra* VP 10.21; *Parākhyatantra* 4.110cd–111ab, etc. Note that the sources invariably use the term *avakāśa*, which can mean both 'place' and 'space'; the passage of the latter source is translated by GOODALL (2004:264) as follows: 'And the arising of ether is necessarily preceded by [that of] the subtle element "sound". It is different from all four [other] elements because of its [providing] space (*avakāśataḥ*)' *ākāśasyāpi yotpattiḥ śabdātānāmātrapūrvikā // caturṇām api bhūtānām bhinnam tadavakāśataḥ*.

47. This clause appears to have two subjects, i.e. the pronoun *ya* (referring to what precedes) and *bhuvana*. However, that the construction is not the result of a corruption is suggested by a parallel construction in the *Tattvajñāna* (13.11): *ikaṁ pṛthivī āpah teja vāyu ākāśa / ya ta ginave bhuvana de bhaṭāra*. In both texts the passive verbal form *ginave* 'to be made' makes sense only if understood as a passive causative, i.e. 'to be caused to make'.

- † agəñ ākāśa miṇduhur, † ya ta sinaṅguh aṇḍabhuvana ṇaranya, devamā-  
 nuṣatiryak, nāhan pinakesi niñ aṇḍabhuvana, ikañ i ruhur satyaloka, ikañ  
 i sor, yekā / mahālokā, i sor niñ mahāloka, tapoloka, i sor niñ tapoloka, 17r  
 janaloka, i sor niñ janaloka, svahloka, i sor niñ svahloka, bhuvahloka, i sor  
 5 niñ bhuvahloka, yeki kahanantānaku, riñ bhūhloka, ṇaran ikā saptadvīpa,  
 saptārṇava, i sor niñ bhūhloka, ya tekā saptapātāla ṇaranya, patuṅgaltuṅgal  
 ni ṇaranya nihan paṇavruhana, apatāla, hana i sor nikā, vetāla, nitāla, netāla,  
 gabhastitāla, vāratāla, rāsātāla, nahan pa/tiṅkah nikañ pātāla, i sor nikā, yekā 17v  
 mahānaraka, kveh nikā yeka tēlu puluh rva<,> patapnya[,] mahāraurava, i  
 10 sor niñ mahānaraka, yeki tāmragardabha, tan vā pētañ katunan teja, i sor  
 nikañ tāmragardabha, ya toṅgvan sañ hyañ kālarudrāgni, āpuy dumilah sa-  
 dākāla,

3 yekā ] *em. E*; yakā *cod.* 5 kahanantānaku ] *em.*; tahanantānaku *cod.* 5 ikā ] *em.*; yikā *cod.* 6 saptārṇava ] *em.*; saptāvarṇava *cod.* 7 nihan ] *em.*; nāhan *cod.* 10 tāmragardabha ] *conj.*; timirāgarndama *cod.* 11 tāmragardabha ] *em.*; tāmragarddama *cod.* 11 toṅgvan ] *em. E*; teṅgvan *cod.* 11 āpuy ] *conj.*; āpva *cod.*

2–5 ikañ i ruhur satyaloka ... kahanantānaku riñ bhūhloka ] Cf. SHH 2.2–7: bhūhloka ṇaran ikañ bhuvana kahananta, i ruhur nikañ muvah bhuvahloka i ruhur nikañ bhuvahloka suvahloka, i ruhur nikañ suvahloka janahloka, i ruhur nikañ janahloka tapoloka, i ruhur nikañ tapoloka satyaloka, i ruhur satyaloka mahāloka, i ruhur nikañ mahāloka atyanta antaloka, 11–12 sañ hyañ kālarudrāgni, āpuy dumilah sadākāla ] Cf. TJ 14.14–15: sañ kālāgnirudra apuy dumilah sadākāla /

† Extensive, space rises upwards. †<sup>48</sup> That is designated as the *Cosmic Egg*. Gods, human beings and animals: these are the inhabitants of the Cosmic Egg. The one above is the Satyaloka. One step lower, there is the Mahāloka. Below the Mahāloka, there is the Tapoloka. Below the Tapoloka, the Janaloka. Below the Janaloka, the Svahloka. Below the Svahloka, the Bhuvahloka. Below the Bhuvahloka, that is your abode, my son, in the Earth. That means the Seven Continents and the Seven Oceans. Below the Earth are the Seven Underworlds. Their names should be known as follows, one by one: Āpātāla is below [all of] them, the Vetāla, Nitāla, Netāla, Gabhastitāla, Vāratāla, Rāsatāla. Thus are the levels of the underworlds. Below them there are the Great Hells; their number is thirty-two, the Mahāraurava is their roof.<sup>49</sup> Below the Great Hells is the Tāmragardabha,<sup>50</sup> not clear, dark and lacking in light. Below the Tāmragardabha is the place of the Fire of Kālarudra,<sup>51</sup> a fire eternally blazing.

48. The clause within cruxes (*āgāṇ ākasā miṇḍuhur* in the codex) seems to be corrupt as it is incomplete and can hardly be the subject of what follows, picked up by *ya ta*. It might be the result of the mistake of a scribe influenced by the clause *ikaṇ ākāśa muṅgv i ruhur* occurring above (222.10). A parallel passage in the *Tattvajñāna*, just after the sentence quoted in the preceding footnote, reads *arddha ruhur sumiṇḍuhur matumpaṇtumpaṇan lakṣaṇanya / ikaṇ tattva i ruhur pinakaguṇa de niṇ tattva i sor // niṇan lakṣaṇanya / ikaṇ ākāśa muṅgv iṇ ruhur* / [from here to 14.2 the text corresponds to DhPāt 222.10–16, cf. my apparatus]. I suspect the reading *arddha ruhur sumiṇḍuhur* to be corrupted; *arddha* (*arddhā* Kha and *adha* Ga) might be conjecturally emended to *urddha* (= *ūrdhva*, cf. OJED 2142), and the morphologically impossible *sumiṇḍuhur* into *samiṇḍuhur*. The whole clause from *urddha* to *lakṣaṇanya* would thus translate ‘the zenith [is] above, along with everything that raises upwards; its characteristic is [to be ordered] in layers’ (taking *lakṣaṇanya* to be a qualifier of *samiṇḍuhur* rather than of *bhuvana* in the preceding sentence). Although this passage provides us with some hints of the context, it does not enable one to reconstrue the original clause of the DhPāt with any degree of certainty.

49. I translate the substantive *patap*, provided with the clitic third person pronoun *-nya*, as ‘roof’ (cf. Modern Javanese *atap*, which, according to JED (57), is a regional, dialectal or non-standard form) rather than ‘proper arrangement, right order’ (OJED 1945), for *mahāraurava* can hardly be taken as an adjective, being a well-attested name for (a particular) hell in Old Javanese (cf. OJED 1086) as well as Sanskrit sources. My translation has rendered a slight emendation of the original punctuation necessary (e.g. from *tlu puluh rva patapnya, māhāraurava* into *təlu puluh rva, patapnya māhāraurava*).

50. For my emendation of *tāmragarddabha* (and *tāmragaddarma* occurring below) into *tāmragardabha*, cf. Part III, p. 430.

51. Here *kālarudrāgni* obviously corresponds to the Kālāgnirudra well-known in Sanskrit and Old Javanese sources. But that the word is not a corruption is suggested by the occurrence of a similar form in *Sutasoma* 117.3c: *mahākālarudrāgnirūpa*.

i sor nikā kulit niñ aṇḍabhuvana, kumaluñ i sor i ruhur iriñan, i sor niñ kulit  
niñ aṇḍabhuvana, ya toṅgvan sañ hyañ śatarudra kumuliliñ ikeñ aṇḍabhu-  
vana, ikeñ kahananta ya ta patimbunan i / tattva kabeh,

18r

ndan lakṣaṇa nikañ tattva hana ñke, kapva umyāpakerikañ tattva ma-  
ganal sañkeñ riya, nihan kramanya, bhaṭāra mahulun, byāpaka rikañ ātmā,  
5 ikañ ātmā byāpaka ri māyā, ikañ māyā byāpaka ri pradhāna, ikañ pradhāna  
byāpaka riñ buddhitattva, ikañ buddhitattva, byāpaka riñ ahañkāra, ikañ ah-  
aṇkāra, byāpaka ri manah, ikañ manah, byapaka riñ daśendriya, ikañ da-  
śendriya byāpaka riñ pañcatanmātra, ikañ pañcatanmātra, byāpaka ri pañ-  
10 camahābhūta, na/han lvirnya, ya ta matañnyan pinakapatimbhunan iñ tat-  
tva kabeh, ikañ bhūhloka kahananta mañke, huvus mañkana,

18v

iñətiñət mūla niñ carita, prastāva nikañ cetanā sañ para, dumeh sañ yo-  
gīśvara tan vañvañ siddhi, ikañ ātmā jəñək mañetanā, makanimitta mala, ya  
dumeh ya tan vruha ri jātinya, mahyun pva bhaṭāra vruha ri jātinira, ya ma-  
tañnyan veh ya māvaka, huvusnyan māvak, mabheda ta ya rva, lakilaki lāvan  
15 anakəbi, ya tekā mamukti ṣaḍrasa, ṣaḍrasa ṇaranya, amanis, apahit, / asəpət,  
ahasin, ahasəm, apədəs, yekā ṣaḍrasa ṇaranya, ya ta pinañanya ininumnya,  
matəmahan śukra riñ anak laki, śvanita niñ anakəbi, ikañ tañ śukraśonitā  
pinapañguhakənira lāvan ikañ kāma,

19r

1 nikā ] *em.*; nikāñ *cod.* 2 toṅgvan ] *em.*; tuṅgvan *cod.* 4 nikañ ] *em.*; niñkāñ *cod.*  
14 vruha ] *em.*; vruha *cod.* 14–15 matañnyan ] *em.*; matañnyan *cod.* 18 śukraśonitā ]  
*em.*; sutraśonitā *cod.*

3 ikeñ kahananta ya ta patimbunan i / tattva kabeh ] Cf. TJ 14.5–6: ndan ikañ bhūhloka pa-  
timbunan iñ tattva kabeh /; Vṛh 33.48: ikañ pṛthivītattva ya patimbunan iñ tattva kabeh /  
17–18 matəmahan ... śukraśonitā ] Cf. TJ 37.7–8: ikañ ṣaḍrasa pinañan ininum de niñ  
lakilaki / hanakəbi / sāri nikañ pinañan ininum / yeka matəmahan rah dagiñ gajih /; Vṛh  
33.56–59: ikañ ṣaḍrasa / ya teka pinañan ininum de niñ lakilaki lāvan anakbi / ya ta mañ-  
dadyakən hurip lāvan śarīra / sāri nikañ śarīra / ya ta matəmahan kāma riñ lakilaki / śukla  
ṇaranya vaneñ / śonita riñ anakəbi / matəmu pvekañ śuklaśonita

3 patimbunan ] patimbhunan *post corr.*; patimbhunin *ante corr.* 6 ikañ ātmā ] ikāññ  
ātmā *post corr.*; iykāññ *ante corr.*



Below it [there is] the external shell of the World, which surrounds below and above as well as on the borders. Below the shell of the world is the place of the Hundred Rudras, surrounding this Cosmic Egg. Here, the place where you are, it is where all the principles are piled up.

Further, the characteristic of the principles that are here is that all of them pervade the principles coarser than them. Their order is as follows: the Sovereign Lord pervades the Soul; the Soul pervades the Māyā; the Māyā pervades the unevolved matter; the unevolved matter pervades the principle of intellect; the principle of intellect pervades the self-identity; the self-identity pervades the mind-stuff; the mind-stuff pervades the ten faculties; the ten faculties pervade the five subtle elements; the five subtle elements pervade the five gross elements. Such is their nature. This is the reason why the earth, the place where you are now, serves as the place where all the principles are piled up. Enough about this.

Now, remember the beginning of the exposition, the argument of the opponent concerning the sentient: the reason why the leader among yogins does not achieve perfection immediately<sup>52</sup> is that the Soul is engrossed in being aware [of the external objects], because it has maculation. This is why it does not know about its true nature. The Lord desires that it may know about its own nature. This is why He causes it to take a body. Once it has taken a body, its distinctions are two, male and female. They enjoy the six tastes. The *six tastes* are: sweet, bitter, tart, salty, sour, hot; these are called the *six tastes*. They are eaten and drunk by them, and turn into the sperm of the man and the blood of the woman. The sperm and the blood are caused by them to come together during love-making.<sup>53</sup>

52. Here the text coherently refers to a portion of the text occurring above (198.15–206.11), where the Lord and an opponent expound their views about the sentience or insentience of the *Summum Bonum*; and to Kumāra's question as to why the realized yogin does not achieve oneness with Śiva at once (212.1). The relevance of the former passage to the present context escapes me.

53. Understanding *kāma* 'desire, love, affection, pleasure of the senses' as an euphemism for the sexual act; otherwise, the translation may be '... come together with passion'. It is also possible, albeit less likely, that *kāma* was understood by the author in a more technical sense as a substance indispensable for reproduction existing in the male. For instance, among the meanings listed by OJED (781), there is that of 'semen virile'; this is supported by a passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (33.58): 'the essence of the body (i.e. the digested food) mixes with the sperm (*kāma*) of man—its other name is *śukla*—and with the blood of the female' *sāri nikaṇ śarīra ya ta matāmahan kāma riṇ lakilaki, śukla ṇaranya vaneh, śonita riṇ anakābi*. The problem in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is that *kāma*, if understood to mean 'sperm', will be

- ikañ śukraśonitā hana ri garbhāvāsa, ya ta mavīja, yan akveh ikañ śukra  
 sañkeñ śonitā, yekā dadi lanāñ, yapvan akveh ikañ śonitā sañkeñ śukra, yekā  
 dadi vadvan, yapvan pada kvehnya, ya ta dadi kēdi, valavadi, ikañ śukra  
 ya dadi tahulan, otva/t sumsum, ikañ śonitā ya dadi rah dagiñ puhun vulu, 19v  
 5 ya sinañguh *ṣaṭkośa* ñaranya, salvir niñ makaśukraśonitā ya, mañkana lvir  
 ni janma, yan devatā, yan mānuṣa, yan paśu, yan pakṣi, sarīsrpa, sthāvara,  
 mañkanātaḥ titahnyān katon mamañun śarīra, ikañ śabdatanmātra ya dadi  
 taliña, ikañ sparśatanmātra, ya ta dadi kulit, ikañ rūpatanmātra ya ta dadi  
 mata, ikañ rasatanmātra, yekā dadi ilat, ikañ gandhatanmātra ya dadi iruñ,  
 10 ya tekā pinakoṅgvan iñ indriya,  
 sumahur sañ kumā/ra, 20r  
 [10] takarin ikañ golaka sinañguh indriya sāññā bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ  
 kumāra,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 15 dudū tekañ golaka sañkeñ indriya, aganal ikañ golaka, ikañ indriya sūkṣma  
 ika, nahan lakṣaṇanyān dudū, taha pih tuṅgal ikā indriya lāvan golaka, yan  
 mañkana liñanta, mapekañ maturu tan pañgrhita viṣaya apan hana matanya  
 tan panon, hana taliñanya tan pañrēñē, matañan masuku makeruñ,

redundant with the *śukra* mentioned in the same sentence. On the other hand, in the *Tat-tvajñāna* (37.13–14, cf. my apparatus) the pair *śukra* and *śonita* has been replaced by the pair *kāma* and *ratih*, a grammatically masc. + a gramm. fem. word for ‘love’ or ‘passion’.

1 śukraśonitā] *em.*; sutraśonitā *cod.* 1 śukra] *em.*; sutra *cod.* 2 śukra] *em.*; sutra *cod.* 3 śukra] *em.*; sutra *cod.* 5 *ṣaṭkośa*] *conj.*; sañkeñ ṇa *cod.* 5 salvir] *em.*; salvi *cod.* 5 makaśukraśonitā] *em.*; makasutraśonitā *cod.* 5 lvir] *em.*; lvi *cod.* 8 ya ta dadi kulit] *em.*; ya ka dadi kulit *cod.* 10 pinakoṅgvan] *em.*; pānakaugvān *cod.* 12 takarin] *em.*; tankarin *cod.* 12 liñ] *em.*; li *cod.* 16 indriya] *em.*; indrayā *cod.* 17 mañkana] *em.*; kana *cod.* 17 pañgrhita] *em.*; pañgrahit- *cod.* 18 makeruñ] *em.*; materuñ *cod.*

1–3 yan akveh ... valavadi] Cf. TJ 37.10–13: yekākveh ikañ kāma sakeñ ratih / yeka dadi lanāñ / yan akveh ikañ ratih sakeñ kāma / yeka dadi vadon / yapvan samākveh ikañ kāma lāvan ratih / yeka dadi kēdi / valavadi kunañ /; Vṛh 33.61–64: yan makveh ikañ śukla sañkeñ śonita / lanāñ tāmahanya / yan makveh ikañ śonita sañke śukla / yeka tāmahan vadvan / kunañ ya paḍa kvehnya ikañ śuklaśonita / yatika janmāntarapurusa ñaranya kēdi valavadi hara tmahanya 3–5 ikañ śukra ya dadi tahulan ... *ṣaṭkośa* ñaranya] Cf. TJ 37.13–14: kunañ ikañ kāma / yeka dadi tahulan / hotot / puhun vulu / ikañ ratih / yeka matāmahan rah dagiñ gajih /; Vṛh 33.64–67: ikañ śuklātāmahan ya tahulan / odvad / sumsum / ikañ śonita dadi dagiñ / rudhira / carma / tōlu sakeñ lakilaki / tōlu sakeñ anakōbi / yeka sinañguh *ṣaṭkośa* ñaranya

2 akveh] ākveh *post corr.*; ākvah *ante corr.* 3 kēdi, valavadi, ikañ] kdi, valavadi, ikāñ *post corr.*; kdi, ikāñ *ante corr.* 4 śonitā] sonitā *post corr.*; sotā *ante corr.*

Sperm and blood are in the womb. It (the womb) has a seed. If the sperm is more abundant than the blood, it becomes male; if the blood is more abundant than the sperm, it becomes female; if their quantity is the same, it becomes an emasculated man or an unfeminine woman.<sup>54</sup> The sperm becomes bones, muscles, marrow. The [female] blood becomes blood, flesh, body hair. These are designated as the *six sheats*, they form everything consisting of sperm and blood. Thus is the nature of the incarnated beings, either deities, human beings, domestic animals, birds, creeping animals or immovable beings. And thus is their condition as [their] body is seen to take shape.

The subtle element of sound becomes the ear; the subtle element of touch becomes the skin; the subtle element of form becomes the eye; the subtle element of taste becomes the tongue; the subtle element of smell becomes the nose. These are the things that serve as places for the senses.

Kumāra spoke:

[10] If you please, o Lord, is it not so that the organs<sup>55</sup> are called faculties? Thus spoke Kumāra.

The organs are different from the faculties. The organs are coarse; the faculties are subtle. Thus is the characteristic of their difference. If you would speak thus: ‘No! The organs and the faculties are one in kind’, how could it be that one who sleeps does not grasp the objects, for there are his eyes which do not see, there are his ears which do not hear, and he has hands, feet and a nose [even though they do not carry out their tasks].

54. OJED (838) glosses *kāḍi* as ‘emasculated, eunuch’ and *valavadi* (2180) as ‘explained: “a woman and not yet a woman”. Prob. Skt *abala*, impotent, and *vadhri*, castrated’. The sequence *kāḍi valavadi* is used in an identical context in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, the *Tattvajñāna* and the *Ślokāntara* (cf. my apparatus); the last text employs the two words to explain the Sanskrit sequence *klīvo ’balo vadhriḥ*, as follows: *naranya kāḍi, valavadi naranya strī tan strī*—‘*klīva* (from *klība*, emasculated) means eunuch, *valavadi* means a woman and yet not a woman’. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 34 explains *kāḍi* and *valavadi* as *janmāntarapurūṣa*, which would translate as ‘transsexual’. This is the way the Balinese man of letters I.D.G. CATRA (p.c., June 2007) understands *valavadi*, translating it into Bahasa Indonesia *waria*. I believe that the ancient authors might have wanted to describe a hermaphrodite, and yet used Old Javanese words denoting a male and female being who underwent modifications of his or her sexual organ.

55. For a discussion of the translation of *golaka* as ‘organ’, in contrast to the original Sanskrit meaning ‘ball, globe’, cf. Part III, pp. 455–458.

- ya matañnyan saviṣaya riñ sūkṣma, apan ikañ manah ya tinut niñ indriya,  
 naha/n byaktanyān dudū ikañ indriya sañke golaka, 20v  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [11] apa dumeḥ ikañ maturu matəguh huripnya sājñā bhaṭāra, apan hilañ  
 5 tuturnya, kevala lupa juga svabhāva niñ turū, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 ikañ pañcabāyu yekānuñ pinakahurip, apan ya ika mamañun śārīra, nihan  
 kramanya, hana *nāḍī* ñaranya, otvat ni śārīra, hana hagēñ hana dəmit, buñ-  
 kah luñguhnya ri həyəhəyəhan, miñḍuhur təka ri pusər, mapañ ta ya mare-  
 10 ñ suku, hana mareñ valakañ hana mareñ tañan, hana / miñḍuhur mareñ 21r  
 guruñguruñan<, > təlu prakāra niñ guruñguruñan, idā ñaran ikañ i tənən,  
 yekā dalan i səkul, piñgalā ikañ i kivan<, > yeka havan ni vvay, suṣumnā ikañ  
 i tənəh, yekā havān i bāyu, nāhan lakṣaṇa nikān pinakaguruñguruñan, hana  
 ta pañnya vaneḥ miñḍuhur təka ri mata, lāvan riñ taliña, ikañ dudū gāte  
 15 ruhur miñḍuhur, yekā təka ri vunvunan, ya sinañguh *śivadvāra* ñaranya,  
 yekā tumuluy təkēñ gəgər i valakañ, ikañ nāḍī malit kabeh, yekā mamənuhiñ  
 kulit manuvuhakən / vulu, nāhan lvir nikā nāḍī riñ śārīra, 21v  
 ikañ tañ nāḍī kabeh, yekā pinakoñgvan i *pañcabāyu* ñaranya, ri dadinyan  
 lima gavenya, matañnyan lima kveh niñ bāyu, nihan ñaranya, *prāṇa*, *apāna*,  
 20 *samāna*, *udāna*, *byāna*,

4 huripnya sājñā ] *em.*; hurip·npa sājñā *cod.* 8 *nāḍī* ] *em.* E; nāpi *cod.* 8 dəmit ] *em.*; dmət *cod.* 9 luñguhnya ] *em.*; luhnya *cod.* 9 mapañ ] *em.*; mapa *cod.* 12 havan ] *em.*; lavān *cod.* 12 vvay ] *em.* E; vvañ *cod.* 14 lāvan riñ ] *em.*; lāvan iñ *cod.* 15 yekā ] *em.*; yetā *cod.* 15 vunvunan ] *em.*; vuvunan *cod.* 16 nāḍī ] *em.*; nādē *cod.* 16 malit ] *em.*; malitā *cod.* 16 mamənuhiñ ] *em.*; mamnuhəñ *cod.* 17 nāḍī ] *em.* E; nabi *cod.* 18 nāḍī ] *em.* E; nabi *cod.*

8–11 hana nāḍī ... təlu prakāra niñ guruñguruñan ] Cf. Vṛh 36: hana ta nāḍī ñaranya riñ śārīra / odvad magēñ adəmit / i sor niñ pusər buñkah luñguhnya / uminruhur ta yeñ pusər / ñkāna ta yan mapañ atata umiñruhur / yeka vit niñ guruñguruñan / təlu prakārañya // 11–12 idā ñaran ikañ i tənən, yekā dalan i səkul ] Cf. SHK (Śaiva) p. 43, line 1: idā havan iñ səkul hulam /; TJ 38.15–16: idā ñaranya ikañ nāḍī tənən / avan iñ səkul vruh sma luñlañan təkēñ lət /; KBNW II.702 (Vd. 8): annavaha ñaranikañ guruñguruñan iñ tənən / yeka havan iñ səkul /; KBNW II.702 (fragm. Wariga): idā nāḍī tənən mārğa niñ səkul / 12 piñgalā ikañ i kivan<, > yeka havan ni vvay ] Cf. SHK (Śaiva) p. 43, line 1: piñgalā avan iñ bañu /; TJ 38.16–17: piñgalā ñaranya ikañ nāḍī kiva / avan iñ vvay vruh sma luñlañan təkēñ huyuhuyuhan /; KBNW II.702 (Vd. 8): piñgalā / ña / guruñguruñan iñ kiva /; KBNW II.702 (fragm. Wariga): piñgalā nāḍī kiva / mārğa niñ toya lāvan tvak / 12–13 suṣumnā ikañ i tənəh, yekā havān i bāyu ] Cf. TJ 38.17: suṣumnā ñaranya ikañ tənəh / havan iñ vāyu matəlu /; KBNW II.702 (fr. Wariga): suṣumnā / ña / nāḍī tənəh / mārğa niñ bāyu

The reason why they have the same object in the subtle is that the mind is followed by the faculties. Thus is the evidence that the faculties are different from the organs.

Kumāra spoke:

[11] If you please, o Lord, for what reason does one who sleeps adhere firmly to life? For his consciousness is vanished and the nature of sleep is unconsciousness only. Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The five breaths, they serve as means to live, for they make up the body. Their order is as follows: there are the *vessels*—the veins of the body. There are the big and there are the small. Their location is the lower parts, in the bladder,<sup>56</sup> rising in the navel and branching down to the feet. There are some going in the back, there are others going in the hands; there are yet others rising to the throat-vessels.<sup>57</sup> The throat-arteries are of three kinds: *idā*, the one to the right, that is the way of cooked rice;<sup>58</sup> *piṅgalā*, the one to the left, that is the course of water; *suṣumnā* is in the middle, that is the way of the air. Thus are the characteristics of the throat-vessels. There are some other branches of them, rising up to the eyes and ears. The others are going above, rising up. They go up to the crown of the head; that is designated as *the door of Śiva*. It goes straight on to the spinal column. The vessels, all of them are subtle. They fill the skin and make the hairs grow. Thus is the form of the vessels in the body.

All the vessels serve as places for the *five breaths*. Because their tasks are fivefold, therefore the number of the breaths is five. Their names are as follows: *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, *byāna*.

56. OJED (426) lists only *ayāh* ‘urine’ and *uyuh* (2158), of identical meaning, from which *poyuhoyuhan* = ‘bladder’; in KBNW 1.344b *uyuhuyuhan* is linked to *ayāhāyāhan* and glossed as ‘bladder’ (with a question mark).

57. Thus I translate *guruṅguruṇan*, which here, as well as in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 36.3, is apparently to be understood in the plural; contrast OJED (562) s.v., which translates ‘throat, gullet’.

58. That is, the way through which food is conveyed to the stomach.

- <ikañ bāyu si *prāṇa*, ya ta> matañnyan umadāgi ikañ pañcabāyu kabeh prayatna rumāgəp gavenya, mvañ pinakośvāsa gavenya vaneh, uṅgvan ika ri dada, ri hirun hiñanya i ruhur, ikañ bāyu sy *apāna*, yeka muṅgu ri silit, ri pusər hiñanya vaneh, i ruhur, umiñsor təkēñ suku/, gavenya asorakən 22r
- 5 pinañan, matəmahan tahi, ikañ ininum matəmahan əyəh, nāhan gave nikañ bāyu sy *apāna*, nihan gave nikañ bāyu si *samāna*, yeka hana ri hati, gavenya umava səri nikañ pinañan ininum, ri sarvasandhi kabeh, səri nikañ pinañan vinehnya matəmahana hampru, səri nikañ ininum, ya vinehnya matəmahana rah, səri nikañ inambuñ vinehnya matəmahana rəhak, nāhan
- 10 gave nikañ bāyu si *samāna*, nihan gave nikañ bāyu si *udāna*, sakveh ni byāpāra miṇḍu/hur, mañədapakən mata lāvan aṇəlapinya nahan gavenya, ikañ 22v
- bāyu si byāna, yeka muṅgv iñ sarvasandhi kabeh, gavenya yekāmava matuha, lāvan mañhilañakən inak ambhək, nahan bheda ni gave ni bāyu, ya matañnyan *pañcabāyu* panañguh sañ paṇḍita,
- 15 hana ta pratyekanya vaneh ñaranya, *nāga*, *kūrmāra*, *kṛkara*, *devadatta*, *dhananājaya*,

1 umadāgi ] *em.*; udāgi *cod.* 3 ruhur ] *em.*; ruhurn *cod.* 4 ruhur ] *em.*; ruhun *cod.* 4 umiñsor ] *em.*; umisor *cod.* 5 nāhan ] *em.*; nihan *cod.* 7 umava səri nikañ ] *conj.*; umasā irikañ *cod.* 7 ininum ] *em.*; inum *cod.* 8 vinehnya ] *em.*; vinenya *cod.* 10 gave nikañ ] *em.*; gavenyakañ *cod.* 11 mañədapakən ] *em.*; miñdapakən *cod.* 11 aṇəlapinya ] *conj.*; aṇlupiñ *cod.* 11 nahan ] *conj.*; nag *cod.* 12 muṅgv iñ ] *em.*; muṅgvāñ *cod.* 12 matuha ] *conj.*; mahātuha *cod.* 13–14 matañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 15 pratyekanya ] *conj.*; pratyanya *cod. post corr.*; pratyakṣanya *cod. ante corr.* 15 *kūrmāra* ] *em.*; kummara *cod.* 15 *kṛkara* ] *em.*; kraktāra *cod.*

1–3 <ikañ bāyu si *prāṇa*, ya ta> ... hiñanya i ruhur ] Cf. TJ 39.1–3: vāyu si *prāṇa* haneñ pusuhpusuh i ḍaḍa hiñanya / umadi mañlakvan vāyu kabeh / pinakajīva / pinakośvāsa paknanya //; Vṛh 41.1–2: ikañ vāyu si *prāṇa* / yeka haneñ tutuk lavan riñ iruñ pinakośvāsa gavenya / ri ḍaḍa hiñanya i sor 7–9 səri nikañ pinañan ... rəhak ] Cf. Vṛh 43.1–3: səri niñ pinañan / yeka vinehnya matəmahan ampru / səri nikañ ininum / yeka vinehnya matəmahan rah / səri nikañ inambuñ / yeka vinehnya matəmahan rəhak 11 nihan gavenya kañ bāyu si *udāna* ... nahan gavenya ] Cf. TJ 39.1–3: udāna ñaranya / ikañ vāyu haneñ vunvunan / aṇulahakən mata / lavan tutuk pakənanya //; Vṛh 44.1–2: kunañ si udānavāyu haneñ vunvunan / gavenya ñkāna / magave kəlap niñ mata 11–13 ikañ bāyu si *byāna* ... inak ambhək ] Cf. TJ 39.7–8: vyāna ñaranya / ikañ vāyu haneñ sarvasandhi / aṇulahakən śarīra mvañ humavas tuha pati pakənanya //; Vṛh 45.1–3: ikañ vāyu si vyāna haneñ sarvāñgasandhi / gavenya ñkāna / lumaku / lumimbay / maṅgaməl / saprakāra niñ maṅgulahakən sarvasandhi niñ avak lavan magave lupa kopa mvañ vṛddha //



The *prāṇa* breath,<sup>59</sup> that is the cause for all the five breaths to be in function, performing with great care their tasks; and its other task is to serve as a means of breathing out. Its place is in the chest, its upper limit is in the nose. The *apāna* breath resides in the anus. In the navel is its other limit, the upper one, going down as far as the feet. Its function is to push down what is eaten, which turns into excrement, or what is drunk, which turns into urine. Such is the task of the *apāna* breath. The task of the *samāna* breath is as follows: it is in the liver, its task is to bring the essence of what is eaten and drunk to all the limbs of the body. The essence of what is eaten is transformed by it into gall, the essence of what is drunk is transformed by it into blood, and the essence of what is smelt is transformed by it into phlegm. Thus is the task of the *samāna* breath. The task of the *udāna* breath are as follows: [to cause] all the bodily activities to move upwards, to make the eyes wink and blink;<sup>60</sup> thus are its tasks.<sup>61</sup> The *vyāna* breath resides in the whole body. Its task is to bring about aging, and also to annihilate the pleasant feelings. Thus is the division of tasks of the breaths. That is the reason why they are designated as the *five breaths* by the masters.

There is also another enumeration,<sup>62</sup> namely: *nāga*, *kūrmāra*, *kṛkara*, *devadatta*, *dhanañjaya*.

59. The addition of this clause is required in order to provide the context and satisfy the requirements of grammar; otherwise, *matañnyan* would have no referent.

60. The form *añalapi*, which I have emended from *añlupi*, may be traced to the base *kālap*, attested in a parallel passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (44.1–2): *magave kālap niñ mata* '[The *udāna* breath] causes the movement of the eyes'; the base-word *kālap*, however, is not found in OJED, which lists *kālab* (841) instead and glosses it as 'a rapid flapping movement, fluttering, undulating, flickering, weaving, flying (hair)'.

61. The rationale behind the conjectural emendation of *°lapiñ nag gavenya* into *°lapinya nahan gavenya* is that *ñ* is phonetically close to *nya*; and that the grapheme *g* may be easily confused with *n* (hence, *nag* → *nan* → *nahan*).

62. None of the meanings of *pratyakṣa* listed by OJED makes sense here. I emend the word into *pratyekanya* 'one by one, each one; enumeration one by one, specification, distinction' (OJED 1413), also on account of the fact that a 'cross' appears above the cluster *kṣa*, apparently to cancel it. For a similar use of *pratyeka*, cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 6.9 and 25.5.

- ikañ bāyu si *nāga* yeka matvab, si *kūrmāra*, yeka maṅgave kəṭəḡkəṭəḡ ri avak kabeh, si *kṛkara* yeka maṅgave vahin, si *devada/tta* yeka maṅvab, si *dhanañjaya* yeka maṣabda, lāvan tan hilañ ika sañkeñ śarīra, yan təkāñ pāti, yeka mañher i vañkay, nahan lakṣaṇa nikañ bāyu an pinakahurip, ya dumeh ikañ maturū tan māti, apan ikañ bāyu tamolah cinetanā niñ ātmā, yapvan māri ikañ ātmā cumetaneñ ya, ikañ bāyu yan mañkana, ya sinaṅguh māti ṇaranya, len sañkeñ rikā, ikañ nāḍi kahanan ikañ bāyu kunañ vikāra, mati atah ṇaranya, kady aṅgān iñ pinərañ rinacun, athavā tībra niñ lara / kunañ, nimitta ni nāḍi vikāra, ya nimitta niñ pāti vaneh,
- 10 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[12] apa dumeh niñ ātmā māri cumetanerikañ bāyu sājñā bhaṭāra, lāvan apa dumeh niñ kalara tēka,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
nihan prastāva nikañ ātmā an māri cumetanekañ bāyu, hana *dharmādharmā* ṇaranya, *dharmā* ṇaran ikañ gave hayu, *adharma* ṇaran ikañ gave hala ikañ tañ dharmādharmā, ya tekañ ginave niñ janma, ya tekā maphala, yan agēñ gavenya hala sañkeñ gave hayu, ya nimittanyān pañhiḍəp lara, yapvan agēñ ikañ gave hayu sañke gave hala, ya / nimittanyān pañhiḍəp suka, yapvan pada gavenya hala mvañ hayu, ya hetu nikañ sukadukān kapaṅgih de niñ janma, səḍəñ pva ya mamukti karmaphala, sumambi ta ya mamañun karmaphala muvah apan gave halahayu satatālvir nikañ karmaphala, hana ta karma məne ginave sādhananya, məne kabhukti phalanya, hana ta karma-phala mañke ginave sādhananya, hələm ri janma sovañ yan kabhukti phalanya, apa byaktinya nihan, kady aṅgān iñ masavah, vadvā, masambevāra,

1 yeka ] *em.*; heka *cod.* 1 matvab ] *em.*; matyəb *cod.* 1 kūrmāra ] *em.*; kummarā *cod.* 2 kṛkara ] *em.*; ktaktara *cod.* 5 tamolah ] *em.*; tomolah *cod.* 7 ikañ ] *em.*; ika *cod.* 7 nāḍi ] *em.*; naphi *cod.* 9 nāḍi ] *em.*; nāphi *cod.* 11 ātmā māri ] *em.*; ānmā ri *cod.* 11 cumetanerikañ ] *em.*; numetanerikañ *cod.* 14 cumetanekañ ] *em.*; cumetaneka *cod.* 18 ikañ gave hayu ] *em.*; ikaṃ agave hayu *cod.* 18 pañhiḍəp ] *conj.*; pagave *cod.* 21 halahayu ] *conj.*; hayu *cod.* 21 satatālvir ] *em.*; satartālvir *cod.*

1–4 si kṛkara ... mañher i vañkay ] Cf. Vṛh 46.2–4: ikañ vāyu si kṛkara magave vahin / ikañ vāyu si devadatta mañhvaḡ gavenya / ikañ vāyu si dhanañjaya yeka magave śabda / ri kāla niñ pati tan molah ri vañkay ikañ vāyu si dhanañjaya / 2–3 ikañ bāyu si *nāga* ... si *dhanañjaya* yeka maṣabda ] Cf. TJ 39.11–13: vāyu si *nāga* / magave matəb [Ed. vatəb] / ikañ vāyu si kūrma / magave kəṭər / klut iñ śarīra / ikañ vāyu si devadatta / magave ṇob pakə-nanya / ikañ vāyu si kṛkara / magave vahin pakənananya / ikañ vāyu si dhanañjaya pinakaśabda pakənananya //

11 cumetanerikañ ] numetanerikañ *post corr.*; nutanarikañ *ante corr.* 24 masavah, vadvā ] maṣavah, vadvā *post corr.*; maṣavah vadvā *ante corr.*

The *nāga* breath belches. The *kūrmāra* causes the movements in the whole body. The *kṛkara* causes sneezing. The *devadatta* breath yawns. The *dhanañ-jaya* emits sounds, and it does not vanish from the body when death comes; it remains in the corpse. Thus are the characteristics of the breaths in serving as the means to live. The reason why one who is sleeping does not die is that the Soul is constantly conscious of the breaths. If the Soul ceases to be aware of them, the breaths as such, that is designated as dying. And also if the vessels, the places where the breaths reside, are damaged, that means to die, like when one is hit by a weapon, poisoned, or afflicted by intense pain. The cause of damage for the vessels, that is also the cause of death.

Kumāra spoke:

[12] If you please, o Lord, what is the cause for the Soul to cease being aware of the breaths? And what is the cause that suffering occurs?

The Lord spoke:

The cause of the Soul's ceasing to be aware of the breaths is as follows: there is *right-and-wrong*. *Right* means doing good, *wrong* means doing bad. Right-and-wrong, that is what is done by the human beings. That is what bears fruit. If their bad deeds are greater than the good deeds, that is the cause of experiencing pain. If the good deeds are greater than the bad deeds, that is the cause of experiencing<sup>63</sup> pleasure. If their good and bad deeds are equal, that is the cause for pleasure and pain to be met by the human beings. It is while one experiences the fruits of karma that one accumulates at the same time karmic fruits again, for always doing good and bad takes the form of the fruits of karma.<sup>64</sup> There is the karma whose realization<sup>65</sup> is effected in the present: its fruits are experienced in the present. There are the fruits of karma whose realization is effected in the present, [but] it is in the future, in another birth, that its fruits are experienced. What is the evidence of this? As follows: like in the case of cultivating a rice-field, [being a] troop,<sup>66</sup> being engaged in trade.

63. I replace *pagave*, which is likely to have been written by mistake, with *panhiḍap*, which is required by the context and was also found in the preceding line.

64. The emendation of *hayu* into *halahayu* is required in order to make the statement more general, for both bad and good deeds (and not only the latter) result in karmic fruits.

65. Here, as well as in several other instances in the text, *sādhana* appears to have retained its Sanskrit primary meaning of 'accomplishment, fulfillment' or 'fruit, result'; contrast OJED (1586), which glosses 'means, religious practices'; 'master, conqueror' etc.; 'wealth, money'.

66. Or, simply, a 'subject' or 'follower' (of the King?).

- pāri phala niñ masavah, dēmak phala ni vadvā, tēvas phala ni sambevara,  
 na/han byakti nikañ karmaphala mēne, ndya karmaphala hēlēm phalanya, 24v  
 hana karma ginave mañke ndatan vēnañ maveh phala mañke, apa dumeh  
 yan mañkana, tan vēnañ maveh phala mañke, apan akveh inapekšanya, ya  
 5 teka mapan i janma sovah, ikañ kabhukti mañke, yeka phala nikañ karma  
 nūni, ri janmāntara, ikañ phala bhinukti mañke, ya tekā hēnti bhinukti mañ-  
 ke, yan mahala, yan mahayu, padeka hēnti phalanya kabeh, ya ta hetu niñ  
 ātmā māri cumetanekeñ kañ bāyu ri śarīra, padanya / kady aṅgān iñ apuy 25r  
 manunvi kayu, yapvan hēnti ikañ kayu, pējah ta pratyaya nikañ apuy, mañ-  
 10 kana tekā ātmā, an phala niñ dharmādharmā ya mamañun śarīra, lavan urip,  
 hēnti pva ikañ karmaphala, ya ta hetu niñ pāti apan tan hanañ bhinukti niñ  
 ātmā,  
 nihan sahur sañ para, kadi karmaphala kētah mamañun hurip, mvañ tan  
 ikā hetu niñ sukaduka bhinukti de niñ janma, matañnyan mañkana, apan  
 15 tan katon ikañ karmaphala riñ janma, ya matañnyan tan hana *karmaphala*  
 ñaranya, apan tan byakta ya, yan kva liña sañ p/āra, ya don ikañ pramāṇa 25v  
 tēlu pinintonakēn nūni pūrvaka pratyakṣapramāṇa, anumānapramāṇa, āga-  
 mapramāṇa,

4 maveh ] *em.*; maveñ *cod.* 5 nikañ ] *em.*; nika *cod.* 6 hēnti ] *em.*; hinta *cod.* 7 hēnti ]  
*em.*; hēnta *cod.* 8 cumetanekeñ ] *em.*; cumetavanākañ *cod.* 9 manunvi ] *em.*; ma-  
 nundi *cod.* 9 pējah ta pratyaya ] *conj.*; pjah prativiya ta *cod.* 11 hēnti ] *em.*; hinti *cod.*  
 11 hanañ bhinukti ] *em.*; hana bhinukti *cod.* 15 ikañ ] *em.*; iñkāñ *cod.* 15 matañnyan ]  
*em.*; matanyan *cod.* 16 kva ] *em.*; ka *cod.* 17 pūrvaka ] *em.*; parvvāka *cod.*

1 phala ni ] pala ni *post corr.*; pa ni *ante corr.*

Paddy is the fruit of cultivating a rice field; an apanage is the fruit of the troop;<sup>67</sup> a gain<sup>68</sup> is the fruit of the trade. Thus is the evidence of the fruits of karma in the present. What are the fruits of karma whose fruits are in the future? There is karma which is effected in the present, but it is not able to produce fruits in the present. For what reason is this so? It is not able to produce fruits in the present, for a great number [of fruits] has to be taken into account by it. That is the cause<sup>69</sup> of another birth. Those that are experienced now, they are the fruits of the past karma, [produced] in another human birth. The fruits which are experienced now, they are experienced now in a complete manner; whether bad or good, all their fruits are equally used up. This is why the Soul ceases to be aware of the breaths in the body. For example: like the fire burning wood. If the wood is consumed, the concurrent occasion<sup>70</sup> of the fire is dead. The Soul is likewise. The fruits of right-and-wrong shape body and life. The fruits of karma being finished, that is the cause of the death, for there is nothing that is experienced by the Soul.

The reply of the opponent is as follows: 'How is it possible that the fruits of karma themselves bring into existence life? And furthermore, they are surely not the cause of pleasure and pain experienced by human beings. The reason for this being the case is that the fruits of karma are not seen in the incarnated beings. The reason why the so-called *fruits of karma* do not exist is that they are not proved'. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] that is the purpose of the three valid means of knowledge which have been pointed out before, above: the valid means of knowledge of direct perception, the valid means of knowledge of inference, the valid means of knowledge of reliable testimony.

67. OJED (387), s.v. *dāmak* II, gives 'gift, piece of land given by the king, apanage'.

68. This seems to be the more appropriate translation of *tavas* here; OJED (1998) gives 'reward, compensation, result [...]'].

69. Thus I translate *mapan*, which is regarded by OJED (1115) as identical to *apan* and *pan* 'for, as, because'.

70. Emending *prativiya ta* into *ta pratyaya*; the latter word, denoting a 'cooperating cause' or 'concurrent occasion' (OJED 1413 s.v. *pratyaya* 2), perfectly fits in the context. The point is that without wood fire cannot arise, for in order to be produced a concomitance of wood and an instigating cause (e.g. the rubbing of a fire-drill) is needed. The relevance of this example (on which, cf. Part III, p. 546–550) to the present argument is that, without the fruits of karma, the Soul ceases to be aware of the body (that is to say, of the breaths) and life ceases to exist, just like a fire ceases to exist when the wood has been completely burnt.

- ikañ aganal, ya kavənañ de nikañ pratyakṣapramāṇa, ikañ sūkṣma ya kavənañ de niñ anumānapramāṇa, kady aṅgān iñ kavuvus sañ para, anumānaprasiddhā irikañ karmaphalān bhinukti de niñ janma, sumahur sañ para, tan byakta ṇaranikātaḥ, apan tan vartamāna ri rāt kabeh, apan pratyakṣapramāṇa juga ri kami, yan kva liña sañ para, nihan sañ hyaṇ āditya/, vartamāna katon de niñ rat kabeh, sañ mətu vəṇi kari sira mətu mañke, athavā dudū kunañ, yāpvan dudū sañ mətu vəṇi lāvan sañ mətu mañke, apa pva yan mañke mañke, tan papalenan pva rūpanira, apan ivəṇivəṇ rūpanira nālītānira tuvi pada, lāvan pada panasnira, tejanira, sumahur sañ para, tuṅgal kəta sañ hyaṇ āditya, sañ mətu vəṇi, sira mətu mañke, yan mañkana liña sañ para, ndi ta havannira mañavetan, apan sumurup kulvan sira vəṇi, sumahur sañ para, sumurup i sor i ləmah, havanira yan maluy mañavetan, yan mañ/kana liña sañ para, ndi ta kitān ton sira maluy aṇavetan, lumaku i sor iñ ləmah, ya kitāṇajarakəṇ tan tinonya ṇaranya, adva kitān yat amramāṇapratyakṣa juga, apan tan katon sañ hyaṇ āditya, maluy aṇavetan,
- mañkana pva ya, ya mataṇnyan hana *pramāṇa* ṇaranya, anuñ prasiddhā ri kahiḍəpan nikañ vastu tuhutuhu, huvus rumuhun ikañ sūkṣma, ikeñ pva ikañ karmaphala, atyanta sūkṣmanya, ya ta mataṇnyan anumānapramāṇa paniddhānta ri hananya, apan byaktanyan hana, ni/han kañ sukaduka ka-paṅguh de ni janma, lāvan rūpanya tan pada,

1–2 kavənañ ] *em.*; vnaṃ *cod.* 2 kavuvus ] *em.*; kovuvus *cod.* 2–3 anumānaprasiddhā ] *em.*; anumāṇāpraniddā *cod.* 3 karmaphalān bhinukti ] *em.*; karmmapalānābhinukti *cod.* 6 sañ mətu vəṇi ] *em.*; samtu viṇi *cod.* 7 sañ mətu vəṇi ] *em.*; samtu viṇi *cod.* 7 sañ mətu mañke ] *em.*; samtu mañke *cod.* 8 ivəṇivəṇ ] *em.*; ivəṇivə *cod.* 10 sañ mətu vəṇi ] *em.*; samtu vəṇi *cod.* 11 havannira ] *em.*; hannira *cod.* 12 maluy ] *em.*; mālveyā *cod.* 13 maluy aṇavetan ] *em.*; maluy·ṇavetan *cod.* 13–14 ya kitāṇajarakəṇ ] *em.*; yā tikāṇajarakəṇ *cod.* 14 kitān yat ] *em.*; kitānyak *cod.* 15 tan ] *em.*; kan *cod.* 16 anuñ prasiddhā ] *em.*; anuprasiddā *cod.* 17 tuhutuhu ] *em.*; tutuhutuhu *cod.* 19 kañ ] *em.*; ka *cod.* 20 rūpanya ] *em.*; rapanya *cod.*

5–6 nihan sañ hyaṇ āditya ... mətu mañke ] Cf. Vṛh 52.27–29: nihan sañ hyaṇ āditya anuñ pratyakṣa katon / vruh kita ri sañka nira lavan surupan ira / vetan sañkanira / kulvan surupanira / yapvan kva liñanta vih / rasika sañ mətu vəṇi / karika sañ mətu mañke / 7 yāpvan dudū sañ mətu vəṇi lāvan sañ mətu mañke ] Cf. Vṛh 52.31–32: taha dudū sañ mətu vəṇi / dudū sañ mətu mañke

1 kavənañ ] kavnañ *post corr.*; kaṇvnañ *ante corr.*

The coarse is within the scope of the valid means of knowledge of direct perception. The subtle is within the scope of the valid means of knowledge of inference. As in the case of the utterance of the opponent, the fruits of karma are determined<sup>71</sup> by inference, as far as their being experienced by the human beings is concerned. The opponent speaks as follows: ‘That is not called evidence, for it is not present in the whole world, for only the valid means of direct perception is [admitted] among us.’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply] as follows: the Sun is present, being seen by the whole world. Is the one that rose yesterday the same as that that rises now, or is it different? If the one that rose yesterday is different from the one that rises now, what is then [the sun that] is [rising] just now here? Their forms are not different, for their forms are hardly distinguishable; their *nālitā*<sup>72</sup> is really the same, and the same are their warmth and their shining power. The opponent speaks: ‘One and only is the Sun: the one that rose yesterday is the one rising now.’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] where is its course while it moves to the east? For last night it set in the west. The opponent says: ‘It sets. Below the earth is its course when it returns to the east.’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply]: where are you when you see it going back to the east, moving below the earth? You teach something that is not seen, therefore you are wrong if you use only direct perception as a valid means of knowledge,<sup>73</sup> for the Sun is not seen when it goes back to the east.

This circumstance is the reason why there are the *valid means of knowledge*, which can give certainty with regard to the experiencing of entities that veritably exist, in the first place the subtle ones. These fruits of karma, extreme is their subtleness; this is the reason why the valid means of knowledge of inference is the means to definitively ascertain<sup>74</sup> their existence, for the evidence that they exist is as follows: pleasure and pain are met by the incarnated beings, and their forms are not the same.

71. For the justification of my translation of *prasiddha*, cf. Introduction, p. 25.

72. I am not sure about the interpretation and cannot confidently propose any emendation for *nālitā*; it may derive in some way from *nala* ‘glow, fire’ (OJED 1170), or be a corruption for *nālika* ‘time, moment, hour, period’ (OJED 1171), referring to the movement of the sun in the sky.

73. For the justification of my translation of *amramāṇa*, cf. Introduction, p. 26.

74. For the justification of my translation of *paniddhānta*, cf. introduction, p. 26.



- hana ratu, hana vadvā uma, hana sugi hana duka hana varas, hana lara, nihan  
 tañ tiryak, magēñ madəmit, kaniṣṭhamadhyamottama, karmaphala nimitta  
 nikañ kabeh, sumahur sañ para, nohan vvāgan ikātah, lāvan i janma tan  
 pāda, kahadañadañ juga ikātah, yan kva liña sañ para, dadyanku pvañ ma-  
 5 mañan tan kəneñ varəg, ikañ tan pamañan ya varəg, yan si kahadañadañ  
 ya pakṣakna, lavan tañ vija tinanəm, kady aṅgān in pari pinaka/vinih, ka- 27v  
 hadañadañ pvekan pavvaha jahli, jahli tinanəma kahadañadañ pvekān pa-  
 vvaha pari, mañkana haməñan ikañ rat kabeh, yan si kahadañadañ pakṣakna,  
 yāpvan si nohan si vvāgan pakṣakna, dadyaṅ vətu tan pakanimitta yan mañ-  
 10 kana, kady aṅgān in kədi amətəñānakanaka, kady aṅgān in maməh susu vətu  
 i tahi, mañkana haməñan ikañ rat kabeh, yan si nohan si vvāgan pakṣakna,  
 tapvan dadi vastu mañkana, ya matañnyan tan yogya pakṣakna sañ para,  
 [13] apa dumeh ikañ janma gumave ikā dharmādharma sājñā bhaṭā/ra, kasi- 28r  
 hana varahən rānak bhaṭāra,  
 15 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 nihan kavruhanantānaku, prastāva nikañ dharmādharma, kadadi de niñ jan-  
 ma, enak kva pahiḍəp nikañ ātmā ri viṣaya, atəguh pasambaddhānya lāvan  
 ikañ śarīra, ya tekā suka linnya, ya matañnyan pamet suka,

3 janma] *em.*; jenma *cod.* 4 ikātah] *em.*; kātah *cod.* 5 yan si] *conj.*; yan pi *cod.*  
 6 tinanəm] *em.*; tinanim *cod.* 10 aṅgān] *em.*; aṅtān *cod.* 10 amətəñānakanaka]  
*em.*; amtiñānakanaka *cod.* 12 tapvan] *conj.*; yapvan *cod.* 12 yogya] *em.*; hogya *cod.*  
 17 enak kva] *em.*; enak ve *cod.* 18 matañnyan] *em.*; matanyan *cod.*

There are kings; there are householders; there are wealthy ones; there are miserable ones; there are healthy ones; there are ones afflicted by pain. The animals are as follows: big and small; low, middle and superior. The fruits of karma are the cause of them all. The opponent says: 'Those ones happen to be just fortunate or unfortunate. And as for the fact that the incarnated beings are not similar, they are [so] just accidentally'.<sup>75</sup> If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] then it may well be the case that I eat without being satiated, while another one is satiated without having eaten, if the doctrine of accidentality is subscribed to. Moreover, the seed that is planted, such as the paddy which is used as a seed, just randomly it may give millet as crop; millet may be planted and randomly it may give paddy as crop. In this way the whole world will transform, if one subscribes to the view of accidentality, [and] if [the view of the human beings being randomly] fortunate or unfortunate is subscribed to. If so, it may be possible for a thing to come into existence without a cause, like a hermaphrodite<sup>76</sup> who may become pregnant and give birth to a child, like extracting milk out of excrements. If one subscribes to the doctrine of the [randomly] being fortunate or unfortunate, the whole world will transform likewise. By no means any certain fact come about; that is the reason why [that which is] subscribed to by the opponent is not right.

[Kumāra:]

[13] What is the reason why the human beings commit right-and-wrong? O Lord, be kind, teach your son.

The Lord spoke:

My son, you should know the cause of right-and-wrong being committed by the human beings as follows. The experience of the Soul with regard to the objects of senses is pleasant; its connection with the body is firm. According to it, that is agreeable. That is the reason why it strives after pleasure.

75. I discuss my translation of *kahadañadañ juga* as 'just accidentally', referring to the materialist doctrine of accidental or random origination, in Part III, pp. 592–595.

76. The meaning of *kādi* cited as 'emasculated, eunuch' in OJED (838) does not seem to be what was intended here, for the pregnancy of any male being could have already provided a suitable example of something impossible; the word, as I have suggested above (fn. 54), might have rather denoted a hermaphrodite or a sterile woman; note that one of the commonest examples illustrating an absurdity commonly encountered in Sanskrit sources is that of the son of a sterile woman (cf. p. 593).

- ikañ sukasādhana, ya ta ginṛhita niñ buddhi, ikañ buddhi ya ta mānaka  
jñāna, ikañ jñāna, ya ta mavṛtti limaṇ puluh kvehnya, ikañ vṛtti limaṇ puluh  
ya tekā mānak akveh tan kavənañ vinilañ, ya matañnyan akveh prabheda  
niñ janma, akveh ta kahyunya, akveh ta lāranya, akveh ta sukanya,  
5 vṛtti nikañ buddhi limaṇ puluh, ya tekā ujarakna, nihan prakāranya hana  
*caturaiśva/rya*, vvalu kveh nikā lāvan baliknya, hana *pañcaviṣyaya* ṇara- 28v  
nya hana *aśakti* vvalu likur kvehnya, hana ta *tuṣṭi* saña kvehnya, hana ta  
*aṣṭasiddhi* ṇaranya,  
ndya ta lakṣaṇa nikañ caturaiśvarya, anuñ pinakavīja niñ buddhi, yan  
10 sattva magēñ iriya, *dharma* ṇaranya nihan, hana jñāna mahyun rahayu, ikañ  
dharma maṇdadyakəṇ hayu, yekā inabhyāsanya, śīla rahayu agələm ta ya  
mayajña, manah rahayu, agələm ta ya mabrata, manah puṇya kavənañnya,  
utsāha ta ri samyajjñānādhikṛtā ta ya, agələm ta ya mayoga, nāhan inabhyā-  
sanya, ikañ ta gave ka/beh, athavā salah tuṅgal rva təlu kunañ gaveyakna, 29r  
15 *dharma* ta, ṇaranya, nihan tañ *jñāna* ṇaranya, ikañ jñāna maṇabhyāsa ka-  
paṅguha sañ hyañ paramārtha, ndan pramāṇa təlu pinakasuluhnya, ikañ  
samādhi pinakasāadhananya, ya sinaṅguh *samyajjñāna* ṇaranya, *vairāgya* ṇa-  
ranya, ikañ jñāna tan aharəp ri suka, tan tṛṣṇa ri hurip, ndya *suka* ṇaranya,  
nyañ *bhoga upabhoga, paribhoga, bhoga* ṇaranya, ikañ pinañan, *upabhoga*  
20 ikañ sinaṇḍaṇ, *paribhoga* ikañ kavula vənañvənañ, ikañ ta kabeh, tan aharəp  
irika,

1 ginṛhita] *em.*; ginra,hita *cod.* 3 mānak] *em.*; manat *cod.* 3 matañnyan] *em.*; matañnya *cod.* 4 kahyunya] *em.*; kahyun· *cod.* 9 caturaiśvarya] *em.*; catu aishvarya *cod.* 12 puṇya] *em.*; puṇyas *cod.* 13 utsāha] *em.*; uksaha *cod.* 17 pinakasāadhananya] *em.*; pinakasañdānanya *cod.* 18 aharəp] *em.*; arəp *cod.* 20 sinaṇḍaṇ] *em.*; sniṇḍaṇ *cod.* 20 vənañvənañ] *em.*; vənañvəna *cod.*

19–20 *upabhoga* ikañ sinaṇḍaṇ] Cf. Vṛh 28: *upabhoga* ṇaranya salvir iñ sinaṇḍaṇ

19 pinañan,] *post corr.*; pinaña, *ante corr.*

The means of enjoyment are grasped by the intellect. The intellect has as offspring the mind (*jñāna*). The mind has conditions (*vṛtti*), fifty in number. The fifty conditions have as offspring a great number—it cannot be counted. That is the reason why the differences of the incarnated beings are many. Many are their desires, many are their pains, many are their pleasures.

The fifty conditions of the intellect: those are going to be discussed. Their kinds are as follows: there are the *four sovereign powers*, their number is eight with their opposites. There are the *five kinds of errors*. There are the *disabilities*, their number is twenty-eight. There are the *contentments*, their number is nine. There are the *eight perfections*.<sup>77</sup>

What are the characteristics of the four sovereign powers, which are produced by the intellect if the *sattva* is prevalent in it? *Righteousness* is as follows: there is a mind that desires goodness. The Righteousness that generates goodness, that is constantly put into practice by it. A good virtuous conduct, it constantly performs sacrifices; a good mind, it constantly performs observances. A mind which has within its reach meritorious acts, it exerts itself towards putting in the first place the right knowledge.<sup>78</sup> It constantly performs yoga. Thus is [what is] constantly practiced by it. If all those actions, or just one, two or three will be performed, they are *Righteousness*. *Knowledge* is as follows: the mind constantly practicing will meet the *Summum Bonum*. Further, the three means of knowledge are used as its torches, and absorption is used as its means of realization. That is designated as *right knowledge*.<sup>79</sup> *Dispassion* means: the mind which does not desire pleasure, which is not deeply attached to life. What is *pleasure*? Here it is: *bhoga*, *upabhoga*, *paribhoga*. *Bhoga* is what is eaten; *upabhoga* is what is worn; *paribhoga* are the servants and domestic animals. Do not desire any of them!

77. The resulting number of conditions is thus fifty-eight and not fifty. Unlike related Sanskrit accounts, the present exposition does not specify that the fifty conditions are the products of the eight states of intellect (i.e. the four sovereign powers along with their opposites); cf. Part III, p. 448.

78. Thus I render *samyajjñānādhikṛtā* (irrealis?); although *adhikṛta* (from the Sanskrit *adhikṛta* 'placed at the head') is unattested, I understand it to be similar to *adhikāra*, which as a passive form (e.g. *inadhikāra*, *kādhikāra*, *kādhikāran*) is translated by OJED (16) as 'to give the first (principal) place to'.

79. Here the item *jñāna* appears to have conflated with *samyajjñāna*. Cf. below, 246.6.

- hana ta bho/ga karəñā, kady aṅgān iñ svarga kahyañan, tan ahyunātah irikā 29v  
 kabeh, parimāṇa drabyanya, drabyanya ñaranya, huripnya, tan aharəpātah  
 irika kabeh, ya ta sinaṅguh *vairāgya* ñaranya, nihan tañ *aiśvarya* ñaranya,  
 5 ikañ kinahanan de ni bhoga upabhoga paribhoga, kinatvañan de ni padanya  
 janma, ya *aiśvarya* ñaranya, ikañ ta kapat, ikañ dharma, jñāna, *vairāgya*,  
*aiśvarya*, vīja ni buddhika kabeh,  
 ndan yan agēñ sattva niñ buddhi ika, yan pakavīja caturaiśvarya, ya-  
 pvan tamah agēñ balik ni caturaiśva/rya, pinakavījanya, ndya baliknya ni 30r  
 han, *adharma*, *ajñāna*, *avairāgya*, *anaiśvarya*, *adharma* ñaranya, ikañ am-  
 10 bhək manayākən gave hayu, liñnya, pradāna nikañ vvañ mapuṇya, mabho-  
 jana maveh səkul təvas hənti drabyanya, tan iya ta maphala svarga, mañkana  
 mamañun prāsāda, mañulur liṅga, mahoma, mañkana liñnya ri buddhinya,  
 manayākən dharmān āgēñ tamahnya, nihan tañ ajñāna, ikañ ātmāpuguñ  
 apan tan hana tinutnya, luput sañkeñ pratyakṣapramāṇa, anumānapramā-  
 15 ṇa, † ... † *a/naiśvarya* ñaranya, duhka sadākāla, nahan kabalik nikañ catur- 30v  
*aiśvarya*, ya tekā pinakavīja ni buddhi, yan tāmasa ♦

1 svarga] *em.*; svagga *cod.* 4 kinahanan] *em.*; kənahanan *cod.* 8 caturaiśva/rya] *em.*; catu aishvaryya *cod.* 10 pradāna nikañ] *conj.*; ñradānikāṃ *cod.* 11 səkul] *em.*; skal *cod.* 12 mahoma] *em.*; mahoman *cod.* 15–16 caturaiśvarya] *em.*; catureñsvāryya *cod.*

There are *bhoga* that are heard about, like [in] heaven, the abode of the gods:<sup>80</sup> do not desire any of them! Their substance is limited.<sup>81</sup> Their substance means: their life. Do not desire them all! That is designated as *Dispassion*. *Sovereignty* is as follows: those endowed with *bhoga*, *upabhoga* and *paribhoga* are respected by the fellow incarnated beings. That is *Sovereignty*. The four, i.e. Righteousness, Knowledge, Dispassion and Sovereignty, all of them are offspring of the intellect. But it is when the *sattva* of the intellect is prevalent that it has as offspring the Four Sovereign Powers; if *tamas* is prevalent, the opposites of the Four Sovereign Powers are its offspring.

What are their opposites? As follows: *Unrighteousness*, *Ignorance*, *Passion*, *Non-Sovereignty*. *Unrighteousness* means: the mind that considers righteousness as non-existent. It thinks: ‘The gifts of<sup>82</sup> the liberal men, to organize food-feasts,<sup>83</sup> to give away as alms rice and wealth [until] all of one’s possessions are finished, it is not true that have heaven as result. Likewise, building temples, erecting *lingas* and performing sacrifices [is fruitless]’. Thus are its words in its mind. It considers Righteousness as non-existent, for its *tamas* is great. *Ignorance* is as follows: the Soul is ignorant, for there is nothing that is followed by it that is out of the scope of the valid means of knowledge of direct perception and inference. † ... †<sup>84</sup> *Non-Sovereignty* means: perpetual pain. Thus are the opposites of the Four Sovereign Powers. They are produced by the intellect, when affected by *tamas*.

80. The point here is that everyone has heard about those pleasures but never actually seen them; Compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 27.1–2, mentioning the pleasures that are seen (*bhoga katon*), like those of a rich king, and the pleasures that are heard about or ‘famous’ (*karṇāḥ*): ‘There are pleasures that are heard about, like in the abode of divine beings, heaven and the abode of the gods’ *hana bhoga karṇāḥ / kady aṅgān in kahyaṇan svarga kadevatan* (*katon* and *karṇāḥ* gloss the compound *ḍṣṛṭānuśrāvita* in the śloka).

81. *parimāṇa*, which OJED (1301) glosses as ‘measure, size, weight, number’, here seems to have a meaning akin to *parimita* ‘measured, limited’; this semantic shift was perhaps triggered out by the Skt *aparimāṇa* ‘without measure’ (hence *parimāṇa* = ‘limited’).

82. Having conjecturally emended the corrupt sequence *nrādanikām* into *pradāna nikaṇ*, where *pradāna* means ‘giving, presentation, gift’; cf. the form *kapradānan*, glossed by OJED (1380) as ‘the virtue of liberality?’.

83. This seems to be the most appropriate meaning of *mabhojana* in this context; contrast OJED (250) *bhojana* ‘food, meal’ and *abhojana* ‘having food, eating’, but compare *bhinojanan* ‘to give food to, treat, regale’; JED (107) glosses *bojana* as ‘feast, banquet’, a meaning that is also found in earlier dictionaries of Javanese (cf., e.g., *Bausastra Jawa* ‘pista maṇan enak’ and JNW ‘feestelijke of deftige maaltijd’).

84. The item *Passion* (*avairāgya*) is missing from the list, apparently left out by a scribe’s failure to copy the relevant sentence.

- apa byakti niñ phalanya, ndya, phalanya nihan, ikā janma yan pañabhyā-  
 sa dharma, yekā nimittanyān kavaveñ svarga, salvir ni bhoga bhinuktinya,  
 hēnti pva phala nikañ gave hayu, mañjanma ta ya riñ devatā, alavas ya dadi  
 devatā, mañjanma ta ye mānuṣa, ya tekā dadi ratu, athavā vvañ sugih kṛ-  
 5 tapuṇya kunañ dadinya, apan vəkasa nikañ bhoga ri svarga ya tu/mut ri 31r  
 mānuṣa, nihan ta phala niñ samyajñāna, yan dadi samādhinya ri bhaṭāra,  
 makasādhana pramāṇa tēlu, sira ta pañasthūlan bhaṭāra, kadi kasiddhyan  
 bhaṭāra kasiddhyanira, lavan kāṣṭaiśvāryan bhaṭāra, yatanyan valuya janma,  
 apan sakāmākāma sira, asiñ sakahyunira dadi, sakaharəpnira tēka, nahan  
 10 kadibyan ni samyajñāna yan pinakavīja niñ buddhi, nihan ta phala ni vairā-  
 gya, yeki līna riñ prakṛtiloka, kadi suka niñ maturū lvir nikañ suka bhinuk-  
 tinya nīkāna, salavasnya hana ri prakṛti/loka, mañjanma ta ya devatā, nahan 31v  
 phala niñ vairāgya yan pinakavīja niñ buddhi, nihan ta phala niñ aiśvārya,  
 sira ta prabhu riñ svarga, nīke ikañ bhoga binuktinya, ri vəkasa mañjanma ta  
 15 ya devatā, nahan ta phala niñ aiśvārya yan pinakavīja niñ buddhi,  
 nihan ta phala ni baliknya, ikañ ambhək manayākən gave hayu, māti pva  
 ya dlāha, yekā dadi triyak, *paśu*, *mṛga*<,> *pakṣi*, *sarīsrpa*, *sthāvara*, *paśu* nā-  
 ranya, kady aṅgān iñ sattva tamolah riñ ārya, kəbho, sapi, asu, vək, prakāra,  
*mṛga* nāranya, ikañ sattva tamo/lah riñ alas, kady aṅgān iñ kidañ, mañjanan, 32r  
 20 ityevamādi, *pakṣi* nāranya saprakāra niñ mər, kady aṅgān iñ manuk<,>

2 svarga] *em.*; svagga *cod.* 2 bhinuktinya] *em.*; bhinuttinya *cod.* 5 vəkasa nikañ] *conj.*; vāṣaka nikañ *cod.* 7 kasiddhyan] *em.*; kaddyan *cod.* 8 yatanyan] *em.*; yatañnyan *cod.* 9 asiñ] *em.*; asi *cod.* 11 līna] *conj.*; līn- *cod.* 14 sira] *conj.*; si, *cod.* 14 nīke] *conj.*; ake *cod.* 17 *sarīsrpa*] *em.*; āriṣṛapa *cod.* 18 kəbho] *em.*; kbā *cod.* 19 tamo/lah] *em.*; tamola *cod.* 19 riñ alas] *em.*; riñlas *cod.* 20 ityevamādi] *em.*; ityavamādi *cod.*

2–5 yekā nimittanyān kavaveñ ... kṛtapuṇya kunañ dadinya] Cf. TJ 42.28–30: tēlas pva phala niñ brata bhinukti de niñ ātmā riñ svarga / tumurun ta sañ hyaṇ ātmā muvah / mañjanma ta sira riñ mānuṣaloka / yeka dadi ratu / mvañ sugih / kṛtapuṇya janma sira /; Vṛh 3.22–24: ya dumehnya dumadya riñ svarga / salvir niñ bhoga bhinuktinya / hēnti pva phala niñ gavenya hayu / vineh pva ya dumadya ratu paməgət sugih / 11–12 yeki līna ... mañjanma ta ya devatā] Cf. Vṛh 31.1–3: sira umulih riñ prakṛtiloka / kadi enak iñ aturū tan pañipi / mañkana ta enak niñ sukha kapaṅgih denira / vəkasan mañdadi ta sira devatā /

1 phalanya] palanya *post corr.*; lanya *ante corr.*



What is the evidence of their fruits? Here it is, as follows are their fruits: It is a human being, when he constantly practices Righteousness, that is the reason of his being carried to heaven. All manner of pleasures are experienced by him. The fruits of doing good disappear and he is reborn as a god. A long time after becoming a god, he is reborn as a human being. He becomes a king, or he becomes a rich man who has accomplished meritorious acts, for the leftovers of the pleasures in heaven go along with the human being. The fruit of right Knowledge<sup>85</sup> is as follows: if his absorption toward the Lord comes into being, and he uses as means of realization the three valid means of knowledge, he is the place where the Lord incarnates. His supernatural prowess<sup>86</sup> is like the supernatural prowess of the Lord, and [like] the eightfold sovereign prowess of the Lord. So he is reborn once again, for [it] is as he wishes, everything becomes according to his desire; whatever he hopes for, (indeed) comes about. Thus is the excellence of right Knowledge, when it is produced by the intellect. The fruits of Dispassion are as follows: he is dissolved in the world of unevolved matter. The pleasure that is enjoyed by him in that state is like the pleasure of one who sleeps. As long as he stays in the world of unevolved matter he is born as a god. Thus are the fruits of Dispassion, when it is produced by the intellect. The fruits of Sovereignty are as follows: he is sovereign in the heaven. The pleasures are enjoyed by him now. At last he is born as a god. Thus are the fruits of Sovereignty, when it is produced by the intellect.

The fruits of their opposites are as follows: the mind that denies good actions, when it dies, it will become an animal: *cattle, wild animals, winged creatures, creeping creatures, immovable beings*. *Cattle* means: like the animals which abide with the noble people: water-buffaloes, ox, dogs, pigs, and suchlike. *Wild animals* means: the animals which abide in the forest, like barking-deers, deers, and so forth. *Winged creatures* means: everything which flies, like birds.

85. As above (242.17), the item *jñāna* in the list of Sovereign Powers has been conflated with *samyajjñāna*.

86. In spite of the meaning 'supernatural power, magic power' given by OJED (1758), the form *kasiddhyan*, an abstract noun from the base *siddhi*, may be better rendered as the 'state of being endowed with supernatural powers' or simply 'supernatural prowess' (cf. ZOETMULDER 1983:73–74). Similarly, I render *kāṣṭaiśvāryan* as 'eightfold sovereign prowess'.

- sarīṣṛpa* naranya, ikañ pvāñlāh makapañlaku dadanya, kady aṅgān iñ ulā, lintah, vədīt, irisipoh taktək lətuḥ, *sthāvara* naranya, kayukayu, odvad, dukut, nahan pratyeka niñ triyak, ya tikā təmahan iñ janma yan pinakavīja adharma, nihan phala niñ ajñāna, ya teki maputəran ri devamānuṣatriyak, lā-
- 5 van svarganaraka, apan akveh ikañ gave halahayu kavañun de/nya, nūni<,> 32v
- punah vvañ janmanya, phala niñ gavenya hala mvañ hayu tan dadi tan kabhukti, ya matañnyan kapañguh ikañ cakra bhāva denya, nahan phala niñ ajñāna, yan pinakavīja niñ buddhi, nihan phala niñ avairāgya, yekā mənər mare naraka, salvir niñ lāra bhinuktinya, yan akveh pāpanya, alavas ya haneñ
- 10 yamani, yāpvan akədik gavenya hala, ya ta vineh madadya janma mānuṣa muvah, yekā dadi vvañ vikāra, tan ya pada lāvan sañsārajanma, vudug, vuta, vuñkuk, tuli, rudan, ayan, vikət<,> siñkəl, bisu, nāhan təma/hanya, nihan ta 33r
- phala ni anaiśvarya, yekā kinasampayan, lāvan tan ya mañguh sakaharəp-nya, matañnyan kapanasan sadākāla, momo pvekā manahnya, kadadi tañ
- 15 śīla mahala denya, dadi ya mahabət, maliñ manumpu, phala niñ gavenya mañkana, ya matañnyan tibā ri naraka,

1 pvāñlāh ] *conj.*; *prañlā* cod. 2 vədīt ] *em.*; *vdət* cod. 2 lətuḥ ] *em.*; *lituh* cod. 3 yan ] *em.*; *han* cod. 3 pinakavīja ] *em.*; *pikañvijā* cod. 6 punah ] *em.*; *punā* cod. 7 nahan ] *em.*; *nihan* cod. 11 lāvan ] *em.*; *lāvas* cod. 12 vuñkuk ] *em.*; *vukuk* cod. 13 anaiśvarya ] *em.*; *aneñśvāryya* cod. 13 tan ] *conj.*; *kan* cod. 14 kapanasan ] *em.*; *tapanasān* cod. 15 mahabət ] *conj.*; *mahabək* cod. 15 maliñ manumpu ] *conj.*; *manis manumya* cod. 15 gavenya ] *em.*; *gavemnya* cod. 16 matañnyan ] *em.*; *mataññyan* cod.

1–2 *sarīṣṛpa* naranya ... taktək lituh ] Cf. NR 74.21: dadya tətək lintah irisirispoh dadiamu; OJO xliii.c 21–11: taktak lintah lakay vđit; SiGu 18r: mati pva kita təmahan tətək ubyur vdət, lintah lantaya, hirispveh lake əlur, salvir niñ janma kinaririsan; TJ 20.6–7: kady aṅgān iñ tətək lintah / vidat / varayañ / hirispoh /; TanKām 160.11: ana tamolah irika lvinnya caciñ, vədīt, kulir, kuricak, tətək, lintah mvañ irisirispvah; Vṛh 24.6–7: sarīṣṛpa naranya salvir iñ alakulaku đadanya / vədīt / lintah / ulā / vəlut saprakāra // 11–12 vudug, vuta ... bisu, ] Cf. SiGu 17v.3–4: vutā, tuli, vuđug vikət kikəñ(?), vuñkuk, səkəl, vutā salaya,

3 ya tikā ] *ya tikā post corr.*; *yaya tikā ante corr.* 3 pinakavīja ] *pikañvijā post corr.*; *piñkañvijā ante corr.* 11 sañsārajanma ] *post corr.*; *ṣasañsārajanma ante corr.*

*Creeping creatures* means: those which lie flat, using their chest as a means to move, like snakes, leeches, small snakes, worms, mud larvae.<sup>87</sup> *Immovable beings* mean: trees, creepers, grass. Such are the distinctions of the animals. They are the embodiments of the human beings when [their intellects] have Unrighteousness as offspring. The fruits of Ignorance are as follows: these [minds] keep (re)turning [as] gods, human beings or animals, and [in] heaven or hell, for a great number of bad and good deeds have been committed by them formerly. Again they are reincarnated as humans. It cannot be that the fruits of their bad and good deeds are not experienced. This is the reason why the cycle of rebirth is met by them. Such are the fruits of Ignorance, when it is produced by the intellect. The fruits of Non-Dispassion are as follows: they go straight to hell, [where] all kinds of pains are experienced by them. If their sins are many, the stay in hell is long. If their bad deeds are few, they are conceded to become human beings once again. They become men who are abnormal—they are not the same as the [other] creatures in the cycle of existence: leprous, blind, hunchbacked, deaf, mad, epileptic, scarred, *siṅkəl*,<sup>88</sup> dumb: such are their embodiments. The fruits of Non-Sovereignty are as follows: they are treated scornfully, and do not obtain what they hope for, therefore they are irritated all the time. Their minds are wild. Because of that, the practice of doing wrong comes about: they commit armed robberies, steal and plunder.<sup>89</sup> The fruit of their acting in this way, that is the reason of falling into hell.

87. Thus I conjecturally translate *təktək*, here qualified by the substantive *lətuh* ‘dirt, impurity, pollution’. The form may be a variant of *tətək* 1 ‘some repulsive creature or other (mentioned with leeches, worms, etc.)’ (OJED 1997); cf. the hapax *itəkitək* in *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakavin 24:117a and conjecturally rendered by OJED (707) as ‘to live (play, wallow) in the mud’. KBNW 1.184b s.v. *itək*, left undefined, refers to *untəkuntək* (I.61a), in its turn glossed as *təmbiluk* (II.785b) ‘een soort waterwormpje’.

88. Cf. OJED 1781: ‘a particular disease (but which?)’.

89. Considering the sequence *mahabək*, *manis manumya* (where *manis* is the only attested form, meaning ‘sweet, gentle’) as a corruption for *mahabət*, *maliṅ*, *manumpu*. The conjectural emendation of the sequence has been arrived at by comparing it to closely related sequences of words listing crimes involving stealing in Old Javanese sources (quoted in OJED 568 s.v. *habət* 3):

362.1 *maliṅ anumpuṅ maṇabət* (describing men of bad conduct—*dursīla janmanya*); *Pūrvādhigama* 7a.11 *aṇabət*, *manumpu*; *Prasasti Bali* p. 105 (1040) IVa.6 *maliṅ anumpv aṇabət*. Cf. also the prose *Kuṅjarakarṇa* 61.3 *aṇambək anumpu*; *Ślokāntara* 68.13 *amaliṅ maṇraṇcab manumpu mamumpaṇ*.

- hənti pva phala ni gavenya hala, sinavurakən ta ya ri madhyapada de sañ  
yamabala, ya ta dadi pipilika, nahan phala ni anaiśvarya, yan pinakavīja ni  
buddhi, ikañ ta kabeh ya tekāpus niñ janma, anuñ dumeh yāhiḍəp / duhka 33<sup>v</sup>  
satatā, ya sinaṅguh *saptabandhana* ñaranya, pitu apus apus pitu ñaranya, ni-  
5 han ikañ inajarakən kabeh, ndya inajarakən, yan kva liñanta, yeki <dharma,  
vairāgya, aiśvarya,> adharma, ajñāna, avairāgya, anaiśvarya, nahan yañ *sapt-  
abandhana* ñaranya, yan apa yan hənti sasañkeñ cakra bhāva, ya ta karih,  
yan mañkana liñanta, yan paṅguh ikañ samyajñāna juga, apan dumeh ikañ  
ātmā maluya ri bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,  
10 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[14] kāsihana rānak bhaṭāra, varahən ri sādhana niñ magave samādhi, mañ-  
kana / liñ sañ kumāra, 34<sup>r</sup>  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
məne ikājarakna kaliñ niñ yogapāda, kunañ vīja nikañ buddhi vuvus hənti  
15 muvah ♦

12 liñ ] *em.*; li *cod.* 14 kaliñ ] *em.*; kali *cod.*

5 yeki ] *post corr.*; kei *ante corr.* (y added between the *e* vocalization and the *k* with vocalization *i*)

The fruits of their bad deeds being expired, they are spread over the Middle-World<sup>90</sup> by the army of Yama.<sup>91</sup> They become ants. Such are the fruits of Non-Sovereignty, when it is produced by the intellect. All of them, they are the bonds of the human beings, which cause them to experience pain at all times. They are designated as *saptabandhana*, the seven fetters (*pitu apus*). The seven fetters (*apus pitu*),<sup>92</sup> all [of them] are taught as follows. How are they taught? If you might say thus, [I would reply]: Righteousness, Dispassion, Sovereignty, Unrighteousness, Ignorance, Non-Dispassion, Non-Sovereignty: those are the *saptabandhana*.<sup>93</sup> ‘When is it, then, that the causes of the cycle of rebirth expire?’ If you would say so, [I would reply:] only when one meets the right knowledge, for that is the reason for the Soul to return to the Lord Supreme Cause. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[14] Be kind to your son, teach me the means of performing absorption. Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The explanation of the section of Yoga (*yogapāda*) will soon be taught. But [in order that the topic of] the products of the intellect is completely finished, [let us continue] again.

90. *madhyapada*, i.e. the earth (not attested in Sanskrit); cf. OJED (1077, s.v.).

91. I hesitantly adopt the gloss of OJED (2356) s.v. *yamabala*, although I cannot escape the impression that Yamabala in this and other Old Javanese texts might have been understood as a name of the infernal god Yama; besides the fact that *yamabala* is, as far as I know, not attested in Sanskrit, the word is preceded in the text by the honorific particle *sañ*, which qualifies a person rather than a class of beings and can hardly be attributed to demons. The expression *sañ yamabala* occurs three times in the *Tattvajñāna*, in a context where it may refer, as here, to a single infernal god, whose duty is to decide about the destiny of the souls after they finish their period in the hell, causing them to become either human beings or animals. Such a view is clearly implied in *Agastyaparva* 27.10–17, which regards Yama, also called Bhaṭṭāra Dharma, as carefully handling (*kumayatnākān*, i.e. judge?) the bad and good conduct of human beings and causing the sinful ones to be reincarnated as ants or other animals.

92. It appears that the author quoted first the Sanskrit compound, rendered it into an ‘Old Javanese compound’ and then resolved it into a regular Old Javanese expression, where the modifier appears after the modified.

93. The items listed in the codex are only four; to make the list of seven complete I have added the three positive counterparts of Unrighteousness, Non-Dispassion and Non-Sovereignty, supposing that a part of text has been skipped due to an error of a copyist. This reconstruction is supported by the attestation of the term *saptabandhana* as denoting the same list of seven in Sanskrit Śaiva sources (cf. Part III, p. 449).

hana *pañcaviṣaya* ṅaranya, lviṇya, *tamah*, *moha*, *mahāmoha*, *tāmisra*, *andhatāmisra*

- tamah* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək mahyun mamukti[,] ikañ bhogaṣaya, ap-  
 an iki ya pamuktyananta viṣayasuka, ya matañnyan prihtañ kasugihan, ma-  
 5 hēmāsa, manaṇḍaṇa, mahulun mastri rahayu, apan tan hana ləviha sakeñ  
 suka niñ dadi vvañ, mañkana liñnya, ya ta matañnyan parəməni amet bhoga  
 saka/la, yekā *tamah* ṅaranya ♦ nihañ tañ *moha* ṅaranya, hana rakva ləviḥ 34v  
 sañkeñ māvak, siddhi rakva ṅaranya, dadi māvak dadi tan pāvak, yekā ka-  
 harəpku təmunəñku, marapvan vənañ humalap sakaharəpku, ya *moha* ṅa-  
 10 ranya ♦ *mahāmoha* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək mahyun mañgihakəna kasiddhy-  
 an, donanya kapañgihan iñ aṣṭaiśvarya deku, muktya tāku riñ svarga mvañ  
 mānuṣaloka, yekā *mahāmoha* ṅaranya ♦ *tāmisra* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək ma-  
 harəp rumañkəpanaṇ dveṣaviṣaya, lavan aṣṭaiśvarya ya *tā/misra* ṅaranya ♦ 35r  
*andhatāmisra* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək humalañakəñ ikañ sukānāgata, lavan  
 15 humalañ ya huvus hilañ, ikā ta kalih, ya tekā pinakavija niñ buddhi yan agəñ  
 tamahnya, mamuhāra sañsāra ika kabeh ♦

hana ta *navatuṣṭi* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək matis, *pradhānaka*, *upādānaka*,  
*akāla*, *abhāgya*, nahan tañ *ādhyātmikatuṣṭi* ṅaranya,

- pradhānakatuṣṭi* ṅaranya, hana vvañ tumon hala ni śarīṇanya, ndātan  
 20 pañlare ri manahnya, paran kunañ mahala śarīrañku, mahala kunañ gaveñku  
 nūni, ya / ta maphala śarīrañku mañke, kunañ yatanyan lituhayu ike jan- 35v  
 mañku sovah, ndāk amriḥ magave hayu mañke,

2 *andhatāmisra* ] *em.*; *nandātamiśra cod.* 4 *pamuktyananta* ] *em.*; *pamuktvananta cod.*  
 5 *ləviha* ] *em.*; *lvaha cod.* 9 *sakaharəpku* ] *em.*; *sakarəpku cod.* 10–11 *kasiddhyan* ]  
*em.*; *kañsiddyan cod.* 14 *andhatāmisra* ] *em.*; *nandātamiśra cod.* 15 *humalañ ya* ]  
*conj.*; *kumalañ ṇa cod.* 16 *ika* ] *em.*; *ikañ cod.* 19 *tumon* ] *em.*; *tumo cod.* 20 *kunañ* ]  
*em.*; *kuniñ cod.*

21–22 mahala kunañ ... magave hayu mañke ] Cf. Vṛh 32.29–31: i harah tan hana kunañ  
 gaveñku rahayu nūni / matañnyan tan pañəmu sukha mañke / ya ta matañnyan koñ avak  
 pamriḥ ta pagave hayu / maran tan meñkene dlāha riñ janma sovah /

6–7 bhoga saka ] *post corr.*; bhoga sakā u *ante corr.*

There are the *five kinds of errors*: they are *dullness, delusion, great delusion, darkness, blind darkness*.

*Dullness* means: the mind that desires to enjoy the objects of enjoyment. [It thinks:] ‘Since you will find enjoyment in the objects of pleasure, that is the reason why you should strive for wealth in the form of gold, vestments, slaves and beautiful women, for there is nothing which is superior to the pleasure of becoming a human being!’ Thus are its thoughts. This is the reason why it finds pleasure in obtaining all pleasures. That is *dullness*. *Delusion* is [a mind that thinks] as follows: ‘There is [something] superior to [just] having a body. That is the supernatural power of being embodied and being disembodied. That is what I wish, and I shall get it in order to be able to steal as much as I desire.’ That is *delusion*. *Great delusion* is the mind desiring to obtain the state of supernatural prowess. [It thinks:] ‘The aim of my obtainment of the eight sovereign powers is that I will enjoy myself in heaven and in the world of human beings.’ That is *great delusion*. *Darkness* means: the mind desiring to match the objects of dislike with the eight sovereign powers. That is *darkness*. *Blind darkness* means: the mind that hinders both the future pleasures and hinders those that have already vanished.<sup>94</sup> All of these [elements] are the products of the intellect, when its *tamah* is great. All of them bring about pain (*saṁsāra*).<sup>95</sup>

There are the *nine contentments*: the mind is pleasant. [Concerning] *natural constitution, acquisition, time*,<sup>96</sup> *fortune*:<sup>97</sup> thus are the *internal contentments*.

*Contentment concerning natural constitution* means: there is a man who sees the ugliness of his body, but he does not suffer in his mind. ‘How comes that my body is so ugly? My acts were bad in the past; that had as fruit my body in the present. In order that my next incarnation will be nice, I shall do my best to do good now.

94. The point here seems to be that one who is effected by blind darkness is incapable of enjoying pleasures because he is concerned with the pleasures that he has already enjoyed and are now lost to him; cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 32.18: *andhatāmisra nāranya vvaṁ tumaṇisakāṇ ikaṇ vastu huvus hilaṇ* ‘blind darkness means: a man who weeps about something that has already disappeared’. Similar definitions of blind darkness may be found in Sanskrit commentaries to *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 48.

95. Or: ‘[rebirth in] the cycle of existence’.

96. The initial *a* in *akāla*<sup>o</sup> is not an alpha privans but the Old Javanese prefix *a-*.

97. The initial *a* in *abhāgya*<sup>o</sup> is not an alpha privans but the Old Javanese prefix *a-*.



- salvir niñ makaphala lituhayu ri janmañku sovah, ya gavayaknañkva mañke,  
 mañkana liñnya, luməkas ta ya magave hayu, brata, yan yajña, yan jñāna  
 kunañ, yeka *pradhānakatuṣṭi* ñaranya, hana ta *upādānakatuṣṭi* ñaranya, ikañ  
 ambhək tan malara kavəkasan hutañ de ni kavvatanya, athavā svabhāva ni  
 5 kavvatanya, kunañ ikañ gumave kaluputakna ni kavvatanya ri sañsāra, ya / ta 36r  
 ginavayakən ya tan arusuh, yekā *upādānakatuṣṭi* ñaranya, hana ta *akālatuṣṭi*  
 ñaranya, hana vvañ manomahnomah, ndan inaṅgəh ta ya de ni raranya, ikañ  
 ambhək mabhaya pinadəmnya riñ ambhək matis, yeka *akālatuṣṭi* ñaranya,  
*abhāgyatuṣṭi* ñaranya, ikañ vvañ mandabhāgya, tan pamaṅguh inak ambhək  
 10 salavas ni dadinya, sañka ri lara ny ambhəknya, uməgil ta ya ri sañ vruh  
 mañaji sañ paṇḍita guru ni rat kabeh, sira ta panambhahanya, patakvananya  
 ri prāya, vinarah ta ya de sañ paṇḍita, kino/n ta ya mañabhyāsa vidhi, enak 36v  
 tām̐bhəknyān pañabhyāsa, ya tekā *abhāgyatuṣṭi* ñaranya,

1 gavayaknañkva] *em.*; gavayaknakva *cod.* 5 kavvatanya] *em.*; kañvvatanya *cod.* 7 in-  
 aṅgəh] *em.*; inaṅgih *cod.* 7 ikañ] *em.*; ika *cod.* 8 mabhaya] *em.*; mabhyaya *cod.*

Everything which brings about handsomeness in my next human birth, I will do that right now!’ Thus are their thoughts. They start to perform good deeds, [such as] observances, as sacrifices, as knowledge.<sup>98</sup> That is *contentment concerning natural constitution*. There is *contentment concerning acquisition*: the mind that does not suffer if a debt is left due to his actions; or [due to] the nature of his actions; or that causes his actions to be out of the reach of suffering.<sup>99</sup> That will cause him to be without burdens. That is the meaning of *contentment concerning acquisition*. There is *contentment concerning an appropriate occasion*: there is a man who asks [a girl] in marriage, and is accepted by his lady. The feeling of worry is replaced by him with a pleasant feeling. That is the meaning of *contentment concerning time*. *Contentment concerning fortune* means: the ill-fated man, who does not encounter pleasure of mind for the entire span of his existence because of the pain in his mind. He takes refuge with one who knows how to study the holy texts, a master and teacher of the whole world. He becomes his object of worship, his oracles for [all of his] intentions. He is taught by the master, and ordered to constantly practice the prescribed rules of conduct. His mind becomes relieved as he constantly practices. That is the meaning of *contentment concerning fortune*.

98. Here *jñāna* is apparently to be intended as the pursuit of gnosis or right knowledge, which constitutes a ‘good deed’ (*gave hayu*).

99. The translation of this sentence is tentative, for the exact meaning of *kavvatan* in this context is uncertain. OJED, s.v. *vvat\** II (2343), translates *kavvat* as ‘carried along by, under the impulse of, as a result of’ as well as ‘to present, offer, bring before; load, put on’. If this interpretation is followed, the passage may refer to one’s own possessions (i.e. what is ‘carried along’), which have been acquired through payment, which has ultimately led to the accumulation of debts (cf. the definition of the opposite of *upādānakatuṣṭi* given below, 262.8). A more likely possibility may be to take *kavvatañ* in the sense of ‘deed’, as in Old Malay: cf. the form *kavuatanāña* attested in line 7 of the Talang Tuwo inscription (COEDS 1930:39), which was translated by COEDS as ‘leurs entreprises’ (cf. also the form *vuatāña* in lines 6–7, translated as ‘quoi qu’ils fassent’). The construction *luput riñ sañsāra* (instead of, as one would expect, *luput sañkeñ sañsāra*) in the third and last clause is ambiguous and may lead to different interpretations of the entire passage. If we take *kavvatañ* in the sense of ‘possession’, the clause may translate ‘or that causes his possessions to be released (i.e. given?) to [those who] suffer’ (where *sañsāra* may stand for *sañsārajanma*, cf. 248.11); my translation presupposes *riñ* = *sañkeñ* ‘from’, hence refers to one’s capacity to perform actions that will not lead to painful consequences.

- nihan tañ *vāhyatuṣṭi* ñaranya, hana vvañ luput sañke viṣaya, kady aṅgān i  
 vvañ maharəp maraby ahayu, mamañana enak, manaṇḍaṇa dodot rahayu  
 kunañ, huvus pva kapaṅguh denya, *tuṣṭi* hatah ñaranya, hana ta vvañ ma-  
 təmu lāvan kasihnya, *tuṣṭi* hatah ñaranya, hana vvañ mamet drabya, athavā  
 5 mamet guṇa kunañ huvus kapaṅguh ikañ pinetnya, *tuṣṭi* hatah ñaranya, hana  
 ta vvañ huvus siddhikāryanya ikañ sapinetnya, *tuṣṭi* / hatah ñaranya, hana 37r  
 ta vvañ malāra sakit, halvañ pva lāranya, *tuṣṭi* hatah ñaranya, hana ta vvañ  
 mamunuh kəbho sapi pañanənya, *tuṣṭi* hatah ñaranya, nahan tañ *navatuṣṭi*  
 ñaranya<,> pinakavīja niñ buddhi ika kabeh ♦  
 10 nihan tañ *aṣṭasiddhi* ñaranya, *dāna*, *adhyayana*, *śabda*, *tarka*, *sauhr̥daya*,  
*trayo duhkavighāta*, nahan tañ *aṣṭasiddhi* ñaranya,

6–7 hana ta] *em.*; hanātah *cod.* 7 sakit] *em.*; sakikit *cod.* 8 sapi] *em.*; spi *cod.*  
 9 pinakavīja] *em.*; pinakatija *cod.* 10 tarka] *em.*; karttā *cod.* 10 sauhr̥daya] *em.*;  
 svatradaya *cod.* 11 trayo duhkavighāta] *em.*; trayo duhkavilāta *cod.*

The *external contentments* are as follows: there is a man who is out of reach of the objects of the senses, like [those enjoyed by] men who wish to take beautiful women, eat well, or wear beautiful *dodot*-garments.<sup>100</sup> When those [objects of the senses] are met by him, that is called *contentment*. There is a man who meets with his love:<sup>101</sup> that is called *contentment*. There is a man who strives after wealth, or strives after a supernatural ability:<sup>102</sup> when that which is strived for by him is obtained, that is called *contentment*. There is a man who has successfully achieved everything that was strived after by him: that is called *contentment*. There is a man who suffers pain. His suffering has diminished: that is called *contentment*. There is a man who slaughters a buffalo and an ox, in order to be eaten by him: that is called *contentment*. Thus are the *nine contentments*, all of them are produced by the intellect.

The *eight perfections*<sup>103</sup> are as follows: *generosity, study, verbal instruction, reasoning, friendship*,<sup>104</sup> *eradication of the threefold pain*.<sup>105</sup> Such are the *eight perfections*.

100. The addition within brackets is necessary in order to reconstitute the apparently intended meaning of the sentence, where the expression *luput sañkeṇ* does not refer to one who is 'free from' objects of enjoyment, but rather to one who has no access to them and when he suddenly obtains them, becomes content. According to OJED (411), the *dodot* is a 'garment worn around the lower part of the body'.

101. Or, more generally: 'There is a man who obtains what he wishes'.

102. Understanding *guṇa* in this sense rather than in the more general sense of 'virtue', which seems to me less appropriate in this context; cf. *aṣṭaguṇa* (OJED 143–144 'the eight preternatural qualities of a yogi', and 553 s.v. *guṇa* 2 'magic?').

103. Thus I have translated *aṣṭasiddhi*, which in Sanskrit sources are usually differentiated from *aṣṭaguṇa* or *aṣṭaiśvarya* 'the eight supernatural powers'; contrast OJED (146), which translates *aṣṭasiddhi* attested in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 24.18 precisely as the eight supernatural powers.

104. Emending *svatradaya* into *sauhrdaya*, which is easy to justify palaeographically (*sva* = metathesis of *sau*; *tra* = *hra* → *hr*; cf. Introduction, p. 80). *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 52 has *suhṛtprāpti* ('acquisition of friends'), whereas śloka 33 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* has *sauhrda* 'relating to friend' (i.e. friendship). All the sources explain the item as relating to the acquisition of liberating knowledge through excellent friends or teachers (cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 51: *yathā kaścit suhṛjjñānam adhigamya mokṣam gacchati*). The text, when explaining the opposites of the eight perfections, has *asvāhadayah*, where a subscript *r* has been dropped—perhaps not accidentally, for the word might have been a scribal attempt to 'correct' the form *asvahrada* (i.e. *asauhrdaya*) into *asvādhyāya* on the basis of the Old Javanese gloss; cf. below, 264.7, and the table listing the *pratyayas* in Part III, pp. 445–447.

105. The non-standard form *trayo duḥkhavighāta*, attested also in *Vṛhaspatitattva* śloka 33c as *trayo duḥkhavighātāḥ*, corresponds to the proper Sanskrit *duḥkhavighātās trayāḥ* (cf., e.g., *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 51).

- dāna*, *ñaranya*, *sañ vənañ umehakən kāyanira riñ sañ paṇḍita*, *lavan ri sañ-sārajanma kunañ*, *lvir ni vinehakən*, *təlu prakāraṇya*, *kāya*, *śabda*, *ambhək rahayu*, *nihan ta kapirvan i kasiddhya/n*, *sañ vənañ mañāji śāstra purāṇa*, 37v  
*tattvajñāna kunañ*, *siddhi* *hatah ṇaranika*, *<śabda ṇaranya>* *hanātaḥ hu-*  
5 *vus mañabhyāsājinira*, *dadi sira siddhavākya savuvusnira siddhi*, *athavā sira*  
*dadi mañrəñē śabda sakeñ sūkṣma*, *sañka ri tibra ni pañrəñēnira*, *siddhi*  
*hatah ṇaran ikā*, *hana tarkasiddhi ṇaranya*, *ikañ jñāna ton ikañ atitānāga-*  
*tavartamāna*, *siddhi* *hatah ṇaran ikā<, >* *hana ta huvus manəmu guru viśeṣa*,  
*siddhi* *hatah ṇaranikā*, *hana ta vəkasa nikañ kasiddhyan sañ viku*, *sañ yogi-*  
10 *śvara juga*, *apan sira vənañ humilañakən ikañ duhka təlu ṇaranya*, *hanādhy-*  
*ātmi/kaduka ṇaran ikā*, *hanādhidaivikaduhka ṇaranya*, *hanādhibhautikadu-* 38r  
*ka ṇaranya*, *rva prakāra nikādhyātmikaduka ṇaranya*, *mānasa*, *lavan śārīra*,  
*mānasa ṇaranya*, *kāma*, *krodha*, *lobha*, *bhaya*, *asūyā*, *kāma ṇaranya hyun*,  
*krodha ṇaranya*, *galak*, *lobha ṇaranya*, *tan pahuvusan mañarjana dravya*,  
15 *bhaya ṇaranya*, *takut*, *asūyā ṇaranya*, *ikañ gələm tan vənañ maləs*, *nahan*  
*tañ duhka sañkeñ manah*,

6 *pañrəñēnira* ] *conj.*; *panira cod.* 7–8 *ikañ atitānāgatavartamāna* ] *em.*; *itāñ atitānagatavārktamana cod.* 9 *nikañ kasiddhyan* ] *em.*; *nikaṇḍyan cod.* 11 *hanādhidaivikaduhka* ] *em.*; *hanādideviduhka cod.* 11–12 *hanādhibhautikaduka* ] *em.*; *hanatibhotikāduka cod.* 13 *krodha* ] *em.*; *kreda cod.* 13 *asūyā* ] *em.*; *suyā cod.* 14 *krodha* ] *em.*; *kreda cod.* 15 *asūyā* ] *em.*; *suyā cod.* 15 *gələm* ] *conj.*; *glə cod.*

2 *prakāraṇya*, *kāya*, *śabda* ] *post corr.*; *prakāraṇya*, *śabda ante corr.*

*Generosity* means: one who is able to offer his body<sup>106</sup> to a learned man, or also to human beings who suffer.<sup>107</sup> The form of what is offered is threefold: good body, speech, heart. The second in the list of perfections (i.e. *study*) is as follows: one who is able to study the learned treatises and the Purāṇas, or the sacred philosophical texts;<sup>108</sup> that is a *perfection*. *Verbal instruction* means:<sup>109</sup> there is one who has already mastered his sacred texts: he becomes a *siddhavākya*, whatever he say is accomplished. Or, he becomes able to hear sounds from the invisible [level of reality], because of the intensity of his hearing;<sup>110</sup> those are *perfections*. There is the *perfection in reasoning*: the knowledge of seeing into past, future and present. That is a *perfection*. There is one who has managed to attain an excellent teacher; that is a *perfection*.

There is the highest state of perfection of a religious man: he is indeed a leader among yogins, for he is able to extinguish the *three pains*. There is the *inner pain*; there is the *pain due to supernatural agencies*; there is the *material pain*. The forms of the *inner pain* are two: the mental and the bodily. *Mental* means: *eros*, *rage*, *greed*, *apprehension*, *envy*. *Eros* means: desire. *Rage* means: enraged. *Greed* means: not stopping to acquire wealth. *Apprehension* means: fear. *Envy* means: one who accepts willingly without being able to give back. Such is the pain that comes from the mind.

106. The most obvious translation of *kāya* (11) is 'body' (1), but the substantive can also mean 'effort, strength; strong' (2); cf. *makāya* (2), 'to exert os. for, devote one's strength to, help', which may also fits the present context.

107. Or: 'to human beings who are in the cycle of transmigration' (*saṁsārajanma*).

108. Thus I render *tattvajñāna*; cf. Introduction, p. 3.

109. Inserted in the text by way of emendation.

110. Conjecturally emending the meaningless (*saṅka ni*) *panira* to (*saṅka ni*) *paṇrāṇā-nira*. Another possibility could be *saṅka ni tapahnira* 'because of his austerity': compare the explanation of this *siddhi* given by the commentary to śloka 33 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*: 'Because of the intensity of his yogic practice, he hears subtle sounds' *saṅka ri tikṣṇa niṅ kasādhakan, aṇrāṇā ta sira śabda sūkṣma*.

- nihan tañ duka sañkeñ śarīra, orəṃ, gigil, śūlān<,> lārahatin, puyəñ, kuris,  
saprakāra niñ lārān pasañkan, *yekādhyaṭmikaduhka*, ya tikā hinilañakən sañ  
yogīśvara, / *ādhidaivikaduka* ñaranya, sinambhər i gəlap, edan, kapasuk in 38v  
gaṇa bhūta, lāvan piśāca, yeki *ādhidaivikaduka* ñaranya, kunañ ikañ pinərañ,  
5 pinalu, rinacun, tinəluh<,> pinatuk in ulā, pinañan in vuhaya, saprakāra niñ  
lāra sañkeñ havak, *yekādhibhautikaduka* ñaranya, ikā ta kabeh, ya ta hilañ de  
sañ yogīśvara,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[15] kunañ apa ta denira sañ yogīśvārān humilañakən kalāra samañkana  
10 sājñā bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
hələm ikā hujarakna riñ yogapāda, apan tan hənti vṛtti nikañ buddhi vaneh,  
ndya vṛtti / ni buddhi vaneh, yan kva liñanta, hana *aśakti* ñaranya, vvalulikur 39r  
kvehnya, lakṣaṇanya yekā kavruhananta,

1 lārahatin ] *em.*; lārahatən *cod.* 1 puyəñ ] *em.*; puyə *cod.* 3 *ādhidaivikaduka* ] *em.*; adidevidukā *cod.* 4 *ādhidaivikaduka* ] *em.*; adideviduka *cod.* 5 pinatuk in ] *em.*; pinatukañ *cod.* 6 *yekādhibhautikaduka* ] *em.*; yekātibautikāduka *cod.* 9 kunañ ] *conj.*; ikun *cod.* 9 denira ] *em.*; deniñra *cod.* 9 humilañakən ] *em.*; humilañnaknə *cod.* 12 hujarakna ] *em.*; hujarāknə *cod.* 13 vvalulikur ] *em.*; vvaluliku *cod.*

1 orəṃ, gigil, śūlān<,> lārahatin, puyəñ, kuris ] Cf. Vṛh 33.10: urəṃ bhāra gigil / puru / kuris / vāta / pitta / śleṣma / śūla / larahatin 3–4 *ādhidaivikaduka* ñaranya ... yeki *ādhidaivikaduka* ñaranya ] Cf. Vṛh 33.11–13: *ādhidaivikaduhkha* ñaranya ikañ inalap in gəlap / edan / ayan / kāveśa graha / saprakāra niñ duhkha sañkeñ deva / yeka *ādhidaivikaduhkha* ñaranya // 4–6 kunañ ikañ pinərañ ... *yādhibhautikaduka* ñaranya ] Cf. Vṛh 33.14–17: *ādhibhautikaduhkha* ñaranya pinərañ / rinacun / jinarəṃ / kəneñ upas / kesyan / inabhicari / tinəluh / tinuju khala ulā lalatañ / saprakāra niñ lara duhkha sañkeñ bhūta / bhūta ñaran ika māvak kabeh / yekañ *ādhibhautikaduhkha* ñaranya //



The pain that comes from the body is as follows: suffering from chronic diseases,<sup>111</sup> ague, stomachache,<sup>112</sup> melancholy,<sup>113</sup> dizziness,<sup>114</sup> pox,<sup>115</sup> and other pains having a similar origin. That is inner pain. It is extinguished by the leader among yogins. *Pain due to supernatural agencies* means: being struck by a thunderclap, madness, being possessed by [demons such as] the *gaṇa*, *bhūta* and *piśāca*. That is *pain due to supernatural agencies*. The being stabbed, hit with a hammer, poisoned, bewitched, bitten by a snake, eaten by a crocodile, and similar pains deriving from the body, that is *material pain*. All of them, they are extinguished by the leader among yogins.

Kumāra spoke:

[15] If you please, o Lord, what is then the way of the leader among yogins to extinguish such kind of pains? Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The Yogapāda will be taught later on, for [the exposition of] the other activities of the mind is not finished yet. ‘What are the other activities of the mind?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] there are the *disabilities*, their number is twenty-eight. You should know their characteristics.

111. OJED (2143) glosses *urām* (which I suppose to be the same as the *orām* of the codex) as ‘lingering disease (of a part kind?)’; I.D.G. CATRA (p.c. June 2007) understands the word to refer to a kind of disease affecting the skin of the face.

112. Contrast OJED (1845) s.v. *śūla* II.2, which, on the basis of the occurrence in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.10, gives ‘stabbing (shooting) pain’. MW, among the meanings of the Sanskrit *śūla*, gives ‘any sharp or acute pain (esp. that of colic or gout)’, which is close to the understanding of the word as ‘stomachache’ by I.D.G. CATRA (p.c. June 2007)—contrast BED (457) s.v. *sula* 1: ‘a disease of the navel’.

113. *larahatin* (*lara* ‘pain’ + *hati* ‘liver, heart’) is not found in OJED, but occurs in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.10 and was translated by SUDARSHANA DEVI as ‘melancholy’; the form is perhaps a calque of *prihati* or *prihatin* ‘sadness, sorrow, dejected mood’ etc. (OJED 1423), arguably formed by combining *prih* II ‘pain grief’ and *hati*.

114. Emending *puyā* into *puyāṇ*; cf. OJED (1467) s.v. *puyāṇ*\*, which translates *apuyāṇ* as ‘dizzy, giddy, drowsy, overcome with sleep; spinning round’. Note that the similar list of diseases appearing in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.10 reads *puru*, a hapax meaning (as the Malay *puru*) ‘sore, ulcer’ (OJED 1456); cf. also the hapax *puruh* (OJED 1457), which in Balinese means ‘headache’ (cf. BED 408).

115. Cf. OJED (932) s.v. *kuris* (from *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.10): ‘name of a certain disease (KBNW: “the pox”; van Eck, s.v. *kores*, “a kind of scabious cutaneous eruption”’. The word is attested in the Nglawang inscription (KROM 1911:412, 415), in a Sanskrit verse enumerating diseases such as epilepsy (*apasmāra*), deafness and blindness (*vadhirāndha*); since, however, *kuris* is not attested in Sanskrit, it was emended by KROM into *kuṇi*(s) *tathā* ‘having a crooked or withered arm or an arm without a hand or finger; a whitlow’.

- ndya ya, yekīn daśendriya, tan vənañ humiḍəp riñ viṣayanya, taliña tuli, kulit  
vudug, mata tan panon, ilat bisu, iruñ apaləh, tutuk vulañun, tan aharəp  
mañkana kunañ, tañan kiñkiñ, suku lumpuh, silit mədu, tan vənañ añisiñ  
kunañ, pəlat kədi, nahan lakṣaṇa nikañ daśendriya, an tan vənañ ri viṣaya-  
5 nya, *aśakti* hatah ñaranya,  
hana ta balik nikañ navatu/ṣṭi lāvan aṣṭasiddhi, nihan lakṣaṇanya, <*a-* 39v  
*pradhānaka* ñaranya> hala ni śarīranya, prastāvanyān pañimpulu niñ ma-  
gave hala, *anupādānaka* ñaranya, hutañnya hiḍəpnya hutañ ni kavvatanya,  
dadi ya miṅgat, *akāla* ñaranya, tan vənañ sumorakən taṅgih ni raranya, dadi  
10 ya muñpañ, tan vənañ tumambhāni sakahinan y avaknya, moha ta ya, tan  
apilih salviranya, *viṣayānurasa*, hana vvañ tuməmu kaharəpnya, ndan lobha  
ta ya, tan patambhān ikañ huvus kapaṅguh denyā, hana †mañajanāsuka,  
aləməh magave ya, hana tan vənañ rumakṣa ha/yunya, mvañ kalituhayunya, 40r  
arabi larañan, mahəmas tinotohakənya ri savuñ judi nita, mahurip an pa-  
15 muk pva, hana kṣayarāga, hana vvañ malāra ndātan tambhān, avədi mañin-  
uma mapyak mapahit, matakut mabhaya ri sañ manambhā,

2 apaləh] *em.*; apāləg *cod.* 2 vulañun] *em.*; vulavun *cod.* 3 kiñkiñ,] *em.*; kiñki  
*cod.* 4–5 viṣayanya] *em.*; viyasanya *cod.* 6 nikañ] *em.*; niñkā *cod.* 8 *anupādānaka*] *em.*; anopradānaka *cod.* 9 sumorakən] *em.*; humorākən *cod.* 11 salviranya] *em.*; sal-  
varānya *cod.* 15 ndātan tambhān] *em.*; ndātambhān *cod.* 16 mabhaya] *em.*; mabhyaya  
*cod.*

Here they are: the ten faculties not being capable of experiencing their domains: deaf ears, skin affected by disease, eyes incapable of seeing, a mute tongue, an unperceptive nose, a dazed mouth, or [a mouth] which is likewise undesirable, withered hands, lame legs, an anus which is *mədu*,<sup>116</sup> or which is not able to defecate, and emasculated male attributes. Thus are the characteristics of the ten faculties when they are not capable of reaching their domains; they are *disabilities*.

There are the opposites of the nine contentments and the eight perfections. Their characteristics are as follows. *Concerning natural constitution* means:<sup>117</sup> the misfortune of his body is the cause of persistently<sup>118</sup> doing bad. *Concerning acquisition* means: one whose realizes that his debt is the debt of what has been done by him, thus he runs away.<sup>119</sup> *Concerning what is an inappropriate occasion* means: he is not able to overcome the refusal of his [beloved] girl, then he takes her by force. Not being able to cure all the deficiencies of his body, he is deluded, not discriminating anything. *One whose taste follows the objects of enjoyment*: there is a man who has met that which was desired by him, but he is greedy, incurable of what has already been obtained by him. There is †*mañajanāsuka*, he is reluctant to work. There is one who is not able to guard his beauty, and his handsome appearance: he has women who are forbidden [to him], and he has gold which is gambled away in gatherings for gambling and stake-playing, living as a drunkard.<sup>120</sup> There is one who looses passion. There is one who suffers without cure, he is afraid to drink [medicines] which are strong<sup>121</sup> and bitter, he is afraid of and worried by the [man of medicine] who could cure him.

116. This word is not attested in dictionaries of Old or Modern Javanese.

117. Added by conjecture; the mistaken drop of *apradhānaka* is suggested by the corruption of the following item from *upādānaka* to *anopradānaka*.

118. Deriving the unattested *pañimpulu* from *kimulu\** (or *kipulu*) ‘to persist, insistently, strenuously’ (OJED 870).

119. The word *kavvatanya* instead of ‘what has been done by him’ may be translated instead as ‘what has been offered by him’; cf. above, fn. 99.

120. The translation of *pamuk* given in OJED (2322 s.v. *vuk* III) ‘to attack furiously’ does not make sense here; however, under *vuk* II the dictionary attests the expression *vuk turū* ‘addicted to sleep, sleepy-head’. In Modern Javanese (as well as Indonesian) we find the common form *mabuk* ‘intoxicated, drunk’, which is likely to derive from the Old Javanese *vuk* II, having the same meaning (hence, *vuk turū* = ‘intoxicated with sleep’).

121. OJED (1469) translates *apyak* as ‘fierce, loud, harsh, rude’. In this context the word appears to refer to some kind of medicament; cf. *tapyaktapyak* in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 74.30 (OJED 1950) and the form *sarvāpyak* occurring below, 328.1.

hana vvañ tan patəmu lāvan kasihnya, anañis tan vənañ mukti drabyanya,  
nahan balik nikañ navatuṣṭi, *aśakti* hatah ñaranikā,

- hana ta balik ni aṣṭasiddhi, *adāna*, tar dadi maveveh, astham agaveya  
dharma, *anadhyayana*, tan pañaji, tvas āji svatah niñ ñva, tan byakta vruha  
5 ri viṣe/ṣa, *anaśabda*, tan pañabhyāsa kasādhakan, an aku hyañ, apa ta gaveya 40v  
niñ mamrih, tvas prihatin ñva denya<,> *anatarka*, tan katon ikañ atītānā-  
gatavartamāna, *asauhrdayaḥ*, tan paguru viṣeṣa, maguru matəka, ndān kadi  
parahu vatu, vvādəs mañəntasakna ri sañsārasamudra, ya matañyan pañələ-  
makən riñ mahānaraka,

4 tvas āji svatah ] *conj.*; tvas· jiji mota *cod.* 6 prihatin ] *em.*; prahatin *cod.* 7 *asauhr-*  
*dayaḥ* ] *em.*; asvāhadayah *cod.*

There is a man who does not obtain what he desires: he cries and is not able to enjoy his wealth.<sup>122</sup> Thus are the opposites of the nine contentments, they are called *disabilities*.

There are the opposites of the eight perfections: *non-generosity*: not giving alms, let alone practicing righteousness. *Non-study*: not studying the sacred texts. The essence of the sacred texts [is] from himself,<sup>123</sup> [therefore] he will not know the sacred doctrines through evidence. *Without verbal instruction*:<sup>124</sup> not performing [the religious duties proper to] the state of *sādhaka*, [like when one thinks:] ‘As I am God, what is the purpose of exerting myself? My heart feels sad because of that.’<sup>125</sup> *Without reasoning*:<sup>126</sup> past, present and future are not seen. *Without friendliness*:<sup>127</sup> he does not have an excellent guru; he has gurus at random. Like a boat made of stone, it is not possible that he will cross the ocean of transmigration.<sup>128</sup> This is the reason why he sinks into hell.

122. Note that *kasihnya* instead of ‘what he desires’ can also be translated as ‘the beloved one’; the sentence would thus refer to somebody whose heartache prevents him from enjoying his wealth.

123. Conjecturally emending *mota* into *svataḥ* (*m* and *s* are easily confused; *o* is a spelling variant of *va*). The sentence may refer to the cliché regarding the acquisition of the sacred doctrine through masters (*gurutaḥ*), treatises (*śāstrataḥ*), or oneself (*svataḥ*): cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 32.36 and 52.82 and, among the Sanskrit sources, *Tantrāloka* 4.41 and 4.78. The point here seems to be that the *svataḥ* method is negatively evaluated if carried out alone, i.e. without the other two. I have translated *tvas* as ‘essence’ (cf. OJED 2090: ‘core, heart’), but it is likely that here it is to be understood as ‘meaning’, not only on account of the context but also because *tvas* (3), according to OJED, could probably mean ‘to have in mind, to want (cf. *ati*)’.

124. The form *anaśabda* is to be analyzed as Sanskrit alpha privans *an-* + Old Javanese prefix *a-* + *śabda*.

125. This sentence is not clear. It might refer to a monist who deems religious and meditative practices that have to be followed by a Śaiva practitioner (*sādhaka*) to be useless in view of the fact that everyone already is God—a statement reflecting an utterly monistic standpoint. Alternatively, one may interpret it as a direct speech of the Lord to his son Kumāra (*an aku hyaṅ = anaku hyaṅ*): ‘My divine son, what is [then] the purpose of exerting oneself? I am sorrowful in the heart because of that’.

126. The form *anatarka* is to be analyzed as Sanskrit alpha privans *an-* + Old Javanese prefix *a-* + *tarka*.

127. Emending *asvāhadayaḥ* into *asauhrdayaḥ*; cf. above, fn. 104.

128. The depiction of release from the cycle of rebirth through a metaphor related to ship-ping is nicely conveyed in the sentence by the *-akān* verbal form of the base *āntas* (OJED 458–459), ‘to set on land, carry across ... rescue, free from’ (compare *māntas* ‘to come out from the water, onto dry land; to have crossed over; to overcome ... be freed from, released’).

ndya guru maṅkana marəki riṅ mahānaraka, nihan paṇavruhana, liṅnya,  
 kitātah kahanan bhaṭāra sakala, apan yeki magave liṅga mamaṇun prāsāda,  
 maṇanākən poya, maṇhanākə/n pinaṇan ininum, yeki kahanan saṅ hyaṅ 41r  
 paramārtha, mamaṇan maturū saṅ hyaṅ ikā, lumaku, maluṅguh, asiṅ atah,  
 5 tulah saṅ hyaṅ ikā kabeh, nora salah ikā kabeh maṅkana liṅnya, ya mataṅ-  
 nyan dadi humulahakən apacāra, apan tan hanāpa liṅnya, dadi ya muṅpaṅ,  
 dadin paṇahala dravya niṅ vaneh, tan apa ikā yan tuhutu kita, apan tuhutu  
 ṇaranya, hayva vədi pati, apan yekā mahaṇutan ṇaranya, asiṅ mārga niṅ pati  
 ta pva, apan si pati ikaṅ sinaṅguh *kamokṣan* ṇa/ranya, 41v

1 marəki riṅ ] *em.*; mraki niṅ *cod.*    2 kitātah ] *em.*; kit-tah *cod.*    3 kahanan ] *em.*;  
 tahanan *cod.*    5 liṅnya, ] *em.*; linya *cod.*    5–6 mataṅnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.*    6 hanā-  
 pa ] *conj.*; yan apa *cod.*    6 muṅpaṅ, ] *conj.*; mupuṅ *cod.*    8 asiṅ ] *em.*; asi *cod.*

What is such a teacher who draws the Great hell near like? He should be known as follows. His words are: ‘Yourself are the place where the Lord in his manifest form resides, for those who fabricate *liṅgas*, build temples, organize assemblies,<sup>129</sup> organize food- and drinking-feasts, those ones are the place where the *Summum Bonum* resides! Those Gods eat and sleep, walk and sit, just [do] whatever [they want!]. All of those Gods are hit by punishment,<sup>130</sup> [but] there is no fault in all of them’. Thus are his words. This is the reason why he performs bad conduct, i.e. because it does not matter, according to him, thus he transgresses,<sup>131</sup> thus he steals the wealth of others. ‘It does not matter if you are *tuhutu*,<sup>132</sup> for *tuhutu* means, do not be scared of dying, for that is called killing oneself,<sup>133</sup> whatever way of death, for death is that which is designated as *liberation*’.

129. I understand *pvaya* in the codex to be a spelling variant of the substantive *poya* instead of the stress particles *pva ya*, for the transitive verb *mañanākān* preceding it requires an object. The meaning of the word is, however, unclear, and my translation merely conjectural. OJED (1376) s.v. only lists the form *apopoyan* ‘to talk (together)’; cf. also *poyah\**, *apoyah* ‘to eat? (or: to ask; cf. *poya?*)’. Given the context, the word here might refer to some kind of gathering or assembly.

130. The translation of this sentence is not sure. OJED (2053) glosses *tulah* as ‘a curse or punishment resulting from sacrilege or the breaking of a taboo; to be stricken by such’. Alternatively, emending *tulah* into *tulya*, read: ‘All of them are the same as God’. For the interpretation of this obscure passage, cf. Part III, pp. 378–379.

131. Emending *mupun* into *mumpaṇ* ‘to seize illegally, rob, take by force (esp. a woman), transgress’. I have preferred this solution to *muṇpun* since that form does not occur as a self-standing verb, as must be the case here; cf. OJED (1446) s.v. *puṇpun\** ‘to use the right moment to do st., while it is still possible; with the utmost exertion, as intensively as possible’. External evidence in support of my emendation may be found in *Parākhyatantra* 4.85, characterizing one who, as in the Old Javanese passage, has abandoned *dharma* and embraced materialist (*nāstika*) views as becoming a thief (*taskaro*) and murdering living beings (*vadham ca kurute ṅginām*); cf. GOODALL (2004:257).

132. The word *tuhutu* is not attested in the dictionaries. The fact that it occurs twice and that none of the possible emendations is really satisfactory suggests to me that it may be a correct, albeit unknown, form. Otherwise, directions to look for an emendation may be *tuhutuhu* ‘right, sincere, in the real sense’ (OJED 2048), which however in the present contexts makes little sense; or *tutuh* II ‘to blame, reprove, reprimand, reproach’ (OJED 2083); or *uhut* I ‘restraining, preventing, forbidding’ (OJED 2105).

133. According to OJED (589), the form *ahañutan* means ‘intending to take one’s life (plunge into death)’; compare *ahañut*, *hinañut*, *kahañut*, *pahañut*: 1 ‘to throw st. into the river (sea) to let it be carried away by the current (tide), esp. of the ashes after cremation, to perform the funeral rites for; to plunge st. into, throw into, let st. go down into, let st. be carried away; 2 to plunge into (intr.), let os. be carried away (by), yield completely (to), give one’s life, kill os.’



maṅkana liṅ ni gurunya, yekā guru maṇabakən i naraka ṇaranya, *aśakti* ṇa-  
ranya, ṇke ri vṛtti niṅ buddhi ♦

nihan taṅ *dukatrayavighatah* ikā tan vəṇaṅ humilaṇakən dukatraya, apan  
tan paṇabhyāsa samādhi, mataṇṇyan tan paṇabhyāsa samādhi, apan tan  
5 maṅkana rakva paramārtha liṅnya, tuhu mata saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha luput  
saṅkeṅ yoga lāvan samādhi, apan buddhi sira, huvus karuhun ikaṅ rāga  
dveṣa moha lāvan śarīra tan hana ikā ri bhaṭāra, apa de niṅ samādhi ri sira,  
apan sira pva de ni samā/dhinira saṅ viku mvaṅ saṅ yogīsvara, yatanyan 42r  
pada lāvan bhaṭāra, inakunya pvāvaknya pada lāvan bhaṭāra, tan vəṇaṅ hu-  
milaṇakən dukanya təlu, ya ta mataṇṇyan aśakti ṇaran iṅ buddhi yan maṅ-  
10 kana,

sumahur saṅ kumāra,

[16] kuraṅ tuṅgal ta vəkas ikaṅ aśakti yan təka vvalulikur, ndya gəṇəpanya,

nihan yaṅ manah mabalik, apan lakṣaṇa niṅ manah mamikalpa, tap-  
15 van vəṇaṅ mamikalpa, ya ta sinaṅguh medan ṇaranya, nāhan gəṇəp nikaṅ  
aśakti vvalulikur, ikā ta kabeh, nimitta niṅ ātmasaṅsāra apan mamaṅguh  
vāsanā ikā kabeh riṅ citta/, vruh pva saṅ paṇḍita, an makveh vāsanā nikaṅ 42v  
pāpa rumakət[,] riṅ citta, ya ta mataṇṇyan saṅ viku, matakut ri saṅsāra lā-  
van duka, hayva jənək ri byāpāra riṅ śarīra, huvus karuhun ikaṅ śīla hala  
20 hayva ta ginavayakən, apan yeka mamuhāra lara lāvan saṅsāra, aparan yo-  
gya gaveyakna takarih, nyaṅ trikāya paramārtha, ulah rahayu, śabda rahayu,  
ambhək rahayu, don ikā sādhana niṅ maṇabhyāsāmbhəki bhaṭāra,

1 liṅ ] *em.*; *li cod.* 9 lāvan ] *em.*; *lā cod.* 16 nimitta ] *em.*; *nimatta cod.* 21 paramārtha ]  
*em.*; *marāmārtā cod.* 22 maṇabhyāsāmbhəki ] *em.*; *muṇābhyāsāmbhəki*

Thus are the words of his teacher; that is designated as a teacher who makes one fall into hell—a so-called *disability*. Thus far about the conditions of the intellect.

*Incapable of eliminating the threefold pain* is as follows: those who are not capable of extinguishing the threefold pain, for they do not constantly practice absorption. The reason why they do not constantly practice absorption is that they think: ‘Certainly not in this way is the *Summum Bonum*. Truly the *Summum Bonum* is out of the reach of yoga and absorption, for it is a notion.<sup>134</sup> Most of all, passion, dispassion, delusion and a body do not exist in the Lord. What is [thus] the reason of [practicing] absorption toward Him? Since He is the reason of the absorption of a man of religion and of a leader among yogins, in order to become the same as the Lord their bodies are claimed to be<sup>135</sup> the same as the Lord’. [Thinking thus,] they are not able to eliminate the three kinds of pain: this is the reason why *disability* is the appellation of such an attitude.

Kumāra spoke:

[16] Deficient by one are the resulting disabilities, if [they] are up to twenty-eight. What is it that will make them complete?

[The Lord:]

It is the altered mind-stuff. Since the characteristic of the mind-stuff is to deliberate, not being able to deliberate, that is designated as being insane. Thus is what completes the twenty-eight disabilities. All of them are the cause of the affliction of the Soul, for they meet with the latent impressions, all of them, in the mind. The master knows that the latent impressions of the sins are innumerable, adhering to the mind. That is why the religious men are afraid of the afflictions and of the pains. Do not be preoccupied with the activities in the body! Most of all, do not carry out bad conduct, for it brings about suffering and affliction. What is then fitting to carry out? Here it is: the paramount threefold body, i.e. good action, good speech, good heart. Their purpose is the realization of being constantly practising devotion toward the Lord.

134. That is, the Lord is just an idea, so any practices aiming at reaching Him are useless. For the translation of *buddhi* as ‘notion, opinion, idea’ (= *hiḍap*), cf. OJED (266).

135. The verb *inaku*, which among the other meanings has those of ‘claim, acknowledge, be sure of, guarantee, declare that one is able to (often boastfully)’ (OJED 39), bears here a particular force as it implies that, according to the (materialist) opponent, the practitioners of yoga merely pretend or unrightfully claim that their bodies are the same as the one of the Lord.

- nihan varahvarah bhaṭāra yeki dālən inətinətən təməntəmən, rāsāna ri ha/ti, 43<sup>r</sup>  
 apan iki mārğa bənər, yapvan hana marah ri kita riñ hayu, ndān apasalahan  
 lavan loka mañruddha lāvan vvañ kabeh tālap hayva vinahil, ndan hayva  
 ta ginavayakən, yan paropaghāta gumavayakən duka niñ vaneh apan jāti  
 5 niñ magave hala, hala təkən śarīra, yapvan pagave hayu, hayu təkən śarīra  
 hayu pva kahyun in rat, ya matañnyan hayvātah gaveyaknanta hala hələm,  
 ikañ luput sañkən guṇadoṣa, maryada parilobha mvañ doṣa, yāvat kita luput  
 sañkən / lokabyāpāra, tāmrih ta gave bhakti riñ bhaṭāra, apan sira śaraṇa ni 43<sup>v</sup>  
 vənañ mañhilañakən pāpa, sira dumeh n vvañ amaṅguha suka viśeṣa, ikañ  
 10 inak tan pabalik lara, hurip tan pabalik pati, milv agave tan ilu ginave, vruh  
 tan kinavruhan, ya phala ni bhakti ri bhaṭāra,  
 kunañ təkəp niñ magave bhakti, ya takvānaknanta riñ sañ guru, kāñə-  
 nañənātah sañsāra niñ dadi janma, si hurip makāvasānañ pati, iki pati ṇa-  
 ranya, *viparīta* tan hana tuturnya, apan kapasuk ri tamah, vəñi tan paka-  
 15 nimitta[,] tayā riñ āditya/, 44<sup>r</sup>

1 inətinətən ] *em.* ; inətənətən *cod.*    5 təkən ] *em.* ; tkə *cod.*    6 matañnyan hayvātah ]  
*em.* ; matañnyan āhayu atah *cod.*    6 hələm ] *em.* ; hməm *cod.*    13 pati, iki ] *em.* ; pa, ikə  
*cod.*    14 tuturnya, ] *em.* ; tutunya *cod.*    14 kapasuk ] *em.* ; tapasuk *cod.*

7 guṇadoṣa ] guṇādvāsa *post corr.* ; nādvāsa *ante corr.*

The teaching of the Lord is as follows—that should be observed carefully and seriously remembered: a feeling that is in the heart, for that is the true path. If there is one who teaches you about the good, and yet he goes against public opinion, differing from everybody,<sup>136</sup> take [that doctrine] and do not make objections, but do not practice it if it damages others or causes the suffering of others, for the nature of doing bad is that the body will become bad. When doing good, good comes into body, good is the wish of the world. This is the reason why you should not do bad in the future. As long as you are out of the reach of worldly activities, [you will be] out of the reach of both virtue and fault, bounds of morality and propriety, excessive greed<sup>137</sup> and sinful behaviour. Do strive after performing devotion toward the Lord, for He is the resort, being able to eliminate sin. He causes the man to eventually meet the supreme bliss, the pleasure that does not change into pain, the life that does not change into dying, to become a creator and ceasing being created, knowing without being known. These are the fruits of devotion toward the Lord.

Further, the way to perform devotion, that should be asked by you to the teacher. You should ponder over the suffering of becoming a human being, the life which ends in death. Death means *vīparīta*, there is no consciousness,<sup>138</sup> for one is made to enter into darkness, a night that is not caused by the absence of the sun.

136. I consider the expression *apasalahan lavan loka* as having identical meaning with the Sanskrit *lokaviruddha* ‘contrary to (forbidden by) public opinion’ (OJED 1044), the gloss of which seems to be given in the clause immediately following, i.e. *mañruddha lāvan vvañ kabeh* (where *ruddha*, also on account of the presence of *lāvan*, must then be understood as standing for *viruddha*—contrast OJED’s (1564) gloss of the transitive *añruddha*: ‘to stop, impede, hinder, obstruct, disturb; to hold, hold back, restrain, detain’). The form *apasalahan* is attested as *apasalahan ujar* ‘to exchange words; or: to differ in, quarrel?’ in *Tantri Kāmaṇḍaka* 4.231a (OJED 1612: *hayva virudāpasalahan ujar*), where it is coupled with *viruddha* ‘hindering, obstructing; conflicting, contrary; conflict, quarrel’ (OJED 2293). The form presumably derives from *salah* I (OJED 1610) ‘changing into something different (cf. *silih*), deviating from what is right (normal, intended, expected, etc.); wrong, at fault, mistaken, missing (the target); missed, not attained, escaped from’.

137. Although the word *parilobha* (i.e. *lobha* with the preverb *pari*) is unattested in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese, I take it to have the same meaning as (*ati*)*lobha*.

138. Compare the similar characterization of *vīparīta*, here ‘obscured, occluded, confused, blinded’, in *Virāṭaparva* 80.8: ‘not being conscious is *vīparīta*, like dead is its look’ *norātutur naranya vīparīta sāksāt mati pakatonan ikā*.

- ya ta kalavasan ñaranya, balik ni hurip lalu tan hinaknya, mañkana təhər  
 hayvāñhiḍəp sukaduka, kunañ tāpan pavārte janma, kadi kveh niñ hilañ  
 kveh ni mətə, ya ta panəñəranta an pajanma muvəh ikañ ātmā, huvus ru-  
 muhun ta yan hana vvañ jātismara, meñət ri dadinya ñūni, tan salah denya  
 5 tumuduh kavitanya ñūni pūrvakah lāvan ñaranya dravyanya, nahan hənañ-  
 nyān atutur apa tan hanañ tuduhnya ikā kabeh, ləhəñ marekān rahayu jan-  
 manya muvəh, maluya dadi vvañ gumavaya/kəna bhakti ri bhaṭāra, mārğa ni 44<sup>v</sup>  
 janma kahvata ri hayu, yan [yañ] dadi kita ri sañsārātañ niyata kady aṅgān in  
 vikāra, tan pada lāvan sañsārajanma, athavā yan pañdadyana kəbho sapi asu  
 10 vək, yeka kapətək təmən, apa tan hana gamana ni kavruha riñ heyopadeya,  
 vənaña ta rakva ya mareñ sañ pañḍita, tumakvanakəna kaliña ni janmānya,  
 mvañ kaləpasən ni janmānya, yan apa tekān vruha, apan huvus ikañ jan-  
 manya, tan pasikəban, ləkas ta mənən gələk, apa tan kinavruhan təkə niñ  
 pati,  
 15 sumahur sañ kumāra, / 45<sup>r</sup>  
 [17] aparan ikañ vāsanā ñaranya, sājñā bhaṭāra, varahən ta rānak bhaṭāra,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,

1 kalavasan ] *em.*; kalavasan *cod.* 4 tan salah ] *em.*; tan palah *cod.* 5–6 hənañnyān ]  
*conj.*; hnanyan *cod.* 10 vək ] *em.*; *vik* *cod.* 10 heyopadeya ] *em.*; heyopadaya *cod.*  
 13 pasikəban ] *em.*; pasikapan *cod.* 13 kinavruhan ] *em.*; knavruhan *cod.*

Having passed through that for a long time, one goes back to life, whose unpleasantness is extreme. Thus, without delay, do not pay attention to pleasure and pain! Because of the motion of the human births, the number of the deaths is like the number of the births; that is a proof for you that the Soul is born again. All the more so [the fact that] there exist men endowed with the ability of recollection of previous lives: they remember about their past existences. Their indications of their former origin, in a previous state [of incarnation], and the explanation of its properties, are not wrong. Their silence when they remember is because there are not the instructions of all of them.<sup>139</sup> The quality of their next human birth is better: they will be born again, becoming men who will carry out devotion toward the Lord—the path of human incarnations that will be raised to a superior quality. [But, unlike them,] if you become in the cycle of existence [you will be] restricted,<sup>140</sup> like disfigured persons, not the same as the [other] human beings in the cycle of existence. Or you may become a water buffalo, a cow, a dog, a pig. Those [beings] are really held back, for there is no chance of getting to know about what is to be done and what is to be avoided. Suppose they would be able to go to a master and ask for the explanation of their incarnations, and the liberation from their incarnations. How could it be that they will understand? For their human incarnations is already over, without a way to catch it [again]. Start acting now, without hesitation!<sup>141</sup> For the coming of death is not known.

Kumāra spoke:

[17] Of what sort are the *latent impressions*? If you please, o Lord, teach your son!

The Lord spoke:

139. The meaning of this clause is unclear and my translation only tentative.

140. The only way to make sense of this (syntactically odd) sentence is to take *niyata* as having the meaning it has in Sanskrit, i.e. ‘restrained, checked, controlled; fixed, established, sure, regular, definite’ (cf. OJED 1201) rather than in Old Javanese, i.e. ‘certain, evident, obvious; certainly, evidently, indeed, really, in truth, sure’. The continuation of the passage makes clear that the births of disfigured persons and especially animals are ‘fixed’, with no possibility to improve their conditions.

141. ‘Without hesitation’ is a free translation of *gələk*, which, according to OJED (510), is only attested as *gumələk* ‘to move in uninterrupted succession (row on row, wave on wave)’.

- ikañ karma tan dadi tan kabhukti phalanya, akveh pva kañ karma, ya ta  
matañnyan makveh lvir niñ janma, apan phala nikañ karma ya mamañun  
śārīra, yan <mahala karma,> mahala śārīra, yan mahayva karma, mahayva  
śārīra, mahala māyu pvekañ karma, vinañun i janma tuñgal, ya matañnyan  
5 asilisilih ikañ janma riya, huvus dadi devatā phala ni gavenya hayu, tēka  
pva phala niñ gavenya hala, matəmahan ta ya tiryak, hēnti pva phala nikañ  
tiryak, tēka ta phala ni/kañ mānuṣa, muvah ta phala nikañ karma nūni, ya ta 45v  
bhinuktinyān pamañun karma muvah, mañkana ta jāti ni janma kabeh, ikañ  
karma huvus bhinukti yekā maməkasaḥ saṅskāra ri citta sovaṅsovañ, ya  
10 ta matañnyan kadi sinurat ikañ karma rumakət iriya, kady aṅgān iñ siṅsət i  
havak ya ta magave tutur ni citta ikañ huvus bhinuktinya nūni, yan devatā,  
yan mānuṣa, yan tiryak, ikañ karmaphala tinutnya, ya ta bhinuktinya, kapva  
tekā maməkasaḥ saṅskāra ri citta, nihan pada/nya, kady aṅgān i dyun an 46r  
pinakavavan vañivañi, iṅgu kunañ, huvus hēnti hisi nikañ dyun, vinasəhan  
15 ta ya pinahalilañ ndān hanātah ambhēnya, turuñ <hēnti> rumakət rikā dyun,  
mañkana tekañ vāsanā, an paməkasaḥ saṅskāra ri citta, asiñ agēñ vāsanā  
ri citta, ya pinakarūpa niñ janma, apan asiñ kinalpana niñ manah ya tinut  
niñ karmanya mañun janma muvah,

2 nikañ ] *em.*; niñka *cod.* 5 huvus ] *em.*; havus *cod.* 7 nikañ ] *em.*; nika *cod.* 10 ma-  
tañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 10–11 siṅsət i havak ] *conj.*; siṅsik i hivak *cod.* 14 hēnti ]  
*em.*; hinti *cod.* 17 asiñ ] *em.*; asi *cod.*

13–16 kady aṅgān i dyun ... mañkana tekañ vāsanā ] Cf. Vṛh 3.6–9: kady aṅgān iñ dyun  
vavadah niñ hiṅgu / huvus hilañ hiṅgunya / ikañ dyun inasahan pinahalilañ / kavəkas ta ya  
ambēnya / gandhanya rumakət irikañ dyun / ndah ya tika vāsanā ṇaranya /



The karma, it is impossible that its fruits are not experienced. Numerous are the karmas, that is why the kinds of incarnated beings are numerous, for the fruits of karma shape the body. If the karma is bad,<sup>142</sup> the body is bad. If the karma will be good, the body will be good. The karma being produced by an individual being is good or bad; that is the reason why the incarnations succeed one another through it. Becoming a god is the fruit of one's good actions. As soon as the fruits of one's doing bad arrive, one becomes an animal. Once the fruits of the animal are finished, the fruits of a human being arrive. Again, the fruits of the past karma, they are experienced by him as he produces karma again. Thus is the nature of all the incarnations. The karma which has already been experienced produces as left-overs impressions in the mind, one by one. That is the reason why as if being written the karma adheres firmly to it, like tightly [attached] to the body.<sup>143</sup> That causes the remembering in the mind. What has already been experienced in the past, either as a god, a human being or an animal, the fruits of karma which go along with it, those are experienced by him. Those all together leave behind impressions in the mind. For example like an earthen pot, as it was used to contain perfumes or *asafoetida*. The content of the pot is already finished. It is thoroughly washed and purified, but its fragrance is still there, not yet finished;<sup>144</sup> it sticks to the pot. Likewise are the *latent impressions* as they leave behind impressions in the mind. However great are the impressions in the mind, they constitute the form of the human being, for whatever is imagined by the mind-stuff, that is followed by its karma in shaping the next human birth.

142. The addition of this clause is required to make the sentence logically sound and symmetrical with the one that follows. I suppose that a portion of text was left out by mistake.

143. The form *siṅsāt*, which is the result of my emendation of *siṅsik*, is translated by OJED (1781) as 'tightness'; cf. *asiṅsāt* 'tight, taut'. As for the idea of karma being 'written' on the human mind or body, compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.48–49, where the latent karmic impressions *karmavāsanā* are said to be 'written on the body of the Soul' (*sinuratakān in avak in ātmā*). I.D.G. CATRA (p.c. June 2007) connected this concept to the Balinese expression *surat in lalata*, referring to the fact that the destiny (or karma) of every human being is written on his or her forehead. This idea is already commonly encountered in Sanskrit texts as well as South Asian folktales (cf. KENT 2009).

144. As *turuṇ* 'not yet' does not make sense connected with the following verbal form *rumakāt*, I supply the word *hānti* 'finished' before *isi nikaṇ dyun* 'the content of the pot', which is required in order to restore the proper meaning of the sentence, referring to the classic example of the left-overs of the perfume adhering to the pot (cf. Part III, pp. 470–472).

- [18] sañ apa sira kumavruhi janma mañkana sājñā bhaṭāra,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 aku huvus mañhiḍəp sañsāra, aneka ikañ janma bhinuktiku<,< vəkasan[,]  
 təkā ni ga/veñku hayu, kavava tāku ri sañ paṇḍita, vinarah tāku riñ dhar- 46v  
 5 maśāstra, ya ta inabhyāsañku, alavas pvāku gumavayakən ikañ dharmasās-  
 tra, mati tāku, [muvah taku,] muvah tāku mañjanma mānuṣa, atutur tāku ri  
 janmañku, muvah tāku humulunakən śarīrañku ri sañ paṇḍita, vinarah tāku  
 ri yogadharmā, ya ta inabhyāsañku ri rahineñ vəñi, ya ta ginavayakənku,  
 alavas aku yogīśvara, sevu tahun lavasku yogīśvara, vinava tāku riñ svarga,  
 10 inaranan tāku sañ nīlalahita, tinariman tāku hanak dara, / anak bhagavān 47r  
 dakṣa, sañ satī naranira, māti pva sañ satī, kavəkas tāku, maluya tāku yogī-  
 śvara, tikṣṇa pva deñkv agave samādhi, māti tāku mañjanma tāku ri bhaṭāra,  
 ndatan vətu sañke śuklaśonita, mətu sañke yoga bhaṭāra kami, apan lima  
 kveh mami sānak, patuñgalan i naran mami, kuśika sañ matuha, tumut ta  
 15 garga, lāvan maitri, sañ kuruṣya, aku sañ pātañjala narananku, anak pamuṇsu,  
 ri sañ pañcaṣi, atutur tāku ri kayogīśvaran, ya matañnyan manambhah ri  
 bhaṭāra, sakahvatan ma/mi dadi sira gave caramakārya, 47v

4 vinarah ] *em.*; vinarih *cod.* 5 inabhyāsañku ] *em.*; na ibhyasāñku *cod.* 5 gumavayak-  
 ən ] *em.* H; mavaiyākən *cod.* 6 [muvah taku,] ] *em.* H (silent) 10 inaranan ] *em.* H;  
 inarinān *cod.* 13 ndatan ] *conj.*; ndya tan H, *cod.* 14–15 ta garga ] *em.*; kañ Gargga *em.*  
 H; kasargga *cod.* 15 kuruṣya ] *em.* H; purusya *cod.* 15 pamuṇsu ] *em.* H; pamuñgu  
*cod.* 16 kayogīśvaran ] *em.*; yogīśvaran *em.* H; yośisvaran *cod.* 16 ya ] *cod.*; yo H  
 (typo) 17 sakahvatan ] *em.*; sakavvatan *cod.* 17 caramakārya ] *conj.*; saṃkrəman *cod.*;  
 cañkriman *em.* H

15 anak ] hanak *post corr.*; hanaka *ante corr.*

[Kumāra:]

[18] O Lord, if you please, who is the Holy One who experiences such incarnations?

The Lord spoke:

I myself have already experienced the cycle of existence. The human births that I have already experienced are many. At last, [when the fruit of] my doing good came, I was conducted to a master. I was instructed about the scriptures on *dharma*. I constantly put them into practice. I practiced the scriptures on *dharma* for a long time. I died. Again I incarnated as a human being. I remembered about my human births and again I made my body the servant of a master. I was instructed in the scriptures on Yoga. Those I constantly studied, day and night; those I put into practice. I became a leader among yogins for a long time: a thousand years was the duration of my being a leader among yogins. I was brought to the heaven and given the name of Nīlālohitā. I was given in marriage a virgin, the daughter of the reverend Dakṣa, whose name was Satī. Satī died. I was left alone. I again became a leader among yogins. My practice of absorption was fervent. I died and I was reborn as the Lord. But [we] were not born from sperm and blood: we were born from the yoga of our Lord,<sup>145</sup> for we were five brothers. Each of our names [are] one by one: Kuśika was the eldest, then followed Garga and Maitri, Kuruṣya, [then] me, Pātāñjala is my name, the youngest son among the Five Sages. I had a recollection of the state of leader among yogins, that is the reason why I worshiped the Lord, who was also my higher form.<sup>146</sup> Then He [ordered] to perform a funeral ceremony.<sup>147</sup>

145. The change of subject from the singular to the plural of the first person sounds clumsy, and suggests that a pre-existing other narrative element has been inserted in the text. Although the expression *bhaṭāra mami* ‘our Lord’ uttered by a single speaker is a cliché in Old Javanese literature, here *kami* cannot be a possessive pronoun.

146. Thus my rendering of the abstract noun (*sa*)*kaḥvatan*, conjecturally emended from *sakavvatan*; cf. OJED (659) s.v. *hvat* ‘rising to a higher state, increase, improvement’.

147. Conjecturally emending *saṅkrāman* into *caramakārya* (cf. OJED 306 s.v.: ‘Skt *carama*, ultimate, final; *caramā kriyā*, final, i.e. funeral, ceremony) final ceremony’). This word, or perhaps the equally plausible alternative *caramakramaṇa*\*, better fits in the context than the original reading, which could be only explained as a corruption of *saṅkramaṇa*, a Sanskrit word not attested in OJED meaning ‘going or coming together’ (compare *caṅkrama*\* in OJED 303, ‘(Skt going about, walk)’). The form *caṅkrīman* ‘riddle’ adopted by HOOYKAAS is, to my mind, a much less convincing solution—although the word might have been the origin of the scribe’s confusion.

- anaku sañ kuśika, mabyakta takvanakna, kunañ deyanmu pəṇḍəm tāku, ma-  
 ṅkana liñnira ri sañ kuśika pinet sañ garga sira kinon mañhañuta, luñhā ra-  
 sikā, pinet sañ maitri, sira kinon manunva, luñhā rasikā, pinet ta sañ ku-  
 ruṣya, sira kinon mamañguña, luñhā rasikā, pinet tāku, mavəkas ta bha-  
 5 ṭāra, mabhakti anaku, kunañ deyanmūsapa tāku, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra, tan  
 asove māti ta sira<,> təka ta sañ kuśika, matutur pavəkas bhaṭāra, inalpnira  
 tekañ śava, pinəṇḍəmnira, ndāta/n paveh iñ kami kabeh, apan kami pina- 48r  
 kapaməkasan ri deya mami təka ta sañ hyaṅ brahmā<,> viṣṇu, indra, yama,  
 baruṇa, kuvera, āgneya, nairiti, bāyabya, aiśānya, sira sumambhəsambhər  
 10 i kami kalima, dadi sañ kuśika kinon maməṇḍəma śava bhaṭāra, sampun  
 pinəṇḍəmnira, dinuduk sira de sañ garga, hinañut ta sira hinalap sira de  
 sañ kuruṣya, sira umañguñ śava bhaṭāra, tan asove hinalap ta sira de sañ  
 maitri, sira tānunu śava bhaṭāra, sampun gəni matəmahān avu, luñhā ta sira  
 kabeh, aku juga kavəkas kumukup havu bhaṭāra, inalapku tāvunira, sañka ri  
 15 bhaktiku maguru, ya ta matañnyan husapakən ikañ / havu ry avaku, vaneh 48v  
 pinañkuku, tan sove hilañ ta rūpañku pātañjala, sarūpa bhaṭāra nūni kālanira  
 hurip, trinayana caturbhujā, sphatika pakajanmasthāna, samañkana ikañ  
 rūpa pinañguhku, təka kañ devatā kabeh mamūja ri gandhākṣatadīpādi, lā-  
 van kəmbhañ sañkīrṇa, təka ta sañ hyaṅ ananta humundañ aku, muliha riñ  
 20 abhavapāda,

1 mabyakta takvanakna ] *em.* ; mabhyaktakvānnakna H ; mabhyaktakvānakna *cod.* 1 ku-  
 nañ deyanmu pəṇḍəm ] *em.* H ; kunañ yenpu pāṇḍim *cod.* 3 manunva ] *em.* ; mañ-  
 nunvā *cod.* 3–4 kuruṣya ] *em.* ; kuruṣya *em.* H ; puruṣya *cod.* 5 mabhakti anaku ]  
*conj.* ; missing in H ; mabhyaktin aku *cod.* 5 deyanmūsapa tāku ] *em.* H ; deyanpupasa  
 tārku *cod.* 6 inalpnira ] *em.* ; inalpniñra *cod.* 7 pinəṇḍəmnira ] *em.* ; piniṇḍimnira  
*cod.* 7 paveh iñ ] *em.* H ; paveñ *cod.* 9 aiśānya ] *em.* ; airsānya *cod.* 10 maməṇḍəma ]  
*em.* ; maməṇḍəm *em.* H ; mamiṇḍəma *cod.* 11 pinəṇḍəmnira ] *em.* ; piniṇḍəmnira *cod.*  
 11 dinuduk ] *em.* H ; danuduk *cod.* 12 umañguñ ] *em.* H ; umguñ *cod.* 13 gəni ] *conj.* ;  
 ginəhə *em.* H ; ginəhə *cod.* 16 kālanira ] *cod.* ; kālamanira *em.* H (*sic*) 17 pakajanmasthā-  
 na ] *em.* ; pakañjanmāstāna *cod.* 18 kañ devatā ] *em.* H ; kadevatā *cod.*

18 rūpa ] rupa *post corr.* ; pa *ante corr.* 18 kañ devatā ] kadevatā *post corr.* ; kavatā *ante*  
*corr.* 18 kabeh ] *post corr.* ; kabah *ante corr.* 18 mamūja ] mamujā *post corr.* ; mujā  
*ante corr.* 18 gandhākṣatadīpādi ] gandākṣatadīpādi *post corr.* ; gandākṣatadīdi *ante corr.*  
 18–19 lāvan ] *post corr.* ; lāva *ante corr.* 19 ta sañ ] *post corr.* ; ta *ante corr.* 19 muliha ]  
*post corr.* ; liha *ante corr.*

‘My son Kuśika, I shall ask clearly: your task is to bury Me.’ Thus were His words to Kuśika. Garga was called. He was ordered to throw it into a river.<sup>148</sup> He left. Maitri was called. He was ordered to cremate. He left. Kuruṣya was called. He was ordered to put [the Lord’s corpse] on the funeral pyre. He left. I was called. The Lord gave me instructions: ‘My son, who are devoted, your task is to rub Me [against your body in the form of ashes]’.<sup>149</sup> Thus were the words of the Lord. Not long afterwards He died. Kuśika arrived. He remembered the instructions of the Lord. The dead body was taken by him and buried. But he did not give [the same task] to all of us. Since we were given instructions concerning our tasks, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Yama, Baruṇa, Kuvera, Āgneya, Nairiti, Bāyabya and Aiśānya<sup>150</sup> came, swooping down on the five of us. Then Kuśika was ordered to bury the corpse of the Lord. Once it had been buried by him, it was extracted by Garga. It was thrown into a river. It was taken by Kuruṣya; he made a funeral pyre for the corpse of the Lord. Not long afterwards, it was taken by Maitri. He cremated the corpse of the Lord. When it had already been burnt down, turned into ashes, all of them left. I was left behind alone,<sup>151</sup> to gather up the ashes of the Lord. His ashes were taken by me, because of my devotion toward the teacher. That is the reason why I rubbed the ashes on my body, and I carried the remainder in my hands.<sup>152</sup> Not long afterwards, my appearance as Pātañjala vanished: [I assumed] the same aspect which the Lord had in the past, when He was alive, three eyed and four armed. A jewel served as womb. Likewise was the form that I obtained. All the divine beings came to worship me with incense, rice-grains, lamps and so forth, as well as a multitude of flowers. The venerable Ananta arrived, inviting me to go back into the plain of non-being.

148. For the range of meanings of the base-word *hañut*, cf. the relevant footnote on p. 267.

149. The form *mabhyaktin aku*, which I have emended to *mabhakti anaku*, is problematic. Compare *mabhyaktakvānakna* occurring above (278.1), which I have emended to *mabyakta takvanakna* ‘I shall ask clearly’. As for the emendation of *deyanpupasa tārku* to *deyanmūsapa tāku* ‘your task is to rub Me [on your body in the form of ashes]’, compare 278.15, where Pātañjala rubs the ashes of the Lord on his body (*husapākən ikaṇ havu ry avaku*).

150. The last four items are the names of directions of space; whereas in other Old Javanese as also in Sanskrit sources they are associated with a particular deity, here they appear to denote the name of the deities themselves.

151. Contrast HOOYKAAS (1974:169), who takes *vəkas* in the meaning of ‘instruction’ and translates ‘I too had received the final message’.

152. Cf. OJED (1261) s.v. *pañku\** (*amañku, mañku, pinañku, kapañku*) ‘to hold or receive on the lap (also fig.: to support); to carry in both hands or arms in front of the chest’.

tā vihañ hinənah tāku ri kahyañan i kahvatanku, yeki ri *śrikaṇṭhabhuvana* naranya, i ruhur ni sañ hyaṇ śrikaṇṭha, alavas aku riñ abhavapāda, kinon tāku muṅgva rike brahmāṇḍa, ya təmahankva guru ri rat kabeh, ya matañnyan pañaji ikañ devatā kabeh nke riñ brahmāṇḍa,

- 5 hana pva / daitya si nilarudraka naranya, ya ta kumavāśākən ikeñ brahmāṇḍa, gələn tekañ devatā kabeh, de ni bhaṭārī sarasvatī maṇḍəm ri lidah- 49r  
nya, ya ta matañnyan salah ujar, tan matya de ni devatā daitya dānava, an umatyanāku, yan hanānak bhaṭāra mətu sañke śuklaśonita ya umatyana, mañkana liñnya, dadi ikañ devatā kabeh, mintakāsih ri sañ hyaṇ kāma, um-  
10 anah aku ri rāgivaśa, yatanyan atəmaheñ hyun, tā vihañ ta sañ hyaṇ kāma, p- 49v  
inanahnira tāku riñ rāga, dinələnku ta sañ hyaṇ kāma, ri katiga / ni matañku, ya matañnyan gəsəñ avak sañ hyaṇ kāma matəmahan āvu, huvus mañkana, tumut ta devatā kabeh, kapva ta ya humaṇḍəm anambhah, apan girigirin an tumon i sañ hyaṇ kāmān patəmahan āvu, ya ta matañnyan panambhah  
15 umajarakən vuvus nikañ daitya si nilarudraka, pəjaha de ni tanayanku mətu sañkeñ śuklaśonita, tan vihañ pinintakasihan kabeh, kinon ta ya sumom-aha ibunta bhaṭārī umā, ya matañnyan pakānak sañ hyaṇ[,] gaṇapati, lāvan sañ bhr̥ṅgiriṭi, katigānaku sañ kumāra, nāha/n krama ni dadiñku nūni, ma- 50r  
tañnyan avas deñkv aṇavruha ikañ karmaphalān paməkasaḁən saṇaskāra ri  
20 citta, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[19] ndya ta menaka irikiñ dadi janma kabeh sājñā bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,

1 kahvatanku] *em.*; kavvatanku *cod.* 2 śrikaṇṭha] *em.*; śrakaṇḍi *cod.* 3 təmahankva] *em.*; təmakva *cod.* 5 nilarudraka] *em.*; nəlarudrākṣā *cod.* 6 sarasvatī] *em.*; sarasvatə *cod.* 7 salah] *em.*; palah *cod.* 9 mintakāsih] *em.*; məntakāsih *cod.* 10 atəmaheñ] *em.*; atəmeñ *cod.* 12 matəmahan āvu] *em.*; matmahan·vu *cod.* 13 girigirin] *em.*; giñ-rigirin *cod.* 15 nikañ daitya] *conj.*; nikāñ tye *cod.* 15 nilarudraka] *em.*; nilarudrākṣā *cod.* 17 ibunta] *em.*; ləbunta *cod.* 17 gaṇapati] *em.*; ṣaṇapāti *cod.*

I was not unwilling to be placed in the heaven of the one who is my superior form, that is in the *world of Śrīkaṇṭha*. Above Śrīkaṇṭha, I spent a long time in the plain of non-being. Then I was ordered to take place in the Egg of Brahmā. I eventually became the teacher of the whole world. That is the reason why I taught all the gods here in the Egg of Brahmā.

There was a Daitya, Nīlarudraka<sup>153</sup> by name. He brought the Egg of Brahmā under his control, and all the gods were angry. Because of the coming of the goddess Sarasvatī upon his tongue, that is the reason why he spoke by mistake:<sup>154</sup> ‘I will not die because of a God, a Daitya or a Dānava; he who will kill me is the son of the Lord born from sperm and blood; he will kill me’. Thus he spoke. Then all the gods humbly asked to Kāma the favour of striking Me with the force of passion, so that I would fall in love. Kāma was not unwilling, so I was shot by him with the passion. Kāma was looked at by Me, with the third of My eyes.<sup>155</sup> That is why the body of Kāma was burnt by fire and reduced to ashes. After this happened, all the gods came, bowing down to the ground to pay homage, because they had been seized with fear seeing that Kāma was reduced to ashes. That is the reason why they revered [Me]. They reported the speech of the Daitya Nīlarudraka, that he will die by the hand of My son born from sperm and blood. I was not unwilling to be humbly beseeched by all [of them]. I was requested to marry your mother, the goddess Umā. For that reason, she begot Gaṇapati and Bhṛṅgiriṭi;<sup>156</sup> my third son was Kumāra. Thus is the sequence of my former incarnations, therefore my knowledge of the fruits of karma as they have left behind impressions in the mind is clear. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[19] If you please, o Lord, how could it be that there will be pleasure in becoming any kind of incarnated being? Thus spoke Kumāra.

153. I emend the two instances of *n(ə/i)larudrākṣā* in the codex into Nīlarudraka, which is the form attested in related passages of Kakavin *Smaradahana*. The readings *n(ə/i)larudrākṣā* are likely to be corruptions caused by analogy with the word *rudrākṣa* ‘Śaiva rosary’, which must have come easily to the mind of a scribe of Śaiva background. Note that a Rudra of a Great Hell bearing a similar name, Nīlasūtraka, is mentioned in *Kiraṇatantra* VP 8.8b.  
154. A similar event is depicted in the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa* (Sarga 10, p. 19), where Sarasvatī takes place on the tongue of Kumbhakarṇa, prompting him to ask Brahmā for the wrong boon of sleeping for a thousand years.

155. An alternative rendering of *ri katiga ni mataṅku* may be ‘with my three eyes’.

156. On the identity of Bhṛṅgiriṭi, cf. p. 370.



- sumahur bhaṭāra,  
nora kətah menak irikiñ janma kabeh anaku, apa pvānuñ *suka* ñaranya, nya-  
pan tahan kva liñanta, añhiñ ikañ kamokṣan juga, yeki *suka viśeṣa* ñaranya,  
apan huvus sātmaka lāvan bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa, mañkana liñ bhaṭāra,  
5 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[20] sañ apa ta sira sinañguh / *bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa* ñaranira, 50v  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
sañ lañgəñ kasūkṣmanira, sira sadāśauca, alilañ ta kəneñ mala, sadāsuka  
tar pakapūrvakañ janma pisaninū, tan kadi kami kabeh, sakveh sañ hyañ  
10 aṣṭavidyeśāna, huvus karuhun sañ hyañ brahmā viṣṇu lāvan vatək lokapāla,  
makapūrvakañ sañsāra rasikā kabeh, kunañ sañka ri gəñnikañ bhaktinira ri  
bhaṭāra, lāvan tikṣṇa ni samādhinira, nahan matañyan inalap muliha mareñ  
kahyañan, tatan mañkana bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa, sadāsuka juga sira, ndān  
makāvasāna sañ/sāra sira, mañjanma mānuṣa sira hələm, nyapan tahan kva 51r  
15 liñantānaku, tamatan hana gamananira janmānaku, apan sarvajña sira, sira  
kumavruhi rat kabeh vruh sira ri mañde sañsāra, lāvan lāra, ndātan vənañ  
milagi ya, tan vruh ri deyanya, de ni mañhilañakən lāra,  
lāvan hana ta *caduśakti* ri sira, ndya *caduśakti* ñaranya, <*vibhuśakti, jñā-*  
*naśakti, kriyāśakti, prabhuśakti,*  
20 *vibhuśakti* ñaranya, *añavaśyaḥ*,> *anāveśyaḥ, añavaśyaḥ* ñaranya, tā kəneñ  
rāga, dveṣa, moha, *añavaśyaḥ* ñaran ikā, *anāveśyaḥ* ñaranya, tar kataman, tar  
dadi pinakāvak sirətah makāvak sarvabhāva, / yeka *anāveśyaḥ* ñaranya, ika 51v  
ta kabeh, yekā *vibhuśakti* ñaranya,

4 sātmaka] *em.*; sāttāja *cod.* 6 paramakāraṇa] *em.*; pamakāraṇa *cod.* 11 sañsāra] *em.*; sasāra *cod.* 11 gəñnikañ] *em.*; gīnika *cod.* 13 sadāsuka] *em.*; sadisuka *cod.* 15 tamatan] *em.*; tamatatan *cod.* 16 ndātan] *em.*; ndāta *cod.* 20 *anāveśyaḥ*] *em.*; nañaveśyaḥ *cod.* 20 *añavaśyaḥ*] *em.*; añavesyaḥ *cod.* 21 *añavaśyaḥ*] *em.*; añavesa *cod.* 21 *anāveśyaḥ*] *em.*; anevesyaḥ *cod.* 21 tar kataman] *em.*; takartaman *cod.* 22 *anāveśyaḥ*] *em.*; anevesyaḥ *cod.*

The Lord spoke:

There is no pleasure whatsoever in all the incarnated beings, my son. ‘What is then such a thing called *pleasure*?’ If thus were possibly your words, [I would reply:] nothing but liberation alone. That is called the *supreme pleasure*, for it is oneness with the Lord Supreme Cause. Thus spoke the Lord.

Kumāra spoke:

[20] Who is the one designated as the *Lord Supreme Cause*?

The Lord spoke:

He whose subtlety is permanent. He is *sadāśauca*, pure without being effected by maculation. Constantly blissful, He does not have a former state as a human being, unlike all of us.<sup>157</sup> All the Eight Vidyeśas and above all Brahmā, Viṣṇu along with the group of the Lokapālas, they had as former existence the cycle of incarnation, all of them. And because of the greatness of their devotion toward the Lord, and of the sharpness of their absorption, for that reason they were taken back to the abode of the gods. The Lord Supreme Cause is not so: He just is eternally blissful. ‘But He ends up in the cycle of existence.’<sup>158</sup> He will incarnate in a human being in the future’. If, possibly, thus would be your words, my son, [I would reply:] it is not possible for Him to be born as an incarnated being, my son, for He is omniscient: He knows the whole universe. He knows about the cause of the cycle of existence, and the suffering. It is not possible to escape that, without knowledge about its cause, and about the way of extinguishing suffering.

And furthermore, the *four powers* are present in Him. What are the *four powers*? *Power of Ubiquity*, *power of Knowledge*, *power of Action*, *power of Lordship*.<sup>159</sup>

*Power of Ubiquity* means: *not being subjected*, *impenetrability*.<sup>160</sup> *Not being subjected* means, not being affected by passion, aversion, delusion. That is *not being subjected*. *Impenetrability* means: not penetrated, it is not possible that He is used as a body [by somebody else]; it is He himself that assumes the body of all the beings. That is *impenetrability*. All of them are the *power of Ubiquity*.

157. Note that the Lord in His form embodied as Śrīkaṇṭha/Pātañjala is speaking here.

158. Reading *makāvasāna* (from *avasāna*, OJED 168); alternatively, read *makavāsana* (from *vāsa*, ‘abode’, OJED 2215): ‘But He has an abode in the cycle of existence’.

159. I have added the sentence enunciating the four powers, constituting the *uddēśa* (cf. Intro., p. 23), which seems to have been skipped in the course of transmission.

160. In emending the list of powers detailed hereafter I have relied on the parallel lists found in related sources (cf. the following footnote).

- nihan tañ *jñānaśakti* ñaranya, *dūradarśana*, *dūraśravaṇa*, *dūrāt manana*,  
*dūrāt masarvajñatā*, *śravaṇa* ñaranya, ruməñē hadoh aparək, *dūradarśana*  
 ñaranya, tumon adoh aparək, athavā tā tutupan kunañ ikañ vastu, katonā-  
 tah denira, *dūrāt manana* ñaranya, vruh ri jñāna niñ adoh aparək, *dūrāt ma-*  
 5 *sarvajñatā* ñaranya, vruh ri kriyā kabeh, lāvan sarvavastu, nahan tañ *jñāna-*  
*śakti* ñaranya,  
*kriyāśakti* ñaranya, *manojavitvaṃ*, *vikaradharmitvaṃ*, / *kāmarūpitvaṃ*, 52r  
*manojavitvaṃ* ñaranya, adrəs ira sañkeñ manah, apan hana sira ri rat kabeh,  
 ndātan katon, *vikaradharmitvaṃ* ñaranya, tar ginave, sirātah magave, *kāma-*  
 10 *rūpitvaṃ* ñaranya, sakaharəpnira təmahananira, ya pinakarūpanira, nahan  
 ya *kriyāśakti* ñaranya,  
*prabhuśakti* ñaranya, *abhītaḥ*, *akṣayaḥ*, *ajaraḥ*, *amaraḥ*, <*apratihataga-*  
*tiḥ*,> *abhītaḥ* ñaranya, tar matakut, *akṣayaḥ* ñaranya, tar pakalvañan, *ajaraḥ*  
 ñaranya, tā kəneñ tuha, *amaraḥ* ñaranya, tar kəneñ pāti, *apratihatagatiḥ*, tan  
 15 katahənan, nahan yañ *prabhuśakti* ñaranya, ika[, ] ta / śakti bhaṭāra ika, ya 52v  
 kabeh, ya ta pinakapaniddha ri śakti bhaṭāra,

1 *dūradarśana*] *em.*; *dūrādāśana cod.* 2 *masarvajñatā*,] *em.*; *masarbvagata cod.* 2 *ru-*  
*məñē*] *em.*; *rəməñē cod.* 2 *dūradarśana*] *em.*; *dūrādāśanā cod.* 3 *ikañ vastu*] *em.*; *ikā*  
*vastu cod.* 4 *dūrāt manana*] *em.*; *dūrātmā cod.* 4–5 *masarvajñatā*] *em.*; *masarbvagata*  
*cod.* 7 *manojavitvaṃ*] *em.*; *manojñāvitvəṃ cod.* 7 *vikaradharmitvaṃ*] *em.*; *vikarā-*  
*darmmatvəṃ cod.* 7 *kāmarūpitvaṃ*] *em.*; *kāmarapitvəṃ cod.* 8 *manojavitvaṃ*] *em.*;  
*manovijñāvitvəṃ cod.* 9 *vikaradharmitvaṃ*] *em.*; *vikāradarmmatvəṃ cod.* 12 *ajaraḥ*] *em.*;  
*arājaḥ cod.* 13 *ajaraḥ*] *em.*; *arajaḥ cod.* 16 *pinakapaniddha*] *em.*; *pinakapanēdda*  
*cod.*

2 *śravaṇa* ñaranya ... hadoh aparək] Cf. TJ 4.6–7: *dūraśravaṇa* ñaranya ruməñē śabda  
 hadoh aparək /; Vṛh 14.13–14: *dūraśravaṇa* ñaranya ruməñē i śabda madoh aparək / 2–  
 3 *dūradarśana* ñaranya, tumon adoh aparək] Cf. TJ 4.6: *dūradarśana* ñaranya tumon in  
 adoh aparək /; Vṛh 14.15: *dūradarśana* ñaranya tumon in adoh aparək / 4 *dūrāt manana*  
 ñaranya, vruh ri jñāna niñ adoh aparək] Cf. TJ 4.7–8: *dūrātmaka* ñaranya vruh riñ ambhək  
 niñ adoh aparək /; Vṛh 14.14: *dūrasarvajñā* ñaranya vruh ry ambhək niñ madoh aparək /

3 *athavā tā tutupan*] *atāvā ta tutupan post corr.*; *atāvā tutupan ante corr.* 15 *katahənan*] *post corr.*; *kahənan ante corr.*

The *power of knowledge* is as follows: *seeing from afar*, *hearing from afar*, *thinking from afar*, *being omniscient from afar*.<sup>161</sup> *Hearing* means: to hear what is far and near. *Seeing from afar* means: to see what is far and near; or: the objects are not covered, but can be seen by Him. *Thinking from afar* means: to know (i.e. read) in the mind of [people who are] far and near. *Knowing from afar* means: to know all the actions, and all the objects. Thus is the *power of knowledge*.

*Power of action* means: *swiftness as of the mind-stuff*, *acting without physical organs*, *ability to assume any form at will*. *Swiftness as of the mind-stuff* means: he is more swift than the mind-stuff, for He is in the whole universe, but invisible. *Acting without physical organs* means: not being acted upon, he is the one who acts. *Ability to assume any form at will* means: whatever He desires to transform into, that will be assumed as His form. Thus is the *power of action*.

*Power of lordship* means: *fearless*, *undecaying*, *unaging*, *undying*, *going anywhere without hindrance*. *Fearless* means: not being afraid. *Undecaying* means: without decreasing. *Unaging* means: not being effected by old age. *Undying* means: not being effected by death. *Going anywhere without hindrance* means: [being] without resistance. Thus is the *power of lordship*. These are the powers of the Lord. All of them serve as means to recognize<sup>162</sup> the powers of the Lord.

161. This list of powers is apparently based on the compound *dūradarśanaśravaṇamanānavijñānāni*, attested in *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.21 and *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 5.46, and including *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.22: *sarvajñatā*. In the ‘paraphrase’ of those two sūtras found in *Niśvāsamūla* 7.20ab the compound is analyzed as *dūrāc chravaṇavijñānaṃ darśanaṃ mananaṃ tathā*, which also seems to be the way the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* analyzed it; the form *dūrāt masarvajñatā* could be the result of the addition of the Old Javanese prefix *ma-* to the Sanskrit base, in which the originally separate sequence °āt ma° was eventually taken to mean *ātma* (note that I have emended *masarbvagata* occurring here and in 284.5 into *masarvajñatā*, a homologization between °vijñāna of *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.21 and *sarvajñatā* of *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.22). Whereas śloka 11 of the *Jñānasiddhānta* and the commentary thereon separate *vijñāna* from *mahāsarvajñatā*, other Old Javanese sources agree with the *Dharma Pātañjala* in that they homologize them, presenting a great deal of different readings: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 28 line 25 and *Tattvajñāna* 4.6–7 read *dūrātmaka*, while *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 51 line 21 has *dūrasarvajñā*; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 4.12–14 reads *dūrasarvajñā*, based on the readings of mss. BD (*dūrasarvajñā*); AEF (*dūrasarvvajñā*); CG (*dūrāt masarvajñā*); *Agastyaparva* p. 48.14 has *dūrajñāna*.

162. Neither *paniddha* nor *pinakapaniddha* are attested in OJED s.v. *siddha* (1756–1757); cf. *paniddhan* ‘where perfection is obtained’. For my translation of verbal forms of the roots *siddha*/*prasiddha* as ‘ascertain, establish as true, recognize’, cf. Introduction, p. 25.

- sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [21] liñ bhaṭāra, ñūni, tar pāvaka sañ hyañ paramārtha, tathāpi vinuvus śak-  
 tinira, ndya ta rakēta ni śakti bhaṭāra paramārtha, sājñā bhaṭāra, sañ apa  
 katonan i kaiśvāryanira sājñā bhaṭāra, mañkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
 5 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 sañ yogīśvara sampun siddhātah, sira katonan i śakti bhaṭāra, apan sira hum-  
 yāpāra ikeñ rāt kabeh,  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [22] tan hana pva bhaṭāra, yan ṛṣi siddha juga katonan i śakti bhaṭāra, ma-  
 tañnyan tan hana sira, añhiñ śa/ktinira paññāra ni hananira, muñgva <ri> 53r  
 sañ pañḍita pva śakti bhaṭāra, ya matañnyan tayā sañ hyañ paramārtha yan  
 mañkana,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 taha pih tan tayā sañ hyañ paramārtha, apan tan śaktinira vinehakənira sañ  
 15 pañḍita, ndya sañka ni śakti sañ pañḍita karih, yan mañkana liñanta, śakti  
 ñkā ri havaknira juga śakti sañ siddha,  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [23] apa dumehnya kābhibyaktā vəkasan sājñā bhaṭāra,  
 hasih sira bhaṭāra ri sañ yogi kaliñanya, apa dumeḥ sirāsiha ri sañ yogi, sañka  
 20 ri pamrihnira gave samādhi, satatā riñ rahine vəñi, ya matañnyan asih / bha- 53v  
 ṭāra ri sañ yogi, hinilañakənira ta kleśa ri śarīra lāvan lāranira, kābhibyaktā  
 kalāra sañ yogi vəkasan, apan ikañ mala tumutupi śakti niñ ātmā ñūni, hi-  
 lañ marekā mala, yan kva liña sañ para, tan vənaña tañ ātmā humilañakən  
 malanya juga, apan tan avruh lakṣaṇa niñ mala, matañnyan tan vruh ikañ  
 25 ātmā ri lakṣaṇa ni mala, apan ivəñivəñ avaknya lāvan ikañ mala,

9 yan] *em.*; han *cod.* 9 ṛṣi] *em.*; rəsa *cod.* 10 añhiñ] *em.*; anhiñ *cod.* 14 paramār-  
 tha,] *em.*; parāmāta *cod.* 19 hasih sira] *em.*; hasira *cod.* 19 yogi kaliñanya] *em.*;  
 yogak-liñanya *cod.* 19 sañka] *em.*; añka *cod.* 21 kleśa ri śarīra] *em.*; kleśarira *cod.*  
 22 sañ] *em.*; sa *cod.*

Kumāra spoke:

[21] According to your words, earlier, the *Summum Bonum* does not have a body, but nevertheless its powers are spoken about. If you please, o Lord, what will then be that which is adhered to by the powers of the Lord *Summum Bonum*? With your permission, o Lord, who is the visible form of His state of sovereignty? Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

The leader among yogins who has already attained perfection: he is the visible form of the powers of the Lord, for He manages this whole world.

Kumāra spoke:

[22] Then the Lord does not exist, if only a perfect one is the visible form of the powers of the Lord. The reason why He does not exist is that only His powers are the evidence of His existence. The powers of the Lord will take place in the master. That is the reason why the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence, if it is so.

The Lord spoke:

No, the *Summum Bonum* is not non-existence, for it is not the case that His powers are given by Him to the master. 'What is then the origin of the powers of the master?' If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] the powers there in his body are only the powers of the realized one.

Kumāra spoke:

[23] If you please, o Lord, what is the reason why [the powers] are finally made manifest?

[The Lord:]

The explanation is: the Lord has affection for the yogin. For what reason would He have affection? Because of his exertion in performing absorption at all times during day and night. That is the reason of the affection of the Lord toward the yogin. The impurities in his body and his suffering will be annihilated by Him. At last, the suffering of the yogin will be made visible, for the maculation obstructs the former powers of the Soul. '[In this case] maculation has already disappeared'; if the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] it is not possible that the Soul alone causes its maculation to disappear, for it does not know the characteristics of the maculation. The reason why the Soul does not know about the characteristics of the maculation is that its body is mixed up with the maculation.

- ndyāvaka niñ ātmā yan kva liñanta, yekā sinaṅguh ātmā liñ sañ vruh ri sañ  
hyañ śāstra, ikā tañ citta ivəñivəñ lāvan mala, taha pih vənaña tañ ātmā hu-  
mila/ñakən malanya, yan kva liñanta sañ para, tanora matañ dadyana devatā 54r  
tiryak yan mañkana, mokṣa ikañ janma kabeh yan mañkana, tinonta pvekañ  
5 janmasaṅsāra, ya ta pañavruhananta an tan vənañ ikañ ātmā humilañakən  
malanya, yapvan vənañ humilañakən malanya, ya matañnyan sih bhaṭāra ri  
yogi, apan sira vənañ humilañakən malanira, kadi śakti bhaṭāra, mañkana  
śakti sañ siddha, ya matañnyan pada śaktinira lāvan bhaṭāra vəkasan, /  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
10 [24] hana ta kārī bhaṭāra, ri janmasaṅsāra,  
matañnyan mañkana, apan siddha samādhi sañ yogi, apan yekā kābhībya-  
ktan bhaṭāra ri janma, kapaṅguhanira de sañ yogi, yan vruh riñ prayoga-  
sandhi padanira, kady aṅgān i apv/y aneñ kayu, apan hamətvakən āvaknya, 54v  
ikañ apvy aneñ kayu, ulih niñ aṅsə atah prastāvanyān mətū, mañkana tekañ  
15 miñak, tan vətū ikā yan tan pinutəran, ika pva vastu maganal tathāpi tan vətū  
ikā yan tan inupāya ri sandhi, bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa kari tan kapaṅguha, ya  
tan hanā prayogasandhi, yadyapin vruha ri prayogasandhi, ya tan gavayakna,  
tan kapaṅguh atah bhaṭāra denya, °

1 sañ vruh ] *em.*; savruh *cod.* 4 pvekañ ] *em.*; pvokañ *cod.* 11–12 apan yekā kābhībyaktan ] *em.*; apan yokābhībyaktan 13 hamətvakən āvaknya ] *em.*; hamətvakən-vaknya *cod.* 15 pinutəran ] *em.*; pinukəran *cod.* 16 tan ] *em.*; kan *cod.*

4 mokṣa ] *post corr.*; mākṣa *ante corr.* 4 tinonta ] *post corr.*; tinānta *ante corr.* 7 yogi ] *post corr.*; yāgi *ante corr.* 7 malanira ] mālanira *post corr.*; mālani *ante corr.* 7 kadi śakti ] *post corr.*; kadi kti *ante corr.* 7 mañkana ] *post corr.*; ñkāna *ante corr.* 8 ya matañnyan ] *post corr.*; yatañnyan *ante corr.* 8 śaktinira ] *post corr.*; ktinira *ante corr.* 11 matañnyan ] *post corr.*; nyan *ante corr.* 11 apan siddha ] apān siddā *post corr.*; apā siddā *ante corr.* 11–12 apan yekā kābhībyaktan ] āpan yokābhi° *post corr.*; āpa yokābhi° *ante corr.* 12 kapaṅguhanira de ] *post corr.*; kapaṅguhani de *ante corr.* 12 yogi ] *post corr.*; yāgi *ante corr.* 12 yan vruh ] *post corr.*; ya vruh *ante corr.* 12–13 prayogasandhi ] prayogasandi *post corr.*; prayāgasandi *ante corr.* 13 kady aṅgān ] kady aṅgan *post corr.*; dy aṅgan *ante corr.* 14 ikañ apvy aneñ ] ikāñ āpvay āneñ *post corr.*; ikāñ āpvay ānaṃ *ante corr.* 14 tekañ ] *post corr.*; takañ *ante corr.*



‘What would be the body of the Soul?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] that which is designated as the [body of the] Soul, according to the words of those who know the treatises, that one is the mind, mixed up with maculation. ‘No! The Soul is [definitely] able to cause its maculation to disappear.’ If you would speak thus, o opponent, [I would reply:] if it is so, no one will become a god or an animal. All the beings [would be] released, if it is so. The cycle of rebirth is seen by you: that is the means from which you can infer that the Soul is not able to cause its maculation to disappear. If it is able to cause its maculation to disappear, that is because of the affection of the Lord towards the yogin, for He is able to cause his maculation to disappear. The powers of the perfect one are like the powers of the Lord. That is the reason why his powers are the same as [those] of the Lord in the end.<sup>163</sup>

Kumāra spoke:

[24] [If so,] the Lord is in the cycle of rebirths there is.

[The Lord:]

The reason why it is so is that the absorption of the yogin is perfect, for the Lord is made manifest in a human being. It will be obtained by the yogin if he knows about the *prayogasandhi*. To exemplify it: like the fire which is in the wood, for it brings forth its body. The fire which is in the wood is the consequence of the rubbing—the cause for it to come out. Likewise, the butter is not produced if it is not churned.<sup>164</sup> That is a coarse substance, and yet it is not produced if no working procedure is applied with a tool.<sup>165</sup> The Lord Supreme Cause will not be met by him, if there will not be *prayogasandhi*. Even though one may know about the *prayogasandhi*, if one does not put it into practice, one will definitely not meet the Lord.

163. Perhaps *vākasan* ‘in the end, finally’ here refers to the time of the yogin’s death.

164. The form *pinutāran* is not attested in OJED: cf. *amutār putāran* (1465) ‘a particular kind of weapon? or: any weapon that can be “*pinutār*”?; *aputāran* ‘to go around, circulate, go in a circle; to move in all directions, travel about’. SUPOMO (p.c. January 2010) has suggested me that the form *putāran* could denote a churning tool, and *pinutāran* would thus mean ‘to be [worked with] a churning-tool’; this is in fact comparable to *usvan* ‘fire drill’ and *añusvan* ‘to make fire with a fire drill’; according to OJED (462), *usu* is equal to *āsə*, occurring in the preceding line as *añāsə* ‘to rub’.

165. I translate *sandhi* as ‘tool’ following OJED (1650 s.v. *sandhi* II) ‘a part. kind of tool?’ cf. the preceding footnote.

*cittavṛttinirodhākhyāḥ, yogaḥ paramadurlabhāḥ,  
tasmin yoge samārabdhe, svayam ātmā prakāśate*

- kañ katutur i cittavṛtti, ya sinaṅguh *yoga* nāra/nya, ndān atyanta ivəhnyān 55r  
inabhyāsa, apan tan harəp jāti niñ vañ riñ gave makas, kunañ sañ vairāgya,  
5 sañ huvus varəg ri lāra ni janma, sira mahyun ri yoga, apan maharəp ri *suka*  
*viśeṣa* nāranya<, > ikañ paṅguhan i jāti sañ hyaṇ ātmā ya sinaṅguh *suka viśeṣa*  
nāranya, yan apa yan kapaṅguh jāti sañ hyaṇ ātmā, yan ginavayakən ikañ  
yogātaḥ,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
10 [25] tan kagavaya ikañ yoga kahiḍəp taḥ sañ hyaṇ ātmā de mami, tamatan  
ātmā ikā liñta, yekiñ *citta* nāranya,  
matañnyan sinaṅguh *citta*, apan ekaviṣayanya, ya matañnya/n *citta* juga ka- 55v  
hiḍəp denya, sumahur sañ pāra, ndya vṛttinya, matañnyan *citta* nāranya, ni-  
han *grahaṇa*, *viparyaya*, *vikalpa*, *nidrā*, *smṛti*,  
15 *grahaṇa* nāranya, ikañ *citta* manut *pramāṇa təlu*, *pramāṇa təlu* nāranya,  
pratyakṣa, anumāna, āgama, yekā *grahaṇa* nāranya, hayva ta vineh mañkana  
kāla ni yoga, † ... † nihan tañ *vikalpa* nāranya, ikañ jñāna mañaliña varah ni  
sūtra, *yaḥ puruṣa* kumva liñ niñ aji, nihan arthanya, tar polah sañ hyaṇ ātmā,  
mañkana liñ nikañ varah, ya tekāna liñ nāranya, liñnya nihan,

2 *tasmin yoge* ] *em.*; *tasməyoga cod.* 2 *svayam* ] *em.*; *svayaṃn cod.* 3 *kañ* ] *em.*; *ka cod.* 4 *vañ* ] *em.*; *va cod.* 6 *ikañ* ] *em.*; *ikā cod.* 7 *ginavayakən ikañ* ] *em.*; *ginayāknəkañ cod.* 9 *kumāra* ] *em.*; *kamāra cod.* 10 *kagavaya* ] *em.*; *tagavaiya cod.* 10 *sañ* ] *em.*; *sa cod.* 12 *matañnyan* ] *em.*; *matanyan cod.* 14 *grahaṇa* ] *em.*; *grahananya cod.* 14 *smṛti* ] *em.*; *smutə cod.* 16 *yekā* ] *em.*; *yokā cod.* 18 *sūtra* ] *conj.*; *stri cod.* 19 *nikañ* ] *em.*; *niñkā cod.*

1 *cittavṛttinirodhākhyāḥ* ] Cf. YS 1.2: *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ* 3 *cittavratti*, ya sinaṅguh *yoga* nāra/nya ] Cf. SāSam 415.6: *yoga* nāranya *cittavṛttinirodha*

10 *taḥ sañ hyaṇ ātmā* ] *taḥ sa hyaṇ atmā post corr.*; *taḥ atmā ante corr.*

*What is called the cessation of the functions of the mind is the yoga, extremely difficult to achieve. Having undertaken that yoga, the Soul itself [alone] shines forth.* Śloka 2

What is taught about the [cessation of the] functions of the mind, that is designated as *yoga*, and its difficulty in being practiced is extreme, for not to want it is the nature of the man toward hard work. But the one who is passionless, who is already full of the suffering of birth, he desires the yoga, for he wishes the *supreme pleasure*. The obtainment of the true nature of the Soul, that is designated as the *supreme pleasure*. In what case is the true nature of the Soul met? Only when yoga is performed.

Kumāra spoke:

[25] Whether yoga be performed or not, the Soul is still experienced by us.<sup>166</sup> That, according to your words, is by no means the Soul: that is the *mind*.

[The Lord:]

The reason why it is designated as *mind* is because of its having the same object [of perception as the Soul]. That is the reason why only the mind is experienced by him. The opponent spoke: What are its functions, from which it is called *mind*? [I reply:] As follows: *right perception, misconception, imagination, sleep, remembering*.

*Right perception* means: the mind that follows the *three valid means of knowledge*. The *three valid means of knowledge* are: direct perception, inference, reliable testimony of scripture. This is *perception*. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga. † ... †<sup>167</sup> *Imagination* is as follows: the cognition explained by the teaching of the sūtra *yaḥ puruṣa*—thus are the words of the treatise.<sup>168</sup> Its meaning is as follows: the Holy Soul does not move, thus is the content of the teaching. That is what is said. Its explanation is as follows.

166. The first person plural pron. *mami* may be here intended either as a pluralia maiestatis or as an indication of the fact that Kumāra's statement relates the view of a rival school (elsewhere the opponent also refers to his view by means of the pronoun *mami*).

167. The explanation of *misconception* has been mistakenly left out from the list.

168. The portion of text from 290.17 to 292.4 is not very clear to me. It appears that the author was referring to Sanskrit words appearing in the commentary to the *Yogasūtra* he had before his eyes, in particular to sūtra 1.9 on *vikalpa*. The word *puruṣa* 'man' appears four times in the respective section of the *Bhāṣya*, but never preceded by the relative pronoun *yaḥ*. Here *sūtra* (emended from *strī*, a mistake that occurs also below, 292.10) might refer to the commentary and not to the sūtra itself, where the word *puruṣa* does not occur.

kalina niñ tan polah, / kady aṅgān iñ hru hana ri tañkulaknya, humənaña ta 56r  
 ya, inalap pva ya sañke tañkulaknya, kinəñākən i tali ni laras, tumañcəbəka  
 ya ri kinənanya, humənaña ta ya, mañkana ta hənañ nikañ ātmā, nəhan liñ  
 ni *vikalpa* ṇaliña varah, hayva ta vineh mañkana ri kāla ni yoga, nihan tañ  
 5 *nidrā* ṇaranya, ikā jñāna kadi hilañ lvirnyān kahiḍəp, ndān təhər ya malupa  
 viparīta tan hana tuturnya, hayva ta mañkana ri kāla niñ yoga, vehən tikañ  
 jñāna duməliña ri hati, sthitya hayva cañcala, hayva mañāṇənañən, apan  
 hana *svapnajñāna* ṇa/ranya, paran inaṇənañən vaneh, ikañ jñāna matutur i 56v  
 kahiḍəpanya, yekā *svapnajñāna* ṇaranya, hayva ta vineh mañkana ri kāla ni  
 10 yoga, nihan tañ sūtra *smṛti* ṇaranya, ikañ jñāna tutur ikañ vastu bhinuktinya  
 ṇūni, hayva ta vineh mañkana ri kāla niñ yoga, nahan vṛtti nikañ citta lima  
 kvehnya,

yapvan katutupan ikañ kabeh, ya tekā sinaṅguh *samādhi* ṇaranya ya sin-  
 aṅguh *samprajñāta*, lāvan *asamprajñāta*, *samprajñātātah* ṇaranya, ikañ samā-  
 15 dhi tinahənan de ni pāt lvirnyān pāt nihan, hana *savitarkasamā/dhi*, hana ta 57r  
*vicārasamādhi*<, hana *asmitāsamādhi*, hana *ānandasamādhi*>

† ... † ikañ jñāna mañekagraha ri sūkṣma, ya *vicārasamādhi* ṇaranya, *as-*  
*mitāsamādhi* ṇaranya, i ṇkana sañ puruṣa kaivalya, vinotan viṣaya de niñ  
 citta, ndātan cetaneya, apa vruh sirān lāra, yāvat cumetane pavot niñ citta, ya  
 20 matañnyan hənañ juga humiḍəp svacetanānira ikā sañ hyaṇ ātmā, *ānanda-*  
*samādhi* ṇaranya, ikañ ātmā tikṣṇa denya humiḍəp avaknya juga, ya ta ma-  
 tañnyan kapaṅguh ikañ suka viśeṣa,

1 polah ] *em.*; pālah *cod.* 3 nikañ ] *em.*; nikā *cod.* 6 yoga ] *em.*; eyoga *cod.* 9 kahi-  
 ḍəpanya ] *em.*; kahəpyanya *cod.* 10 sūtra ] *conj.*; stri *cod.* 11 vṛtti ] *em.*; vrakti *cod.*  
 14–15 samādhi ] *em.*; samādə *cod.* 15 tinahənan ] *em.*; tənahənān *cod.* 21 tikṣṇa ]  
*em.*; titsṇa *cod.*

4 kāla ni ] *post corr.*; kā ni *ante corr.* 17–18 *asmitāsamādhi* ] *asmitasamādi post corr.*;  
*asmitasamā ante corr.*

The meaning of ‘not moving’ is: like an arrow that is in its quiver. It is quiet. It is taken from its quiver. It is shot with the string of a bow. It penetrates into that which has been hit by it. It (the arrow) becomes quiet [again]. In this way is the quietness of the Soul. Thus is the meaning of *imagination*, according to the interpretation of the teaching. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga. *Sleep* is as follows: the form of the mind when it thinks is as though vanished, and thereupon it becomes unconscious—*viparīta*, its consciousness is not there. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga. Let the mind be fully conscious in the heart. It should be fixed, do not let it be quivering, do not let it imagine, for there is the *perception in a dream*: the object being thought of is another; the mind remembers experiencing it. That is *perception in a dream*. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga. The sūtra<sup>169</sup> *remembering* means: the mind that remembers the objects that were enjoyed formerly. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga. Thus are the functions of the mind, five is their number.

When all of them are covered, that [state] is designated as *absorption*. It is regarded to be *cognitive* and *non-cognitive*. *Cognitive* means: the absorption is restrained by four. The characteristics of the four are as follows: there is the *reflective absorption*, there is the *refined reflective absorption*, there is the *egoic absorption*, there is the *blissful absorption*.<sup>170</sup>

† ... †<sup>171</sup> The mind that has the subtle as its only object of perception,<sup>172</sup> that is the *refined reflective absorption*. *Egoic absorption* means: in that [stage] the Soul is isolated; the external objects are carried by the mind, but they are not sentient. Does it know about suffering? [Only] as long as it is aware of the content of the mind. That is the reason why the Soul is only still, experiencing its own consciousness. *Blissful absorption* means: sharp is the thinking of the Soul about its body alone. That is the reason why the supreme bliss will be met.

169. Emending *strī* into *sūtra*; cf. above, fn. 167.

170. I have added the last two items of the list by way of emendation.

171. The explanation of the reflective absorption (*vitarkasamādhi*) has been mistakenly left out from the list.

172. I have refrained from emending *ekagraha* (*mañekagraha*, where *graha* = ‘to seize’ in the sense of ‘to perceive’) into *ekāgra*, as attested in the *Yogasūtra*. Apart from the fact that its meaning is almost identical to *ekāgra* ‘fixing one’s attention upon one point’, the form *ekagraha* appears several times in the codex (cf. 294.6, 294.9, 294.12, 318.11) and is also attested, as part of a similar list of characteristics of the mind, in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* and *Sevaka Dharma* (West Java): cf. Part III, p. 491.

- ikañ pāt ya sinaṅguh *samprajñāta* ṅaranya, ya/n tuṅgal yan rva, yan tēlu, 57v  
 yan pāt, *samprajñātāta* ṅaranya, yapvan tan ṅkāna ika kabeh, ya sinaṅguh  
*asamprajñātasamādhi* ṅaranya, ikā tañ *asamprajñātasamādhi* pūrvaka, ikā  
 ta *samprajñātasamādhi*,  
 5 ya tekā dharma ni citta, hana *kṣipta* ṅaranya, <hana *vikṣipta* ṅaranya,>  
 hana *vimūḍha* ṅaranya, hana *nirodha* ṅaranya, hana *ekagraha* ṅaranya,  
*kṣipta* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək abvañ uməsat mareñ kadohan, *vikṣipta* ṅa-  
 ranya, ikā ambhək ṅunikunik<,> *vimūḍha* ṅaranya, ikañ ambhək ləñələñə,  
*nirodha* ṅaranya, ika/ñ ambhək aṅhərət, *ekagraha* ṅaranya, inambhəkakna 58r  
 10 ri tuṅgal, nāhan kveh ni dharma niñ citta, ikañ *kṣipta*, *vikṣipta*, *vimūḍha*,  
 [vimudā,] tan pinakabhūmi ikā de niñ samādhi, apa pinakabhūmi niñ sam-  
 ādhi takārih, pilih *ekagraha* lāvan *nirodha*, salah tuṅgal kunañ ya mahiñan  
 iñ samādhi, athavā karva kunañ,  
 sumahur sañ para, vruh ta kami ikañ sinaṅguh *yoga* ṅaranya, apan sa-  
 15 barinyān hənañ ikañ citta, ya ta *samādhi* ṅaranya, yan kva liña sañ para, tan  
 yogya ikañ hənañ ni citta, saṅguhən *yoga*, a/pan hana sira yogiśvara *videha* 58v  
 lāvan[,] *prakṛtilīna*, *videha* ṅaranya, ikā sañ yogiśvara hanañ luput sañkeñ  
 śarīra, māri makāvak ikañ aganal, kevala ikā sūkṣmaśarīra pinakāvahnira,  
*prakṛtilīna* ṅaranya, māri makāvak ikañ śarīra sūkṣma, aparan pinakāvahnira,  
 20 nira, yekiñ pradhānatattva juga, rasikā ta sañ *videha* lāvan *prakṛtilīna*, sira  
 ta maharəp kapaṅguhakənnya kamokṣan, apan huvus tan hana ikañ citta ri  
 hiḍəpnnya, tan vruh yar pañher kāla,

2 ṅkāna ] *em.*; maṅkana *cod.* 5 *kṣipta* ] *em.*; kṣəpta *cod.* 6 *nirodha* ] *em.*; niñroda  
*cod.* 7 *kṣipta* ] *em.*; kṣəpta *cod.* 7 *vikṣipta* ] *em.*; vikṣəpta *cod.* 9 inambhəkakna ] *em.*;  
 iñambhəklaknā *cod.* 10 *kṣipta*, *vikṣipta* ] *em.*; kṣəpta, vikṣəpta *cod.* 11 samādhi ] *em.*;  
 samādə *cod.* 12 ya mahiñan ] *conj.*; yehiñaman *cod.* 14 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 17 *prakṛtilī-*  
*na* ] *em.*; apārakṣətilinā *cod.* 18 ikañ ] *em.*; əkāñ *cod.* 20 rasikā ] *em.*; asika *cod.*  
 20 lāvan *prakṛtilīna* ] *em.*; lāvan āprakratilīna *cod.* 21 ta ] *em.*; ka *cod.* 21 kapaṅguha-  
 kənnya ] *em.*; māmaṅguhəhakənnya *cod.* 22 hiḍəpnnya ] *em.*; hiḍəpnnyara *cod.*

5–6 hana *kṣipta* ... *ekagraha* ṅaranya ] Cf. SevDh (*Bal.*) f. 1.4–5: kasipta / muda / vikṣipta /  
 ekāgratā / niroda /

2 ika kabeh ] ika kabeh *post corr.*; ikabeh *ante corr.*

These four, they are designated as *cognitive*. When either one, two, three or four [are present], [that state] is *cognitive*. If none of them is there, that [state] is designated as *non-cognitive*. The non-cognitive absorption, that is preceded by the cognitive absorption.

These are the properties of the mind: there is the *scattered*, there is the *distracted*, there is the *infatuated*, there is the *restricted*, there is the *single-minded*.

*Scattered* is the mind that hurls about and flies away into the distance. *Distracted* is the perplexed mind.<sup>173</sup> *Infatuated* is the bewildered mind. *Restricted* is the restrained mind. *Single-minded* is to be minded on one [thing]. Thus is the number of the properties of the mind. The scattered, distracted, infatuated, they do not constitute stages of absorption. What do constitute the stages of absorption, then? They may be the single-minded or the restricted; just one of them is the boundary<sup>174</sup> of absorption; or both of them.

The opponent replies: 'We [in our system] also know that which is designated as *yoga*, for whenever the mind is still, that is *absorption*'. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] it is not right to designate the stillness of the mind as *yoga*, for there are the lords of yogins *disembodied* and those *dissolved into unevolved matter*. Those *disembodied* are the leaders among yogins who abide free from the body. They cease to have as body something coarse; only the subtle body serves as their embodiment. Those *dissolved into unevolved matter* have ceased to have as embodiment the subtle body. What constitutes their body? It is just the principle of unevolved matter. Those are the [yogins] disembodied and [the yogins] dissolved into unevolved matter. They desire to obtain release, for they think that the mind is no more. They do not know that they wait for Kāla.<sup>175</sup>

173. Deriving *unikunik* from *unāk\** (OJED 2121), attested only as *onāk*, 'downhearted, depressed, perplexed'.

174. Conjecturally emending *yehināman* into *ya mahīnan*; cf. OJED (631) s.v. *hīnan* (1) 'limit, fixed span of time, as far as one can go, the whole distance, the end; (2) delimitation, ordinance; (3) as far as'; *nahan hīnan in* 'so much, this is the whole (the content of)'; *hīnan in* 'the end (conclusion) of it is [...], in short, and thus, and so, and then certainly'; *mahīnan* 'to have a limit, have as limit'.

175. Here I take *kāla* to mean 'Kāla as the god of death and annihilation' (OJED 768, s.v. *kāla* 3) rather than 'time'; another possibility may be *kāla* 2 'time as inescapable fate'. The point seems to be that the entities disembodied and dissolved into unevolved matter wait in a state of unconsciousness (i.e. not being aware of the passage of time) for the end of the current cosmic cycle, after which a new one begins and they obtain release.

- ikañ karmā/śaya, lāvan ikañ cittasañaskāra, mañkana pva ya, matañnyan tan 59r  
 pramāṇa hēnañ nikañ citta juga, apan tan hēnti ikañ anekaviṣaya bhinuk-  
 tinya, tuturuñ, apa pañavruhananta, an tan hēnti, nihan si mañher ri pradhā-  
 na, ñuniveh ikañ videha, yapvan jēnək amukti kasiddhyan, dadi sira sañsāra  
 5 mañhiḍəp muvah, yāgave *cakra* ñaranya, apan tan hana *śraddhādi* ri sira, apa  
 sinaṅguh *śraddhādi* ñaranya, nihan lilañ ni citta, matañnyan paṅguh ikañ  
 citta malilañ, sañke pamrihnira mañabhyāsā yoga satatā ri rahineñ vəñi, /  
 ndya pañavruha ri lilañ ni citta, nihan ya *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, *upekṣā*, 59v  
 ya pañavruha ri lilañ ni citta,  
 10 apa sinaṅguh *maitrī* ñaranya, nihan pañavruhanya, ikañ ambhək prayo-  
 janākən davā niñ suka sañ manəmu suka, ya *maitrī* ñaranya, *karuṇā* ñara-  
 nya, ikañ ambhək mrayojanākən ikañ malara mamaṅguha suka, lāvan luputa  
 ri sañsāra, ya *karuṇā* ñaranya, *muditā* ñaranya, ikañ ambhək anumoda i sañ  
 gumave hayu, ya *muditā* ñaranya, *upekṣā* ñaranya ikañ ambhək humənəñ  
 15 irikañ maṅgave hala, nāhan / byaktanya ikañ lilañ ri sañ yogi, 60r  
 ikañ ta citta malilañ ri yogi, ya maṇdadyakən vīrya<, ikañ vīrya ya> maṇ-  
 dadyakən tutur, ikañ tutur ya maṇdadyakən prajñā, ikañ prajñā ya maṇdady-  
 akən samādhi, apa sinaṅguh *vīrya* ñaranya, gələm niñ mañabhyāsā yoga lā-  
 van sādhananya, *tutur* ñaranya, vruhnira ri kayogīsvaran, tambhā niñ sañ-  
 20 sāra, apan ya mārğa niñ maṅguhakəna bhaṭāra, enak pva tuturnira ri bha-  
 ṭāra, ya maṇdadyakəna prajñā, apa ta sinaṅguh *prajñā*, təpətnira ri kasamya-  
 jñānan tumuduhakən bhaṭāra, ya matañnyan sira tambhāra ñara/n i prajñā 60v  
 sañ yogi, matañnyan sira tambhāra ñaranya, apan abənər təkānya ri bha-  
 ṭāra, kady aṅgān iñ hru abənər lakunya de ni həlār, mañkana ta prajñā sañ  
 25 yogīsvara i bhaṭāra,

1 karmāśaya ] *em.*; darmmasaya *cod.* 3 tuturuñ ] *em.*; tuturruñ *cod.* 4 ikañ ] *em.*; ikā *cod.* 4 kasiddhyan ] *em.*; kasaddyan *cod.* 6 matañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 7 mali-  
 lañ ] *em.*; maliñlañ *cod.* 8 *maitrī* ] *em.*; metrə *cod.* 10 pañavruhanya ] *em.*; pañavru-  
 hana *cod.* 11 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 12 malara ] *em.*; malarra *cod.* 13 ya ] *em.*; hi *cod.*  
 14 gumave ] *em.*; gumañve *cod.* 14 humənəñ ] *em.*; umnañ *cod.* 16 maṇdadyakən ]  
*em.*; maṇdadikən *cod.* 16–17 maṇdadyakən ] *em.*; maṇdadyikən *cod.* 17–18 maṇdady-  
 akən ] *em.*; madadyakən *cod.* 18 niñ ] *em.*; nəñ *cod.* 19 sādhananya ] *em.*; sadānvanya  
*cod.* 20 niñ ] *em.*; ni *cod.*

21 *prajñā*, təpətnira ] *prajñā*, tṭətnira *post corr.*; *prajñā* tṭətnira *ante corr.*



The latent karmic deposits and the impressions of the mind, they are likewise. The reason why the stillness of the mind alone is not evident is that the various objects of pleasure have not ceased to be experienced, not yet. What is that from which you can infer that they have not ceased [to be experienced]? They are the ones who wait in the unevolved matter, and the ones disembodied. When they become addicted to the enjoying of supernatural powers, they become troubled, conscious again. That causes the so-called *cycle* [of existence], for *faith and so on* are not present in them. What is that which is designated as *faith and so on*? Clarity of mind. The reason why one obtains a clear mind [is] because of one's zealousness in performing yoga at all times, during day and night.

What are the marks connected with the clarity of the mind? As follows: *friendliness, compassion, joy, equanimity*. Those are the marks connected with the clarity of the mind.

What is that which is designated as *friendliness*? Its marks are as follows: the mind that aims at making the pleasure of one who has [already] obtained pleasure to last. That is *friendliness*. *Compassion* means: the mind that causes one who suffers to meet pleasure, and release from the cycle of existence. That is *compassion*. *Joy* means: the mind that is pleased with the one who does good. That is *joy*. *Equanimity* means: the mind that can tolerate one who does bad. Thus is the evidence that the pureness is within the yogin.

The pure mind in the yogin, that will generate energy; energy<sup>176</sup> will generate awareness; awareness will generate insight; insight will generate absorption. What is that which is designated as *energy*? The finding constant pleasure in performing yoga and its means of realization. *Awareness* means: his knowledge about the state of leader among yogins, the cure for the cycle of existence, for that is the path of he who meets with the Lord. His awareness directed toward the Lord is smooth; that will generate insight. What is that which is designated as *insight*? It is his steadfastness with regard to the possession of the true knowledge guiding to the Lord. That is the reason why the insight of the yogin is said to be simple. The reason why it is said to be simple is that its coming to the Lord is straight, like an arrow whose course is straight thanks to the wings.<sup>177</sup> Such is the insight of the leader among yogins with regard to the Lord.

176. Added by way of emendation.

177. The 'wings' (*hālār*) here seem to refer to the stabilizers made of feathers usually put at the ends of arrows.

apa ta lvir ni samādhi sañ yogi, an sātmaḥ ri bhaṭāra, nihan, ◉

*ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ* hiliñ ikañ citta, kavakas tekañ citta ri sañ hyañ  
 ātmā, ya tekā rumakət ri bhaṭāra, lana pvekañ samādhi mañkana kapaṅguh-  
 anya de sañ yogi, ya matañnyan kapaṅguh ikañ kasiddhyan denira,

- 5 lvirnya kasiddhyan kaniṣṭha, madhya, mottama, matañnyan / təlu ikañ 61r  
 kasiddhyan, apan təlu lakṣaṇa sañ yogi, hana *mṛdusambega*, hana *madhya-*  
*sambega*, hana *tībrasambega*, *mṛdusambega* naranya, akedik denyāñabhyāsa  
 yoga, lāvan sādhananya, amaṅguh ta sira kasiddhyan ndān malavas ya ka-  
 paṅguh, mañkana ta sañ *madhyasambega*, amaṅguh sira kasiddhyan, ndān  
 10 ri janmanira sovaḥ ikān pamaṅguh, kunañ sañ *tībrasambega*, tībra təkapa-  
 nira gave yoga, lāvan pramāṇanya, ya matañnyan paṅguh, ikañ yogasiddhi  
 i janmanira mañke,

sumahur sañ kumāra, /

- [26] apa ta kaləvih nikā sañ tībra, matañnyan maṅguh ikañ yogasiddhi ri 61v  
 15 janmanira mañke sājñā bhaṭāra,

sumahur bhaṭāra,

hana nikañ *īśvaraprañidhāna* ri sira yekā hetunirān vavañ paṅguh ikañ yo-  
 gasiddhi, *īśvaraprañidhāna* naranya, kapaṅguhan avak bhaṭāra de sañ yogi,

sumahur sañ kumāra,

- 20 [27] apa lakṣaṇanya paṅguh ikāvak bhaṭāra sājñā hyañ mami,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,

nihan lakṣaṇa ni havak bhaṭāra an kapaṅguh de sañ yogi,

1 an sātmaḥ ] *em.*; an satmāja *cod.* 2 *ātmani cetanaḥ* ] *em.*; ātmāna cetana *cod.* 4 ma-  
 tañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 7 akedik ] *em.*; akdi *cod.* 11 ya ] *em.*; ye *cod.* 17 hana ]  
*conj.*; hanəñ *cod.* 22 ni ] *em.*; n *cod.*

5 kaniṣṭha, madhya, mottama, ] kaniṣṭha, madya, mottama, *post corr.*; kaniṣṭha, mottama,  
*ante corr.*

What is the absorption of the yogin like, in order to become one with the Lord? As follows:

*The sentience abides within the Soul*—The mind is conscious. The mind is left behind by the Holy Soul. It closely adheres to the Lord. This kind of absorption will be met by the yogin endlessly. That is the reason why the state of supernatural prowess is met by him.

The categories of the state of supernatural prowess are: low, middle and superior. The reason why the condition of supernatural prowess is threefold is that the characteristics of the yogins are three: there is the one [practicing] *with gentle intensity*; there is the one [practicing] *with moderate intensity*; there is the one [practicing] *with keen intensity*. [Practicing] *with gentle intensity* means: his practice of yoga and its means is little. He meets the state of supernatural prowess, but it is met after a long time. The one [practicing] *with moderate intensity* is as follows: he meets the state of supernatural prowess, but the obtainment is in his next birth. The one [practicing] *with keen intensity* is as follows: his way of performing yoga, as well as the correct understanding of it, is intense; that is the reason why he meets the supernatural powers deriving from yoga in his present human birth.

Kumāra spoke:

[26] If you please, o Lord, what is the superiority of the one who is intense [in performing yoga], the reason why he meets the supernatural powers originating from yoga in his present human birth?

The Lord spoke:

The existence in him of *fixing one's mind upon the Lord*, that is the reason why he directly obtains the supernatural powers derived from yoga. *Fixing one's mind upon the Lord* means: the obtainment of the body of the Lord by the yogin.

Kumāra spoke:

[27] If you please, o my Godhead, what are the characteristics of the obtainment of the body of the Lord?

The Lord spoke:

The characteristics of the body of the Lord as it is obtained by the yogin are as follows:

*kleśakarmavipākāśayaḥ, aparāmṛṣṭaḥ sadaiveśvaraḥ,*

- ikañ mañetanā sañ / yogi, tan karakətan de ni *kleśakarmavipākāśaya*, mañ- 62r  
kana lakṣaṇa bhaṭāra, ar paṅguh de sañ yogi, *kleśa* ñaranya, *avidyā*, *asmitā*,  
*rāga*, *dveṣa*, *abhiniveśa*,  
5 *karma* ñaranya, gave hala, gave hayu, *vipāka* ñaranya, tāśakti phalanya  
bhinukti niñ śarīra, apan ikeñ śarīra, yeki phala niñ karma lāvan sukaduhka,  
yekā tan kahiḍəp kāla niñ yoga, ya kaliñan iñ tan karakətan de niñ kleśakar-  
mavipākāśaya, hana ta šeṣa nikañ karmaphalān huvus kabhukti, ya ta sinañ-  
guh *āśaya* ñaranya, ya tik/ā magave tutur niñ citta, yan mahala, yan mahayu, 62v  
10 ya tekā tan hana ri sañ yogi, ya kaliñan i tan karakətan de ni āśaya, lāvan sar-  
vajña ta sira, kumavruhi rāt kabeh, sarvakāryakartā sira gumavay ikañ rāt  
kabeh, tātan kaləvihan kaiśvāryanira, mañkana lakṣaṇa bhaṭāra, [sumahur  
sañ kumāra,] mañkana tañ ātmā tan karakətan de ni kleśakarmavipākāśaya,  
mvañ sarvajña ta ya lāvan sarvakāryakartā, tatan kaləvihan kaiśvāryanya,  
15 yan kva liña sañ para, karakətan maraṇ ātmā de niñ kleśakarmavipākāśaya, 63r  
a/pa bhyaktanya, hananyañ mañetanā, kadi mañetanā maraṇ ātmā, yan kva  
liña sañ para, tan hana ikañ rāt kabeh, yatan hanañ ātmā, ndān sarvajña ya,  
nyapan tahana kva liña sañ para, tan dadi ya gumaveya duka ny avaknya,  
yan sarvajña ya, kaliñanya, dudū juga ikañ cetanā niñ ātmā

1 *aparāmṛṣṭaḥ*] *em.*; *aparamraṣṭa cod.* 2 *mañetanā*] *em.*; *nānetanā cod.* 7 *karakətan*] *em.*; *kārākkaṇ cod.* 8 *nikañ*] *em.*; *niñkā cod.* 8 *karmaphalān huvus*] *em.*; *karmma-  
palānā huvus cod.* 10–11 *sarvajña*] *em.*; *śatvajña cod.* 11 *sarvakāryakartā*] *em.*; *sarv-  
vakāryyakakta cod.* 11 *ikañ*] *em.*; *əkañ cod.* 15 *karakətan*] *em.*; *kārāttān cod.* 17 *li-  
ña*] *em.*; *li cod.* 17 *sarvajña*] *em.*; *parbvajña cod.* 18 *nyapan*] *em.*; *nhapan cod.*  
19 *sarvajña*] *em.*; *parbvajña cod.*

1 *kleśa° ... sadaiveśvaraḥ*] Cf. YS 1.24: *kleśakarmavipākāśayair aparāmṛṣṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣa  
īśvaraḥ* 5–6 *karma* ñaranya ... bhinukti niñ śarīra] Cf. TJ 48.4–5: *karma* ñaraniñ gave  
halahayu / *vipāka* ñaranya / ratəñ phalanya bhinukti riñ śarīra / 8–9 hana ta šeṣa nikañ  
karmaphalān huvus kabhukti] Cf. TJ 48.5: *āśaya* ñaranya / šeṣanya bhinukti /

3–4 *asmitā, rāga, dveṣa,*] *asmita, rāga, dvesa, post corr.*; *asmita, dvesa, ante corr.*

*The Lord is eternally untouched by afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits.* śloka 3ab

The yogin's awareness [of something] is not adhered to by *afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits*. Thus are the characteristics of the Lord as they are obtained by the yogin.

*Afflictions* means: *ignorance, egoicity, attachment, aversion, strong desire*. *Karma* means: bad deeds, good deeds. *Fruitions* means: its (i.e. the karma's) fruits being experienced by the body are without power, for the body is the fruit of karma along with pleasure and pain. Those are not experienced during the time of yoga. This is the explanation of the not being adhered to by *afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits*. There are leftovers of the fruits of karma that have already been experienced: those are designated as *latent deposits*. They cause the awareness of the mind. Whether bad or good, those are not in the yogin. This is the explanation of not being adhered to by the latent deposits. Further, He is omniscient: He knows the whole universe. He is omnipotent: He creates the whole universe. His condition of sovereignty is absolutely unsurpassed. Thus are the characteristics of the Lord.

'Similarly, the Soul is not adhered to by afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits, and it is also omniscient and omnipotent; his sovereignty is absolutely unsurpassed'. If the opponent would speak thus,<sup>178</sup> [I would reply:] The Soul is adhered to by afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits. What is the evidence of this? The existence of [the Soul's] being aware [of something]. 'How could it be that the Soul is aware [of something]?' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] the whole universe does not exist, if the Soul does not exist. 'And yet, it is omniscient'. If possibly the opponent were to speak thus, [I would reply:] it cannot be that it would cause the pain of its body, if omniscient. That means that [in the state of omniscience] there is certainly not the Soul's awareness [of something] certainly does not exist.

178. It is apparent that the preceding sentence is uttered by the Lord, reporting the *pūrvapakṣin's* view, and not by Kumāra. I have therefore emended the text by expunging the sentence *sumahur sañ kumāra*, found in the codex, from the constituted text.

- [28] sājñā bhaṭāra, mevēh takari kapaṅguhan y avaknya bhaṭāra, tan paveh  
juga kapaṅguha de niñ janma yan sinəlañ lāvan pramāda, kunañ pavaraha  
bhaṭāra ri hulun, anuñ memaṇ kagaveyanya, ikañ inabhyāsanya maṅkana/, 63v  
tumuntun ajñāna sañ yogi, maṅkana liñ sañ kumāra,  
5 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
hananyañ oṃkāra, ya teki nāmadheya bhaṭāra, inajarakən[,] ri sarvaśāstra  
kabeh, sira japakneñ rahina vəñi, apa ta phala niñ oṃkāra, yan lana jinapāk-  
əñ, hilañ sarvavighna denira, lāvan kapaṅguh tāvak bhaṭāra,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
10 [29] apa lvir ni vighna sājñā bhaṭāra,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
nihañ lakṣaṇa ni vighna, ◉

*byādhiḥ pramādālasyaḥ, sandehaḥ styāna-m eva ca,  
bhrāntijñānaviratijñānaḥ, bhūmyalābhaś ca cañcalaḥ, ◉*

- 15 *byādhi* nāra/nya, kady aṅgān iñ lārādhyātmika, vighna atekā, *pramāda* nā- 64r  
ranya, tan gumavay ikañ yoga lāvan sādhananya, aləməh magave yoga,

1 sājñā ] conj.; sañelana cod. 2 sinəlañ ] em.; hinlañ cod. 3 inabhyāsanya ] conj.; in-  
abhyāsana cod. 4 liñ ] em.; li cod. 6 hananyañ ] em.; hanamnya cod. 6 teki ] em.; tekə  
cod. 6 sarvaśāstra ] em.; sarvvasāstva cod. 13 *byādhiḥ pramādālasyaḥ* ] em.; bhyadəḥ  
pramādālasya cod. 13 *sandehaḥ* ] em.; sandeha cod. 14 *bhrāntijñānaviratijñānaḥ* ]  
conj. (unmetrical); bhrāntijñānavratatajñāna cod. (unmetrical) 14 *ca cañcalaḥ* ] conj.;  
camacali cod. 15 *byādhi* ] em.; bhyadə cod. 15 atekā, ] em.; atekān cod. 15–16 nāran-  
ya, ] em.; nanya cod.

13–14 *byādhiḥ ... ca cañcalaḥ* ] Cf. YS 1.30: *vyādhistyānaśaṃsayapramādālasyaṁviratibhrān-  
tidarśanālabdhābhūmikatvānavasthītatvāni cittavikṣepās te 'ntarāyāḥ*

[Kumāra:]

[28] With your permission, o Lord, the obtainment of the body of the Lord is difficult, isn't it? [The Lord] does not allow that a human being may obtain [His body] if [he is] intermittently distracted and inattentive. O Lord, may you teach me something that is easy<sup>179</sup> to be performed, whose continuous practice is likewise [easy], leading to the knowledge of the yogin! Thus spoke Kumāra.

The Lord spoke:

There is: it is the syllable ॐ. That is the name attributed to the Lord, taught in all the scriptures. That is to be murmured during day and night. What is the fruit of the syllable ॐ, when it is murmured at all times? All the hindrances vanish because of it, and the body of the Lord is obtained.

Kumāra spoke:

[29] With your permission, o Lord, what are the hindrances like?

The Lord spoke:

The characteristics of the hindrances are as follows:

*Illness, inattentiveness, idleness, doubt, apathy, erroneous perception, intemperance in knowledge, inability to attain any stage [of absorption] and lack of control.* Śloka 5

*Illness* is like an internal pain: that is a hindrance. *Inattentiveness* means not performing yoga and its means of realization, being unwilling to perform yoga.

179. The word *meman* in both of its occurrences in our text (cf. also 304.2) apparently means 'easy'. Although this is not reported among the primary meanings of the word in OJED (675), which translates it as 'achieving nothing, without success, in vain, not worth the effort, of little value, without much force', ZOETMULDER has already hinted at this possibility, for on the occurrence of the word in *Sutasoma* 436.2 he added the remark '(without much significance > easy)'. That *meman* means 'easy, effortless' is confirmed by the occurrence of *meman-a* (irrealis) in *Jñānasiddhānta*, Old Javanese commentary ad śloka 19.3, as a translation of the Sanskrit *sulabham* ('easily, without effort') appearing in the verse (the editor SOEBADIO left the word untranslated, mistakenly deriving it from *heman*). A similar case of semantic shift is evident also in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.43, where *meman* means 'easy to answer' (cf. OJED 619, according to which *heman/eman* = *meman*). The occurrence of *meman* in a context similar to the present passage of the *Dharma Pāṭāñjala* is in *Rāmāyaṇa* Kakavin 8.126, where the edition by SANTOSO has *menak* 'easy' against all manuscripts, which in fact support the reading *ativāhya meman ari yan ya kahyuna* [Rāvaṇa speaking to Sītā:] 'It will be very easy to achieve, if that should be your wish'.

- sandeha* naranya, salah denya mañhiḍəp, kunañ tan ləpas ñ vvañ mañabh-  
yāsa yoga, ləvan dadin hana mārğa vaneh, anuñ memaṇ kagavayanya, sa-  
keñ rikañ yoga, mañkana liñ ni sandehanya, vighna atah ñaran ikā, *styāna*  
naranya, tan vənañ magave yoga, makanimittañ ləhnya mvañ luhyan am-  
5 bhəknya, *bhrāntijñāna* naranya, vulañun *aviratijñā/na*/naranya, vuruñ ma- 64v  
gaveya yoga, *bhūmyalābha* naranya, tan hanañ kaharəpnya, tan pagave yoga,  
*cañcala* naranya, iki sadākāla, tan hana kālanyān pagaveya yoga, nāhan tañ  
*vighna* naranya, ya tikā hilañ de niñ japa, huvusnyān hilañ ikañ vighna, ala-  
vanlavan jñānanta, mahyun ta kita magaveya yoga, ya d≤u≥meh sañ yogi  
10 mañabhyaśa, apan phala niñ japa ya vənañ mañabhyaśa yoga, lanā pvekā  
yoga ginavayakən, ya matañnya≤n pa≥məkaskəkən sañaskāra, ikañ sañaskāra  
niñ yoga, ya ta magave / tutur ri sañ yogi, ikañ tutur ya mamañun yoga, mu- 65r  
vah, ikañ yoga ya maməkaskəkən sañaskāra muvah ri citta sañ yogi, lvirnyān  
təka hana gəñ hana rətrət lvirnya, hana lima təkanya, ndātan vuruñ magavai  
15 duhkah ri sañ yogi,  
[30] pira ta kveh nikañ kleśa, lavan apa ta lakṣaṇanya,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
nihan lakṣaṇanya ikañ kleśa, <*avidyā*,> *asmitā*, *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *abhiniveśa*, sa-  
mañkana lvir ni kleśa,  
20 *avidyā* naranya, ikañ jñāna mabalik, liñnya, ikañ ātmā yeki tan lanā, ta/n 65v  
hānāpa ta hilañ svabhāvanya, kunañ ikañ pṛthivī āpah teja bāyu ākāśa, yekā  
lañgə, mañkana tekañ sinañguh *pavitra*, sañ viku mabrata yogiśvara, yekā  
sinañguh *pavitra*, adva ateka, apan campur rasikā,

1 *sandeha* ] *em.*; *śadenaha cod.* 1 *salah* ] *em.*; *halah cod.* 5 *bhrāntijñāna* ] *em.*; *bhran-  
tajñāna cod.* 5 *aviratijñā/na* ] *em.*; *vratājñā/na cod.* 5–6 *magaveya* ] *em.*; *magaveña  
cod.* 6 *bhūmyalābha* ] *em.*; *bhamyalabhā cod.* 7 *cañcala* ] *em.*; *cañpala cod.* 8 *tikā* ]  
*em.*; *təkā cod.* 8–9 *alavanlavan* ] *em.*; *alavañlavan cod.* 9 *mahyun* ] *em.*; *mahyan  
cod.* 11 *ginavayakən* ] *conj.*; *ghnānavayakən cod.* 16 *nikañ* ] *em.*; *nikā cod.* 16 *lavan  
apa ta lakṣaṇanya* ] *em.*; *lavan· pa ta latañanya cod.* 17 *sumahur* ] *em.*; *samahur cod.*  
18 *abhiniveśa* ] *em.*; *abhinivega cod.* 20 *mabalik, liñnya* ] *conj.*; *mabalakāh linya cod.*  
20 *yeki* ] *em.*; *yekā cod.* 20 *ta/n hānāpa* ] *conj.*; *ha/nān apa cod.*

12–13 *yoga, muvah, ikañ* ] *yoga, muvah, ikañ post corr.*; *yoga, ikañ ante corr.* 20 *ta/n  
hānāpa* ] *ha/nān apa post corr.*; *hahanān ante corr.*



*Doubt* is [when] one, because of that, thinks wrongly: ‘men are not released through constantly performing yoga, and it is possible that there is another path, the practice of which is easy compared to yoga’. Thus are his doubts. They are real hindrances. *Idleness* means not being able to perform yoga because of one’s weakness and indolence of character. *Erroneous perception* means bewildered. *Intemperance in knowledge* means failing to perform yoga. *Inability to attain any stage [of yoga]* means: there is nothing that he desired by him; he does not perform yoga. *Lack of control*<sup>180</sup> means: at all times, there is no time for performing yoga. Thus are the *hindrances*, they vanish because of the murmuring. Once the hindrances, which disturb your mind, have vanished, you do wish to perform yoga! The reason why the yogin constantly practices is that the fruit of murmuring is being able to constantly perform yoga. The yoga is performed by him at all times: that is the reason why he leaves behind the impressions. The impressions of the yoga, they cause the awareness within the yogin. The awareness, it brings into existence yoga. The yoga again causes impressions in the mind of the yogin. As they come, they are large or restrained in their manifestation. There are five kinds, they do not fail to cause pain in the yogin.

[Kumāra:]

[30] If you please, o Lord, what is the number of the afflictions, and what are their characteristics?

The Lord spoke:

As follows are the characteristics of the afflictions: *ignorance*,<sup>181</sup> *egoicity*, *attachment*, *aversion*, *obsession*. Thus are the categories of the afflictions.

*Ignorance* means: the mind is altered. It thinks: ‘The Soul, that is not lasting, it is good for nothing that its true nature has vanished. But the earth, water, fire, wind, space, those are beautiful! Thus, they are designated as *pure*. A man of religion performing the observance of a leader among yogins, he is designated as *pure*. That is just wrong, for he is impure.

180. Whereas in the codex the śloka reads *camacali*, which I have taken to be the corruption of *cañcala*, the commentary reads *cañpāla*. The latter form is likely to be the result of the substitution of *ca* by *pa*, perhaps triggered by homology with the synonym *capala* ‘fickle, inconstant, mischievous, imprudent’ (GONDA 1973:405), ‘moving to and fro, quick, restless, rash, uncontrolled’ (OJED 304), ‘moving to and fro, shaking, unsteady, wanton, inconsistent; quick, swift, momentary’ (MW); compare the Javanese/Malay *cāmpala* ‘to show temper, to wrangle’ (GONDA 1973:405).

181. Added to the text by way of emendation.

- apa nimittanyān campur, apan kasakitan manahnira de ni brata, tan pano-  
 lih ri vāhyasuka, nāhan matañnyan campur rasikā, anuñ pavitra, anakəbi  
 rahayu, yekā pavitra, nahan lvir ni kleśa[,] avidyā mabalik hiḍəpnnya, nihan  
 ta *asmitā*, ikañ / jñāna tan vruh i papalenan i citta lāvan ātmā, apan ivəñivəñ 66r  
 5 hiḍəpnnya ri karva, *rāgakleśa* ñaranya, hyun, *dveṣakleśa* ñaranya, melik, *a-*  
*bhiniveśa* ñaranya, ikañ rāga lāvan dveṣa, sarəñ mañadəg, yekā***bhiniveśa*** ña-  
 ranya, sañ paṇḍita pva, kahanan tantu abhiniveśa, byaktanya nihan, me-  
 lika sira riñ gave mamuhāra lāra lavan sañsāra, mahyun ta sira ri kaləpasən  
 maharəp ri hinak tan pabalik lāra, nahan kābhiniveśan sañ paṇḍita, ikā ta  
 10 kabeh, a/vidyā anuñ bhūmi nikā, apan yekāpupulan i mithyājñāna, 66v  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [31] apa ta tambhā ni kleśa samañkana sājñā bhaṭāra,  
 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
 ya kətah prastāva niñ brata ginavayakən de sañ yogi, apan ikañ kleśa ma-  
 15 kəndil akveh ta ya, ikañ kleśa magəñ aganal təkanya, yeki hilañ de niñ brata,  
 lāvan prāñyāmayoga, ikañ halit təkanya, yekā hilañ de niñ asamprajñā-  
 tasamādhi, ikañ asamprajñātasamādhi, ya phala niñ samprajñātasamādhi,  
 ya phala niñ *pratyāhārādi*, yekā / phala niñ brata, ikañ brata ya phala niñ 67r  
 20 vairāgya, ya phala niñ varəg lāra, ikañ lāra ñaranya, yekā tan [ya] huvus-  
 an, apan jāti niñ māvak juga hanañ lāra, ikañ māvak yekā mavaluyvaluya ri  
 svarga naraka lāvan mānuṣa, maputəran atah tan pəgat, vruh pva sañ yogīs-  
 varān mañkana jāti niñ māvak<,> ya matañnyan pamrih magave samādhi,  
 yatanyan luputa sañke cakrabhāva, mañguhakəna kaləpasən ñaranya,

1 campur] *em.*; campurā *cod.* 2 anakəbi] *em.*; akbi *cod.* 3 lvir] *em.*; lvirra *cod.*  
 3 hiḍəpnnya] *em.*; ədəpnnya *cod.* 4 citta] *em.*; ci,tta *cod.* 5–6 *abhiniveśa*] *em.*; abiṇəveśa  
*cod.* 6 sarəñ] *em.*; sarə *cod.* 6 yekā***bhiniveśa***] *em.*; yekābhiṇəveśa *cod.* 7 abhiniveśa]  
*em.*; abəṇəveśa *cod.* 7 byaktanya] *em.*; byaktānyañ *cod.* 9 kābhiniveśan] *em.*; ka-  
 bhəṇəvesan *cod.* 16 ikañ] *em.*; ika *cod.* 16–17 niñ asamprajñātasamādhi] *conj.*; ni  
 sāmprajñātasāmādi *cod.* 17 asamprajñātasamādhi] *conj.*; sāmprajñātasamādi *cod.* 19–  
 20 huvusan] *em.*; havusan *cod.* 22 mañkana] *em.*; makana *cod.* 23 yatanyan luputa]  
*em.*; yatanyan· puputa *cod.*

What is the cause of his being impure? Because his mind-stuff is suffering because of the observances; he does not notice the worldly pleasures. Thus is the reason why he is impure. A beautiful woman—she is pure!'. Thus is the manifestation of the affliction of ignorance; his reasoning is topsy-turvy. *Egoicity* is as follows: the mind does not know about the difference between the mind and the Soul, for its experience of the two is not clearly distinguished.<sup>182</sup> The *Affliction of attachment* means: desire. The *Affliction of aversion* means: to hate. *Obsession* means: attachment and aversion arise at the same time. This is *Obsession*. The master is occupied by a constant obsession. The evidence of this is as follows: he will hate the actions bringing about suffering and tribulation. He desires release, longing for the pleasure that does not turn into suffering. Thus is the state of obsession of the master.<sup>183</sup> Ignorance is the basis of all of them, for they are brought together with the wrong knowledge.

Kumāra spoke:

[31] If you please, o Lords, what is the cure for such kind of afflictions?

The Lord spoke:

They are the occasion for the observances to be performed by the yogin, for the afflictions are thick and numerous. The afflictions that are large and coarse in their arising, those vanish by way of the observances and by the yoga of breath-control. Those [afflictions] which are subtle in their arising, they vanish by way of the non-cognitive absorption. The non-cognitive absorption, that is the fruit of cognitive absorption, which is the fruit of *withdrawal and so on*, which are the fruit of observances. The observances, they are the fruits of dispassion, which is the fruit of being fed up with suffering. The so-called suffering, that does not have an end, for the nature of having a body is only the fact that there is suffering. That which has a body, it will come back endlessly in heaven, hell or as a human being, incessantly revolving. The leader among yogins does know that the nature of having a body is thus. That is the reason why he strives to perform absorption, so that he will escape from the cycle of existence and obtain what is called release.

182. Or, alternatively, emend *apan ivāṇivāṇ hīḍapnya ri karva* into *apan ivāṇivāṇ ri hīḍapnya karva*: 'for it thinks that the two are not distinguished'.

183. My translation of *abhiniveśa* as 'obsession' instead of 'will-to-live' or 'tenacity of mundane existence', as it is usually rendered in the translations of the *Yogasūtra*, is justified by this very sentence, which appears to convey the idea that the master (*pañḍita*), insofar as he strive after release, maintains a lower position than a lord among yogins (*yogīśvara*) or a perfect one (*siddha*), who do not have any desire whatsoever; cf. Part III, pp. 506–507.

- luput sañke bhāvacakra, umaṅguhakən pāvak bhaṭāra, nāhan matañnyan  
 tan paləhpələ/h, apan tənītəñin riñ lāra jāti sañ yogi, ikañ vañ apuṅguñ bə- 67v  
 tah riñ lāra, padanya, kady aṅgān iñ vvañ kəna riñ savañ ni garagatī, tan  
 alāra yan avak niñ vvañ kunañ yan matañ vañ kənā denya, alāra ikā, sañ  
 5 yogi kalaran mata, apan tan enak panon iñ vañ yan kənā riñ savañ ni gara-  
 gatī, matakut pva riñ lāra jāti sañ yogi, ya matañnyan pagaveñ samādhi, saha  
 sādhananya, yekā pinrihnira, lāvan brata, apan ikañ brata yekā magəsəñi  
 mala, nyañ vvañ mañəsə apuy riñ kayu, tan polih ikā apuy/, yan mələs ikañ 68r  
 kayu, yapvan akiñ ikañ inəsə, irikā mətə tañ apuy, mañkana tekañ śarīra  
 10 lāvan indriya, nūniveh ikañ citta, brata ya pamahakən iriya, inəsə ta ya ni  
 prāṇāyāmādi, ya matañnyan hiḍəp avak bhaṭāra, yāvat kapaṅguh pāvak bha-  
 ṭāra, tāvat sakāma yogi,  
 sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [32] ndya ta lakṣaṇa nikañ yogasādhana lāvan brata sājñā bhaṭāra,  
 15 nihan lakṣaṇa nikañ yogasādhana, anuñ pañavruhantānaku, hana *aṣṭāñ-*  
*ga* ṇaranya, *yama*<,> / *niyama*, *āsana*<,> *pratyāhāra*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā*, 68v  
*dhyāna*, *samādhi*, samañkana kveh niñ yogasādhana,  
*yama* ṇaranya, *ahiṃsā*, *satya*, *astainya*, *brahmacāri*, *aparigraha*,  
*ahiṃsā* ṇaranya, tan pamatimati, sahana ni prāṇi tan pātyana ikā kabeh,  
 20 lāvan patyanta takut ni māvak pati, matañnyan mähābrata ṇaran sañ viku  
 tan pamātimāti,

1 umaṅguhakən] *em.*; umguhakən *cod.* 3 kəna] *em.*; kñañ *cod.* 5 kalaran] *em.*; kāharan *cod.* 7 ikañ] *em.*; ikā *cod.* 7 magəsəñi] *em.*; magsəñə *cod.* 9 mətə] *em.*; mgu *cod.* 11 prāṇāyāmādi] *conj.*; prāṇayāsamādiñ *cod.* 11 yāvat] *em.*; tavat *cod.* 14 yogasādhana] *em.*; yogasadinā *cod.* 15 yogasādhana] *em.*; yogasamādinā *cod.* 19 ahiṃsā] *em.*; ahəṃsu *cod.* 19 prāṇi] *em.*; prāṇə *cod.*

19 *ahiṃsā* ṇaranya, tan pamatimati] Cf. Vṛh 60-61.1: *ahiṃsā* ṇaranya tan pamātimāti /

3 savañ] *post corr.*; sañvañ *ante corr.* 16-17 *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*] *dārana*, *dyanā*, *samādi* *post corr.*; *dārana*, *samādi* *ante corr.*

To escape from the cycle of existence and obtain possession of the body of the Lord: such is the reason why [you] should not be inattentive, for the nature of the yogin is to pay close attention to suffering. The stupid man is tolerant with suffering. For example: like the man who is touched by the web of a spider; it is not painful if the body of the man [is touched], but if the eyes of the man are touched by it, it is painful. The yogin suffers from pain in the eyes, for the eyes of the man that have been touched by the web of a spider are not comfortable.<sup>184</sup> To be afraid of suffering is the nature of the yogin. That is the reason why he performs the absorption, along with its means of realization. Those are strived after by him, and also the observances, for the observances are what burns maculation. Look at the man who rubs [in order to produce] the fire with wood: the fire is unsuccessful if the wood is wet. If what is rubbed is dry, the fire will come out. Likewise are the body and the senses. And how much more the mind: observances are the means that cause it to be dry, it is rubbed by the [yoga of] breath retention and so on. That is the reason of experiencing the body of the Lord. Inasmuch as the possession of the body of the Lord is obtained, the yogin's desires become fulfilled.

Kumāra spoke:

[32] If you please, o Lord, what are the characteristics of the means of realization of yoga, and of the observances?

[The Lord:]

The characteristics of the means of realization of yoga are as follows. You should know them, my son. There are the *eight ancillaries*: *general commandments, particular commandments, postures, withdrawal, breath-control, fixation, visualization, absorption*. Thus is the number of the means of realization of yoga.

*General commandments* are: *non-violence, truth, non-theft, continence, renunciation*.

*Non-violence* means: not killing. The whole of the living creatures, all of them, they should not be killed. Further, you should kill the fear of having a body and dying. [That is] the reason that the appellation of a man of religion who does not kill is [one who carries out the] *great observance* (*māhābrata*).

184. The clause 'tolerant with suffering' renders *batah riñ lāra*, where *batah* = 'tenacious, stubborn, persistent, tireless; possessing staying-power, endurance, tolerance, stamina' (OJED 238).

- hana ta vuvus niñ vaneh, tan apa rakvañ vañ mātīmāti sattva, yan carva ri  
 sañ hyañ, athavā bhojana kunañ, mañkana pakənanya, tātān mañkana sañ  
 yogi, nihan vaneh tan pa/matyana sattva yan parvañi kāla, tatān mañkana  
 sañ yogi, pisaninū sirān pamatyana sarvasattva, ya ta sinañguh *ahiñsā* nara- 69r  
 nya, *satya* nāranya, tan madva ri bratanya, tan madva movus, tan pañahala  
 nūniveh maliña mas, ya sinañguh *astainya* nāranya, *brahmacāri* nāranya,  
 yatanyan tan kalalarana samādhi, ya don iñ tan parabi, yekā *brahmacāri* nā-  
 ranya, *aparigraha* nāranya, tar pañaku sarvadravya, nāhan lakṣaṇa niñ ya-  
 mabrata,
- 10 <*niyama* nāranya,> *śauca*, *santoṣa*, *tapa*, *svādhyāya*, *īśva/raprañidhāna*, 69v  
*śauca* nāranya, maradināvak, lāvan ambhək hayva ta kavaśa de niñ rāga  
 dveṣa moha, maradina movus, hayva muvusakən mañlareri vaneh, mara-  
 dina molah, hayva makolah durbhyāsana, maradin amañan, hayva pinañ-  
 an ikañ senuhutakən pañanən sañ viku, lāvan inuməñirājñāna, yekā sinañ-  
 guh *śauca* nāranya, <*santoṣa* nāranya,> solihanira nasi atah santoṣaknanira,  
 athavā solihnira tinanəm i patapanira, ya santoṣaknanira, <*tapa* nāranya,>  
 ikañ indriya kabeh prihən sakitana, ri brata lāvan sa/mādhi, yatanyan tan 70r  
 padadyakən arāga yan panon viṣaya kaliñanya, tan garjita yan pañrəñē kiduñ  
 menak, athavā pañgəla kunañ, ilatnya muhārāmet pinañan, yan pamañan  
 20 rasa menak, nahan lalalaca niñ *tapa* nāranya, *svādhyāya* nāranya agələm  
 añunyakən mantra, astāva ri bhaṭāra,

2 athavā ] *em.*; atātā *cod.* 4 *ahiñsā* ] *em.*; ahiñsu *cod.* 10 *tapa*, ] *em.*; tamaḥ *cod.*  
 11 hayva ta ] *em.*; hayvā kā *cod.* 13 hayva ] *em.*; hayvo *cod.* 13 maradin amañan ]  
*em.*; maradinanān *cod.* 13 hayva ] *em.*; hayvo *cod.* 15 solihanira ] *em.*; soliranira *cod.*  
 16 tinanəm i ] *em.*; nanəm ə *cod.* 17 prihən ] *em.*; prahən *cod.* 17 sakitana ] *em.*;  
 saketana *cod.* 18 panon ] *em.*; pañnon *cod.* 19 athavā pañgəla ] *conj.*; atha pañla *cod.*  
 21 mantra ] *em.*; matra *cod.*

19 athavā pañgəla ] atha pañla *post corr.*; atha paññəśala *ante corr.*. The reading is prob-  
 lematic, for the *śu* is written below the cluster *ñə* as if in ligature, thus resulting in an unper-  
 mitted sequence. I have considered the whole cluster as an attempt to correct a mistakenly  
 written *ñś*; if my conjecture is correct, the right sequence should have been *ñg* (*ś* and *g* are  
 easily confused in this script)

There are the words of others: ‘It does not matter that the men kill animals, if they are to be sacrificed to the gods; or simply for food: such is their use’. The yogin should not [act] like that. [The words of] others are as follows: ‘Animals should not be killed during the period of a change of the moon’. The yogin should not [act] like that: he will never kill any kind of animals. That is designated as *non-violence*. *Truth* means: he is not lying about his observances, he does not speak falsely. He does not take away [anything], let alone eventually steal gold. That is designated as *non-theft*. *Continence* means: in order that absorption will not be disturbed, that is the aim of not having a mate. That is *continence*. *Renunciation* means: he does not claim for himself material goods of any kind. Thus are the characteristics of the general commandments.

*Particular commandments are:*<sup>185</sup> *purity, contentedness, penance, self-recitation, fixing one’s mind upon the Lord.*

*Purity* means: one should have a pure body and heart—do not let it be dominated by attachment, aversion, delusion. One should speak with purity: do not speak words causing pain to others. One should cultivate purity: do not be engaged in bad behaviour. One should eat purely: do not eat what is forbidden to be eaten by the religious men, and what is to be drunk by those who have knowledge. That is *purity*. *Contentedness* means:<sup>186</sup> whatever shall be obtained by him through begging, it will make him satisfied. Or, what is obtained through that which is planted in his hermitage, that will make him satisfied. *Penance* means:<sup>187</sup> he should strive to inflict pain upon all the senses with observances and absorption, so that he will not become full of passion when he sees the objects of the senses. That is to say: he is not elated if he listens to a pleasant song, or to an orchestra,<sup>188</sup> [or if] his tongue causes him to strive after food, if the food tastes good. Thus is the beginning of the stage of *penance*. *Self-recitation* means, never ceasing to recite mantras, and chant hymns to the Lord.

185. Added to the text by way of emendation.

186. Added to the text by way of emendation.

187. Added to the text by way of emendation.

188. I read *paṅgāla*, attested in OJED (1258) as *paṅgāl\**, *papaṅgālan* ‘(musical term) prob.: leading? Melody played on the *gamālan*, esp. when *analukat*’. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33, which characterizes *manas* as experiencing pleasures such as food and drink, women, and listening to percussion musical instruments (*tabāhtabāhan*), *kiduṅ* and *gupit-gupitan* poems.

*īśvarapraṇidhāna* naranya, umaṇənaṇən kasūkṣman bhaṭāra ri rat kabeh,  
 nūniveh ry avaknira asthityana bhaṭāra, yatanyan siddhi samādhi, yekā *īś-*  
*varapraṇidhāna* naranya,

sumahur sañ kumāra,

- 5 [33] apa don ikañ / niyamabratān hinanākən, apan huvus ikañ yamabrata 70v  
 mapagəh pinakabrata sañ yogi,

sumahur bhaṭāra

- mekasthekañ yamabrata, kunañ yatanyan ta dadya de sañ yogi, ya ta ma-  
 tañnyan gavayakna, ikañ niyamabrata, nihan phala nikā tinonta, an kadadi  
 10 ikañ ahiṇsā de sañ yogi, tātan hana tukar phalanya, vvañ adyan tan paprañ[,] 71r  
 vvañ vanva i tan patanḍiṇan, lāvan asih tekañ sarvasattva kabeh ri sira, nā-  
 han phala nikañ ahiṇsābrata, nihan ta phala niñ satya, *jātismara* vruh ri  
 ja/nmanira nūni, nāhan phala ni satya yan ginaveyakən, nihan phala niñ  
 15 astainya, tēka juga ikañ dravya ri sira, tan ulih niñ aṇela, nāhan phala ni  
 tan pañahalāhala, nihan ta phala niñ tan parabi, utsāha ri yoga sira, apan  
 tan kalalaran samādhinira, nāhan ta phala niñ brahmacāri yan ginaveyakən,  
 nihan ta phala ni jñāna tan pañaku, siddha asiñ kāryanya,

- nihan ta phala niñ niyamabrata ginave, phala ni śauca, tan sinasar mārğa  
 de samānyajanma, mvañ kahiḍəp ta sañ hyaṇ viśeṣa denya, nahan phala ni  
 20 śauca yan gi/aveyakən, nihan ta phala niñ santoṣa, agəñ sukanya tan pavor 71v  
 lāra, nihan ta phala niñ tapa, ilaṇ ikañ rāga dveṣa moha, mvañ ikañ kleśa  
 kabeh, nāhan phala niñ tapa ginaveyakən, nihan ta phala niñ svādhyāya,  
 papaṅguh sira lāvan sañ hyaṇ, sañ inastāvanira pratidina, nāhan phala niñ  
 svādhyāya yan inabhyāsa,

5 apa] *em.*; apan *cod.* 5 ikañ] *em.*; iñkā *cod.* 9 kadadi] *em.*; tadadi *cod.* 10 ahiṇsā] *em.*; ahəñṣu *cod.* 10 adyan] *em.*; adyin *cod.* 10 paprañ] *em.*; papra *cod.* 12 ahiṇsā-  
 brata] *em.*; ahəñsubrata *cod.* 12 ta phala] *em.*; ta pa *cod.* 16 kalalaran] *em.*; ta-  
 lalārān *cod.* 17 asiñ] *em.*; asi *cod.* 18 niyamabrata ginave] *em.*; yāmabrata ginive  
*cod.* 18 sinasar mārğa] *em.*; sinasargga *cod.* 19 nahan] *conj.*; kahana *cod.* 20 agəñ] *em.*; agiñ *cod.* 24 yan] *em.*; yav *cod.*



*Fixing one's mind upon the Lord* means: to visualize the invisible essence of the Lord in the whole universe, in the first place [to imagine] that the Lord resides in his (i.e. the yogin's) body,<sup>189</sup> so that absorption is perfect. That is *fixing one's mind upon the Lord*.

Kumāra spoke:

[33] What is the purpose of performing the observance of the particular commandments? For the observance of the general commandments has been already practiced by the yogin with firmness.

The Lord spoke:

The observance of the general commandments is standing in one place [with the observance of the particular commandments]. Further, in order that [the fruits of the general commandments] will be brought about by the yogin, that is the reason why the particular commandments should be performed. Their fruits are seen by you, as follows: as non-violence is effected by the yogin, its fruit is that there is not any quarrel. A nobleman does not fight village-dwellers who are no match for him, and all the living beings love him. Thus are the fruits of the observance of non-violence. The fruit of truth is as follows: *jātismara*—knowledge of previous births. Thus is the fruit of truth, when it is performed. The fruit of non-theft is as follows: the possessions just come to him, without being the result of [his] efforts. Thus is the fruit of not stealing. The fruit of not having a mate is as follows: he exerts himself towards yoga, for his absorption is not spoiled. Thus is the fruit of continence when it is performed. The fruit of a mind not claiming for oneself is as follows: whatever is carried out by him is successful.

The fruits of the observance of the particular commandments being performed are as follows. The fruit of purity is: he is not led astray from the proper path by people of common birth, and the holy *viśeṣa* is experienced in this way. Thus is the fruit of purity, when it is performed. The fruit of contentedness is as follows: his pleasure is great, not mingled with pain. The fruit of penance is as follows: attachment, aversion and delusion are extinguished, and also all the defilements. Thus is the fruit of penance being performed. The fruit of self-recitation is as follows: he meets with God, the one who is praised by him with hymns everyday. Thus is the fruit of self-recitation, when constantly practiced.

189. It seems to me that in the present context *asthityana* means something like 'to cause to reside, to fix'; cf. OJED (1823), which tentatively glosses the single occurrence of *sthityana* in *Harivijaya* 7.5 as 'to stabilize? take a firm stand on?'.

nihan phala niñ īśvarapraṇidhāna, siddhi yogi sira, nāhan ta phala niñ niyamabrata yan inabhyāsa,

- luməkasa pvānabhyāsa yoga mvañ sādhananya, ameta ta sira deśa rahayu uṅgvananira, anuñ salah ni vurahan/, tātān avalana ri durjana, pavitra 72r  
 5 ta maradin, yatanyan siddhya jñānanira, yan guhā yan gunuñ, yan alas yan sapiṅgir i lvah, yan ri nūsa kunañ, asiñ kahyunira huṅgvananira ikā kabeh, yapvan huvusirān moṅgvan, madyusa ta sira, maśocā ta sira rumuhun mācamanā sira, mantranira, AGHORA, TATPURUṢA kunañ huvus maṅkana, tumama ta sira ri pagavayanira yoga, yan pañheran, yan guhā, yan umah kunnāñ, mavasuha suku, muṅgva kulvan bhaṭāra athavā kidul bhaṭāra ta kunañ, manambhaha ta sira ru/muhun, liṇanira BHĀVA SIDDHA sañ yogi, maṅkana 72v  
 10 liṇanira yar panambhah ri bhaṭāra, huvus maṅkana, maluṅguha ta sira, riñ uṅgvan uṅgvananira, yan pətañ, yan sandhi, yatanyan tan agaliṇa paluṅguh-nira, makaphala sovenirāluṅguh, yan pagave yoga, nihan lakṣaṇanira āsana, hana *padmāsana*, <hana *bhadrāsana*,> hana *svastikāsana*, nihan lakṣaṇa niñ *padmāsana*, ikā talapakan kalih tinumpaṇakən ri pupu kalih, ya *padmāsana* ṇaranya, ikañ talapakan kalih, umuṅgva i sor iñ pupu kalih, ya *bhadrāsana* ṇaranya, *svastikāsana* ṇaranya, ikā tala/pakan kalih, umuṅgva ri səla pupu 73r  
 15 kalih, ikā ləpaləpa niñ taṇan kiva tumumpaṇ ri kisapvan, tumumpaṇ tekañ atəṇən lumahātah, ikañ valakañ mabənəra paṇadəgnya, tuməṅgə tekā gulū, hayva tuməṇa, hayva tumuṅkul, mabənəra juga,

1–2 niñ niyamabrata ] *em.*; niñ yāmabrata *cod.* 4 uṅgvananira ] *em.*; ubhvānanira *cod.* 4 anuñ ] *em.*; anu *cod.* 5 siddhya ] *em.*; sidya *cod.* 7 moṅgvan ] *em.*; moṇvan *cod.* 7–8 mācamanā sira, ] *conj.*; macaman-rā *cod.* 9 pañheran ] *em.*; padeheran *cod.* 9 guhā ] *em.*; gutā *cod.* 13 uṅgvan ] *conj.*; gvān *cod.* 13 pətañ ] *em.*; pṭa *cod.* 14 lakṣaṇanira āsana ] *em.*; lakṣamaṇanira sakṣaṇā *cod.* 16 tinumpaṇakən ] *em.*; numpaṇakən *cod.* 16 kalih ] *em.*; laliḥ *cod.* 17 umuṅgva ] *em.*; umuṅgū *cod.* 19 kisapvan ] *em.*; kəsapvan *cod.* 20 tuməṅgə ] *em.*; təməṅgə *cod.*

1 īśvarapraṇidhāna ] *isvara,praṇidānā cod.* 19–20 tumumpaṇ tekañ atəṇən ] tumumpaṇ tekañ atəṇən *post corr.*; tumumpaṇ atəṇən *ante corr.*

The fruit of fixing one's mind upon the Lord is as follows: he is a perfect yogin. Such are the fruits of the observance of the particular commandments, when constantly practiced.

Desiring to start constantly practicing yoga and its means of realization, he (the yogin) should look for a good place. His place should be somewhere far from confusion. It should not be a place for evil people, pure and neat. In order that his mind will become perfect, his abode should be any of these places: either a cave, or a mountain, or a forest, or close to a river-bank, or on an island, whatever is his desire. When he has already settled down, he should take a bath, first purifying himself and then rinsing his mouth. His mantra is: AGHORA, OR: TATPURUṢA. Having finished [to mutter] thus, he enters the place to perform yoga, either at a penance-grove,<sup>190</sup> a cave or a house. He should wash the feet and take position to the west or to the south of the Lord.<sup>191</sup> At first he shall worship. The words of the yogin will be: BHĀVA SIDDHA. In this way should be his words when worshipping the Lord. Having finished thus, he should take a seat. He should position himself in what will be his place either when it is dark or at twilight. In order that his posture will not be wobbly and result in a long time of sitting when performing yoga, the characteristics of his postures are as follows: there is the *padmāsana*, there is the *bhadrāsana*,<sup>192</sup> there is the *svastikāsana*.

The characteristics of the *padmāsana* are as follows: both of the foot-soles should be laid on the two thighs. That is the *padmāsana*. Both of the foot-soles will take place below the two thighs: that is the *bhadrāsana*. The *svastikāsana* means: both of the foot-soles will take place in the space between the two thighs; the palm of the left hand lies on the lap, the right should lie facing upwards. The back should stand straight. The neck stands immovable. Do not let it look up, do not let it bend down. It should be just straight.

190. Having emended the nonsensical *padeheran* into *pañheran*, glossed in OJED (620) as 'waiting-place, dwelling-place', which is easy to justify on account of the similarity between *e*, *d* and *ñ*. I believe that this expression does not simply refer to an usual dwelling-place (note that a house is mentioned just mentioned below) but is connected to the base *er* (also attested as *air haji*, *her haji*), 'a category of persons in the service of the king (*vatēk i jro*), prob. of a religious character' (OJED 468). In *Nāgarakṛtāgama* 75.2 (OJED 1545) it occurs besides the word *karāṣyan*, a penance-grove for ascetics of the Ṛṣi group.

191. For a discussion of the import of the term *bhaṭāra* in this context, cf. Part III, p. 518.

192. Added to the text by way of emendation.

ikañ mata dälän tuñtuñ niñ iruñ, athavā mērama juga kunañ, ikañ ilat ya humələtana ikañ huntu i sor i ruhur moga lambe midəma, nāhan lakṣaṇanira āsana,

- huvusnyan menak paluñguhnira, gavayanira tekañ pratyāhārayoga, ikañ  
 5 indriya vatakən sañkeñ viṣayanya, mata hayva vineh / manona, taliña hayva 73v  
 vineh marəñā, iruñ hayva vineh mañambuña, kulit hayva vineh mahidəpa  
 panas tis, tutuk hayva vineh mañsabda, tañan hayva vineh maṅgaməla<,>  
 suku hayva vineh lumakva, nāhan de niñ amatək indriya, manah hayva vineh  
 mamikalpa, buddhi hayva vineh mañāñənañən, ahañkāra hayva vineh ñakva,  
 10 nāhan de niñ amatək tryantahkaraṇa, huvusnyān asimpən ikā kabeh, ya ta  
 matañnyan hənañ ikañ citta humidən, tan kva tan kva, ekatva citta[,] sañ  
 hyaṇ ātmā ya ta sinañguh *yoga* ñaranya, hu/vusnyān ekatva, gavayənira ta 74r  
 prāṇāyāmayoga, nihan lakṣaṇa nikañ prāṇāyāmayoga, recaka, kumbhaka,  
 pūraka, vinətvaknekañ bāyu sañke rīruñ, sanehsaneñ hayva drəs sahiñan iñ  
 15 mañisəp bāyu riñ iruñ, kuñci ta muvah, ekatva jñānanira, salavas ni makuñci,  
 sabhāgyān masove ya, apan anya svajātinira yatan inabhyāsa, ◉

- ikañ kuñci uttama, tan pamətvakən bāyu humənañ juga tan pāmbhək-  
 an, apan cetanā sañ hyaṇ ātmā, yekā hinidəpnira, tan pāntara, ya ta matañ-  
 nyan hilañ ikā bāyu ri sa/ñkanya, apan tan cinitta cetanā de sañ hyaṇ ātmā, 74v  
 20 padanya, kady aṅgān i vve tumitisi vatu tinunvan mapaṇḍe sədəñ mabañ  
 hilañ juga inisəp ni vatu mapanas, mañkana tañ bāyu hilañ de ni citta niñ  
 ātmā, ya matañnyan viṣeṣa ikā ekatvakuñci,

1 ikañ] *em.*; ikā *cod.* 1 dälän] *em.*; dälə *cod.* 1 tuñtuñ] *em.*; tuñtu *cod.* 2 moga] *conj.*; māgo *cod.* 3 āsana] *em.*; sakṣaṇā *cod.* 5 indriya] *em.*; indrayā *cod.* 6 marəñā] *em.*; marəñhə *cod.* 7 tutuk] *em.*; kututuk *cod.* 9 mañāñənañən] *em.*; mañāñənāñənā *cod.* 10 tryantahkaraṇa] *em.*; tyantahkaraṇa *cod.* 10 asimpən ikā] *em.*; asəmpən əkā *cod.* 13 nihan] *em.*; tlas *cod.* 13 nikañ] *em.*; niñkā *cod.* 13 kumbhaka] *em.*; kurmbhaka *cod.* 14 vinətvaknekañ] *em.*; vinitvāknəka *cod.* 15 mañisəp] *em.*; mañəsəp *cod.* 15 salavas] *conj.*; sakavañ *cod.* 16 svajātinira] *conj.*; svajātinī *cod.* 16 inabhyāsa] *em.*; inabhya *cod.* 17 humənañ] *em.*; huməna *cod.* 18 hyaṇ] *em.*; hya *cod.* 19 cinita] *conj.*; citta *cod.* 19 hyaṇ] *em.*; hya *cod.* 21 mañkana] *em.*; mañka *cod.*

17–18 ikañ kuñci uttama ... pāmbhəkan] cf. NR 43.1: muvah ana ta kuñci len sañkerika, umənañ tan pāmbəkan juga; TJ 44.22: muvah hana ta kuñci lyan sakerika / tan pamətvakən vāyu

The eyes look attentively at the tip of the nose, or they should be just closed. The tongue should separate the teeth below and above; hence, the lips will be half closed. Thus are the characteristics of the postures.

His posture being already comfortable, the yoga of withdrawal should be his task. The faculties should be drawn away from their domains. Do not let the eyes see. The ears, do not let them hear. The nose, do not let it smell. The skin, do not let it perceive hot and cool. The mouth, do not let it speak. The hands, do not let them touch. The legs, do not let them walk. Thus is the way to drawing out the faculties. The mind-stuff, do not let it deliberate. The intellect, do not let it reflect. The self-awareness, do not let it relate [things] to one's I. Thus is the way of drawing out the threefold internal organ. When he has already put all of them away, that is the reason why the mind is quiet, standing still, not like this and not like that.<sup>193</sup> The oneness of mind and Soul, that is designated as *yoga*. When unity has been accomplished, the yoga of breath-control becomes his task. The characteristics of the yoga of breath-control are as follows: *recaka*, *kumbhaka*, *pūraka*. The breath should be brought forth from the nose, gently, do not let the whole extent of inhaling the breath in the nose be quick. Then there is the key [that stops the breath].<sup>194</sup> His mind is [in a state of] oneness. As long as [the breath] is locked, it is fortunate that it lasts for a long time, for its nature if [it is] not mastered is different.<sup>195</sup>

The supreme key [that stops the breath] does not expel the breath. It is only quiet, without breathing. For the sentience of the Soul, that is what should be reflected upon by him, without interruptions. The reason why the breath disappears to where it came from is that the sentience of the Soul is not reflected upon. For example, like the water that is dropped on a heated stone when working on metal while it is red: it just disappears, sucked out by the hot stone. Likewise the breath disappears by way of the sentience<sup>196</sup> of the Soul. That is the reason why the key [that stops the breath and leads to] oneness is special.

193. OJED (945) glosses *tan kva* as '(prob.) uncertain, in two minds ("not so", "different", cf. *hade*)'. A mind that is 'not thus, not thus' or 'not this way or that way' seems to mean a mind that is not filled by dichotomizing thoughts or sensations.

194. *kuñci* 'key' in the text; cf. OJED (972) '(Skt *kuñcikā*, key) key; (a term in yoga, prob.): the stopping of breathing'; cf. below, p. 522.

195. The translation of the sentence is tentative.

196. Thus I translate *citta* here, for the usual meaning of 'mind' does not make sense in this context.

- ndan yan huvus ikañ recaka, kumbhaka, pūraka, apa ta phala nikañ prāṇāyā-  
mayoga, yan kva liñanta, hilañ tamah niñ ati lavan ikañ citta denya, ya ma-  
tañnyan hilañ citta sañ yogi denya, apan ikañ manah lavan aṇṇanañən aneka-  
paranya, uməsat makalis / tan kavənañ tinimpal, yāvat makveh inañṇanañən 75r  
5 ri kāla ni yoga, tāvat vuruñ samādhi sañ yogi, matakut pva sañ yogi vuruña  
samādhinira, ya matañnyan pinrih ginaveyakən ikā prāṇāyāma, apan ikañ  
umuñkus ikañ citta humənañ, apan ikañ prāṇāyāma atah dumehnya humə-  
naña ikañ aṇṇanañən makveh, lāvan əsə tekā dhāraṇayoga de ni prāṇāyāma,  
apa sinaṅguh *dhāraṇayoga* ṇaranya, ikañ citta ekatva atəguh ri svadeśa-  
10 nya, yan ri hati, yan riñ yava niñ śarīra kunañ, yan i citta niñ ātmā ku/nañ, 75v  
yan asthitya ekatva bhaṭāra kunañ, ikañ ta paṇekagraha nikañ citta salah  
tuṅgal ya sinaṅguh dhāraṇā<,>  
*dhyānayoga* ṇaranya, † ... † ◉  
nihan ta *samādhīyoga* ṇaranya † hayva citta hilañ prayatnanya ri vvah  
15 niñ hatəmāhan apa, təhər cittanya senā ri bhaṭāra sira katəkən ika dhyāna  
sañ yogi ṇkāna † ta ya sinaṅguh *samādhi*<,> tahan pih ni aṣṭāṅga ya pinaka-  
sādhana sañ yogi an paṅguh ikañ kamokṣan, ikā tañ aṣṭāṅga, ya pinakaba-  
hiraṅga de niñ asamprajñāta,

1 kumbhaka] *em.*; kumvāka *cod.* 4 uməsat] *em.*; umsut *cod.* 7 umuñkus] *em.*;  
umañkus *cod.* 7 humənañ] *conj.*; meñhā *cod.* 10 śarīra] *em.*; sari *cod.* 11 yan  
asthitya] *conj.*; asthitya yan *cod.* 15 təhər] *conj.*; taharā *cod.* 16 ṇkāna] *conj.*; ṇkāñ  
*cod.* 16 tahan] *em.*; kahan *cod.* 16 aṣṭāṅga] *em.*; hasdaga *cod.* 16–17 pinakasādha-  
na] *em.*; panakāsadyana *cod.* 18 asamprajñāta] *conj.*; samprajñāta *cod.*

8 aṇṇanañən] *post corr.*; aṇṇananañən *ante corr.* 10 citta niñ ātmā ku/nañ] *post corr.*;  
citta ku/nañ *ante corr.* 11 paṇekagraha] *post corr.*; paṇakagraha *ante corr.* 16 yogi]  
*post corr.*; yāgi *ante corr.*

‘But, when the *recaka*, *kumbhaka* and *pūra* have been completed, what is the fruit of the yoga of breath-control?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] The darkness of the heart and the mind vanish by way of that. The reason why the mind of the yogin vanishes by way of that, it is that the mind and the thoughts have various targets. They fly away unscathed, they cannot be cut off. As long as many thoughts are produced during the time of yoga, so long the absorption of the yogin remains unsuccessful. The yogin is afraid that his absorption could fail. The reason why the performing of breath-control is strived for, is that it wraps up the mind [so that] it becomes still, for precisely the breath-control is the reason why the many thoughts will become still. Furthermore, the yoga of fixation ripens due to breath-control.

What is designated as *yoga of fixation*? The mind [in the state] of oneness is stable in its own place; whether in the heart, outside of the body,<sup>197</sup> or in the thought<sup>198</sup> of the Soul. Or the oneness of [everything with] the Lord will become fixed. One of the instruments of the single attention<sup>199</sup> of the mind is designated as *fixation*.

The *yoga of visualization* means † ... †.<sup>200</sup>

The *yoga of absorption* is as follows: do not let the mind lose its effort toward *vvaḥ* of transforming into something; thereupon its mind † *senā* toward the Lord is what the visualization of the yogin reaches, †<sup>201</sup> that state is designated as *absorption*. It is not the case that the eight ancillaries are used by the yogin as means to obtain liberation. The eight ancillaries, they are used as external ancillaries by the non-cognitive [absorption].<sup>202</sup>

197. Emending *riṇ yava niṇ sari* into *riṇ yava niṇ śarīra*; compare Kakavin *Dharma Śūnya* 61b: *tan siddhān vikva yan tan vruḥ i kahanan ikā mvaṇ sarāt lan śarīra / tattvanyan sāra śarīra ri yava ri dalām niṇ avak yeka tonton* ‘The man of religion will not become perfect if he does not know about the state of him, the whole universe and the body; he should visualize the elements of the essence of the body outside or inside of the body’.

198. Thus I render *citta*, as per OJED (332, s.v. *citta* 2), which in this context makes better sense than ‘mind’.

199. *ekagraha* in the text, which I consider to be the same as *ekāgra*: cf. above, fn. 171.

200. The explanation of this item has apparently been lost in the course of transmission.

201. This passage appears to be corrupted; furthermore, it is likely that in defining absorption it refers to something contained in the definition of the preceding ancillary (visualization), which is irretrievable. The nonsensical *senā* as well as *vvaḥ* (which in the present context cannot mean ‘fruit’ as it denotes, unlike *phala*, a physical object only) are likely to be corruptions.

202. I have emended *samprajñāta* into *asamprajñāta* by comparison with the *Yogasūtra*, on purely doctrinal grounds.

- nāhan de sañ yogi mañabhyāsa prastāvanyān kapaṅguh i/kañ kasiddhyan, ya 76r  
 pinakasāadhananirān pagave yoga muvah, prastāvanyan vōnañ sakāmakāma,  
 yapvan hilañ ikañ sahajamala, irikeñ ta sirān pada lāvan bhaṭāra, sumahur  
 sañ para, añel dahat ta ñaran ikātah, apan tan paṇdadyakēna kamokṣan ikañ  
 5 yoga inabhyāsa, yan kva liñta, aparan ya pva madadyakēnañ kamokṣan, [yan  
 kva liñtana,] sumahur sañ śaivaka, dīkṣā juga madadyakēn kamokṣan sañ  
 tamatan sarvajña ta kañ ātmā, yan dīkṣā juga pañhiḍəpa sañ para, ikañ tañ  
 ātmā yan tan sarvajña tan sinaṅgu/h ikā *kamokṣan*, tapvan kadadi ikā ka- 76v  
 sarvajñañ in ātmā de ni dīkṣā juga, ya matañnyan bhyāsanātah, ikañ yoga  
 10 samādhi mēne gələk,  
     sumahur sañ kumāra,  
 [34] ndya ta lakṣaṇa nikañ kasiddhyan, kapaṅguh de sañ yogi,

1 prastāvanyān ] *em.*; prastāvinyan *cod.* 5 inabhyāsa ] *em.*; nebyasā *cod.* 6–7 kamo-  
 kṣan sañ tamatan ] *em.*; kamokṣan· pañ tamataṃn *cod.* 8 tan sarvajña ] *em.*; tin part-  
 vajña *cod.* 9 matañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 12 ta lakṣaṇa ] *em.*; kahakṣamā *cod.*



Thus is the way of the yogin to constantly practice the cause of obtaining the supernatural powers. Those are then used by him as means to perform yoga. The cause of being able to [obtain anything] according to one's desire is when innate maculation has vanished: it is in that [state] that he is the same as the Lord. The opponent replies: 'The explanation of that is very problematic, for the yoga, if constantly practiced, will not bring about liberation.' If you speak thus, [I reply:] what is that which can bring about liberation? A [Saiddhāntika] Śaiva<sup>203</sup> replies: 'Only initiation brings about liberation.' [I answer:] The Soul is one who is absolutely not omniscient. If the opinion of the opponent would be that initiation only [brings about liberation], the Soul, when not omniscient, is not regarded as [being in the state of] *liberation*. The state of omniscience of the Soul is by no means coming into being by means of initiation alone. That is the reason why yoga and absorption should be constantly practiced, now and continuously.<sup>204</sup>

Kumāra spoke:

[34] What are the characteristics of the state of supernatural powerfulness obtained by the yogin?

[The Lord:]

203. I understand *sañ śevaka* (as spelled in the manuscript) to correspond to *sañ śaivaka*, denoting a follower of (Saiddhāntika) Śaivism. On the other hand, one may read *sañ sevaka*, which OJED (1753) glosses as '(Skt dwelling in; using; revering; worshipping; servant, attendant, follower; worshipper) service, audience; serving, attending; servant, attendant'. Whereas the Sanskrit meaning of 'worshipper, follower' might be acceptable here, the word *sevaka* is, to the best of my knowledge, only attested in Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas as part of the compound *sevakadharmā* '(Skt) fulfilling the duty of serving or worshipping' (OJED 1754); cf. *Tattvajñāna* 1.1; *Jñānasiddhānta* 22.1 (which SOEBADIO 1971:221 translates as 'him who serves according to his duty', in the sense of *dharmasevaka*); several instances in *Sañ Hyāñ Hayu*; cf. also the West Javanese and Balinese Tuturs titled *Sevaka Dharma* (a Balinese version of which is, intriguingly enough, spelled *Śevaka Dharma* in WECK 1976:94–95). The fact that the position maintained by the speaker, namely that only initiation (*dikṣā*) bestows liberation, is too reminiscent of that of an 'orthodox' Śaivasiddhāntin to be attributed to an unspecified 'worshipper'. Indeed the term Śaiva (or Śeva) in Old Javanese sources usually refers to a follower of mainstream Śaivasiddhānta, as opposed to other sects of Śaivism such as the Pāśupatas, Bhairavas, etc. It is possible that the form *śevaka* is the result of a conflation between *śeva* and *sevaka* caused by scribal confusion; in Sanskrit the suffix *-ka*, besides functioning as a diminutive or pejorative, is often used as a mere expletive.

204. For this translation of *gālāk*, cf. above, fn. 141.

- nihan inətaknanta, ikañ madadyakəna kasiddhyan i sañ yogi, ikañ dhāra-  
 ṇa, dhyāna, samādhi, rumakət ta ri ñkāna, yatanyan ilu sañ yogi matəma-  
 han pṛthivī, apan ikañ dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi rumakət ri tattva tuñ-  
 gal, ya sinaṅguh *sañyama* ñaranya, anuñ pinakasādhana sañ yogi magave  
 5 / kasiddhyan, ndān denirānañyama, sañke sor denirānañyama, apan tan 77r  
 dadi ikañ tattva i ruhur sinañyama, † hanya tapa † ikañ tattva i ruhur<, > ya  
 ta matañnyan sañke sora atah denirānañyama rumuhun, yapvan mahyun  
 sira tumirva śakti ni sinha, ikañ sinha sinañyama śaktinya, yāpvan mahyun  
 sira tumirva śakti ni garuḍa, sinañyamanira śaktinya, yapvan mahyun sira  
 10 vruha ri tēka ni pātinira, ikañ dharmādharma sinañyamanira, aparan ikañ 77v  
 dharmādharma ñaranya, ikañ gave hala mvañ gave hayu, a/pan phala ni  
 dharmā<dharmā> ya magave hurip mvañ śārīra, yapvan hēnti phala nikañ  
 dharmādharma sinañyamanira, tēka pātinira yan mañkana, yapvan mahyun  
 sira tan kəne lapa vələkañ, hanāmṛta i sor niñ guruṅguruñan, yekā sañya-  
 15 manira, yapvan mahyun sira tumona sañ siddha lāvan devatā, ikañ bāyu  
 si udāna sañyamanira, hana ta jyotih mətə sañkeñ vunvunan ya pinaka-  
 suluhnira an ton sañ siddha lāvan devatā, yapvan mahyun sira katona du-  
 milah avaknira, ikañ bāyu si samāna ya sañyamanira, yapvan mahyun sira  
 / guməsəñanāvaknira, kady aṅgān iñ bhasmaśeṣa, maməkasaknāvva jugā- 78r  
 20 vaknira, ikañ bāyu si samāna ya sañyamanira,

3 dhāraṇā] *em.*; dāranya *cod.* 5 denirānañyama] *em.*; deniñrānañyāma *cod.* 9 garu-  
 ḍa] *em.*; garada *cod.* 13–14 mahyun sira] *em.*; māhyun· pira *cod.* 14 vələkañ] *em.*;  
 vlikañ *cod.* 15 mahyun sira] *em.*; māhyun pira *cod.* 15 siddha] *em.*; siddya *cod.*  
 16 jyotih] *em.*; jotih *cod.* 16 vunvunan] *em.*; vunvun *cod.* 17 ton sañ] *em.*; ton pañ  
*cod.* 18 sañyamanira] *em.*; śayāmanira *cod.* 18 mahyun sira] *em.*; māhyun pira *cod.*

You should keep in mind the following, that which will bring about the state of supernatural prowess of the yogin. Fixation, visualization and absorption, are joined together in that state, so that also the yogin transforms into earth,<sup>205</sup> for fixation, visualization and absorption are joined together in a single principle. That is designated as *restraint*, which is used as a means of realization by the yogin to cause the state of supernatural prowess. As for his way of effecting restraint, from below is his way of effecting restraint, for it is not possible for the upper principles to be restrained. † *hanya tapa* †<sup>206</sup> the upper principles, that is the reason why his way of effecting restraint will at first be from below. If he wishes to imitate the power of a lion, the power of the lion is taken as the object of restraint. If he wishes to imitate the power of Garuḍa, its power is taken by him as the object of restraint. If he wishes to know about the moment of his death, the *right-and-wrong* are taken by him as an object of restraint. What is the *right-and-wrong*? The bad deeds and the good deeds, for the fruits of *right-and-wrong*, those shape the life and the body. If the fruits of *right-and-wrong* stop being taken as an object of restraint by him, if so, his death comes. If he wishes not to be affected by hunger and thirst, there is the nectar of immortality below the throat-veins: that is his object of restraint. If he wishes to see the Siddhas and the Gods, the *udāna* breath is his object of restraint. There is a light which comes out from the top of the cranium: that is used as his torch for seeing the Siddhas and the Gods. If he wishes that his body assumes the appearance of a blazing fire, the *samāna* breath is his object of restraint. If he wishes to destroy his body by fire, like *bhasmaśeṣa*<sup>207</sup>—his body will have as rests ashes only—the *samāna* breath is the object of his restraint.

205. The meaning of this clause is not completely clear to me. It may refer to the fact that the yogin by way of restraint (*saṅyama*) can become of the same substance as the earth (*pr̥thivī*); however, we do not expect the treatment of such a possibility at this point but later on, when the application of *saṅyama* to the five elements is treated (cf. below, 324.8–326.7).

206. I have not found any plausible interpretation or emendation of this sequence of words. To read *anya* (or *anyat*) ‘other, and, furthermore’ + *tapa* ‘penance’ does not help us to retrieve a meaning that fits in the context.

207. OJED, on the basis of the single occurrence in *Agastyaparva* 376.23, provides the meaning of ‘the supernatural power to remain in the form of ashes only?’; I think that here the term has a more general meaning, which is in fact glossed in the Old Javanese clause following it.

- yapvan mahyun sira tan kapətəka riñ † ... † lāvan vvai, ikā bāyu si udāna  
 ya sañyamanira, yapvan mahyun sira tan katona, sañyamanira panon i vvañ  
 vaneh, mvañ sañyamanirāvaknira tan katona, yapvan mahyun sira mañlaya-  
 ña riñ ākāśa, sañyamanirāvaknira mahañana kadi kapuk, huvusira mahañan  
 5 vənañ ta sira mamapah i punti, athavā muṅgvañ savañ niñ garagati kunañ,  
 ya ta pañavruhanira hañan havaknira, huvu/s mañkana, sañyamanira ta pa- 78v  
 sāmānyan havaknira lāvan ākāśa, yan aharəp sira sadāyauvana, ikañ pañ-  
 camahābhūta sañyamanira sakatuṅgal, ikañ pṛthivī sañyamanira rumuhun,  
 yapvan huvus ikañ pṛthivī sinañyama denira, byakta sirālvat tan kanin de  
 10 niñ khaḍga, tan rəmək avaknira yan tibeñ vatañ, athavā tibeñ karañ juga sira,  
 [ikañ karuñ juga sira] ikañ karañ juga rəmək, avaknira dṛḍha, nahan pañ-  
 avruhan riñ halah niñ pṛthivī denira, sañyamanira tekañ vve, tan kapətək  
 sira yan kaləbu riñ bañu, / sinañyamanira teja, pañavruhan i nira yan alah 79r  
 ikañ teja denira, tan gəsəñ sira yan katunu riñ apuy, sinañyamanira ikañ  
 15 bāyu, pañavruhanirān alah ikañ bāyu denira, † ... † halah ikañ bāyu yan  
 mañkana, lāvan tan katub sira de niñ añin, ñuniveh huripnira tan vikāra,  
 ya matañnyan dīrghāyuṣa sañ yogi,

1 mahyun sira] *em.*; mahyun pira *cod.* 1 vvai] *em.*; vvaṃ *cod.* 2 mahyun sira] *em.*; mahyun pira *cod.* 6–7 pasāmānyan] *conj.*; pasamandān *cod.* 7 lāvan ākāśa] *em.*; lāvan kāśa *cod.* 8 sañyamanira] *em.*; sayamānira *cod.* 9 sinañyama] *em.*; sañyāma *cod.* 10 rəmək] *em.*; ramət *cod.* 11 rəmək] *em.*; rəmət *cod.* 11 dṛḍha] *conj.*; sraḍa *cod.* 13 sinañyamanira] *em.*; sināyamānirā *cod.* 14 gəsəñ] *em.*; gsə *cod.* 14 katunu] *em.*; katuru *cod.*

If he desires not to be pressed down by † ... † and water,<sup>208</sup> the *udāna* breath is the object of his restraint. If he wishes not to be seen, his object of restraint are the eyes of other men, and also, his object of restraint is his body as if not being seen. If he wishes to fly in the sky, his object of restraint is his body becoming light like *kapok*. Having obtained lightness, he perches on the long stalk of a banana-leaf,<sup>209</sup> or sits in a spider-web. Those are the ways through which he can ascertain his body to be light. Having done thus, his object of restraint are the characteristics shared by his body and the atmosphere.<sup>210</sup> If he wishes eternal youth, the five gross elements are his object of restraint, one by one. First the earth is made his object of restraint. When the earth has already been made his object of restraint, it is evident that he has become tough: he is not wounded by swords. If he falls on logs, or [if] he falls on rocks, his body is not broken. Only the rocks are broken, his body is firm. Thus are the signs that the earth has been conquered by him. The water is the object of his restraint: he is not pressed down if submerged in the water. The fire is taken as object of restraint by him. The sign that the fire has been conquered by him is that he is not burnt if he is set on fire.<sup>211</sup> The wind is taken as the object of restraint by him. The sign that the wind has been conquered by him † ... † if it is so, the wind has been conquered.<sup>212</sup> Further, he is not hit by the wind, and moreover his life is without damage. That is the reason why the yogin will become long-living.

208. Grammar requires that a word must have been present between *riṇ* and *lavan* ‘with, together with’ or ‘and, furthermore’. A comparison between this passage and *Yogasūtra* 3.39 suggests that the word *vvaṇ* ‘men’ at the end of the clause is a corruption of *vvai/vve* ‘water’ (compare also 330.3); the other elements mentioned in the *sūtra* as being ‘conquered’ by the yogin are mud and thorns. I do not feel, however, confident enough to reconstrue the missing Old Javanese portion of text on the basis of the *Yogasūtra* only.

209. According to SUPOMO (p.c., January 2010), the unattested form *mamapah*, from *pa-pah* ‘the long stalk of a palm- or banana-leaf’ (OJED 1272), may here refer to somebody’s ability to stand or perch on the stalk itself.

210. Conjecturally emending the meaningless *pasamandān* into *pasāmānyan* ‘(things which are) shared by others, joint’ (OJED 1622; cf. also *pasāmānya* ‘the common (characteristics)?’). The point is perhaps that the yogin should meditate upon the hollow parts of the body as being filled by atmosphere?

211. Emending *katuru* into *katunu*, which is easily explainable from the point of view of palaeography; otherwise, the translation would be ‘if he has fallen asleep into fire’, which is possible yet improbable.

212. The portion of text explaining the signs indicating that the yogin has conquered the wind is apparently missing.

- pira ta lavasnira hurip, salavas ni pṛthivī tēkā niñ mahāpralaya dlāha, irikān  
 hilañ śarīra sañ yogi, ndātan vikāra jñānanira, apan tan kēne pāti sañ hyaṇ  
 ātmā, lāvan prajñā sira tan / kēne lupa, saṇyamanira tekañ ākāśa, yapvan 79v  
 alah denirañ ākāśa, tan tibā juga sira de niñ avaṇavañ, mvañ lituhayu tekā-  
 5 vaknira, kahyunhyun vinulat an tar kēne tuha, nāhan byaktanyān alah ikañ  
 pañcamahābhūta de sañ yogi, mantañ lvir nikañ kasiddhyan kapaṅgih de  
 sañ yogi,  
 prastāva ni prayatnanira, apan hana *upasarga* nāranya, anuñ kapaṅguh  
 de sañ yogi, apa sinaṅguh *upasarga* nāranya, ikañ pinakadāgi de niñ pradhā-  
 10 natattva, ya ta maṅguh ri citta, kari pvekañ citta de sañ yo/gi, hana ta vāsanā 80r  
 nikañ sattva rajah tamah, turuñ tapvan [i] hilañ, ya sinaṅguh *upasarga* nāra-  
 nya, lvirnya, prajñā, madrēs, mabyət, upasarga nikañ sattva ikañ prajñā, ya  
 ta māvak ri sañ yogi, ya ta matañnyan panurun prajñā sañ yogi, apa byakta ni  
 prajñā sañ yogi, ikañ aji tapvan denira, vruh sirerya taña, mvañ upapāttinya,  
 15 nahan ta upasarga niñ sattva, lāvan gavenira nambhuñ gandha vañi, athavā  
 gavaynira manon devatārūpa mañanugrahana lvirnya, upasarga ni sattva  
 ikā, niha/n tañ upasarga ni rajah, śakti hiḍəpnira ry avaknira, apan ikañ 80v  
 vastu tan kavənañ ri dañu denira, yekā upasarga rājah, nihan upasarga niñ  
 tamah, moga pətañ panonira, mvañ jñānanira, vulañun tan atutur i jñāna-  
 20 nira, mañkana tāvaknira malupa kabeh, abyət tan vənañ molah upasarga ni  
 tamah ikā, yapvan mañkana ikañ upasarga kapaṅguh denira, magaveya ta  
 sira prayogasandhi, apuyapuya,

2 sañ ] *em.*; sa *cod.* 3 saṇyamanira ] *em.*; saṇyomañnira *cod.* 4 avaṇavañ ] *em.*; avaṇava *cod.* 6 mantañ ] *em.*; manta *cod.* 6 kapaṅgih ] *em.*; kapaṅgāh *cod.* 14 vruh ] *em.*; vru *cod.* 14 taña ] *conj.*; tanya *cod.* 14 upapāttinya ] *conj.*; upātpəttinya *cod.* 15 nahan ] *em.*; nihan *cod.* 16 gavaynira ] *em.*; gaveñnira *cod.* 17 ikā ] *em.*; ikāñ *cod.* 21 ikā ] *em.*; ikāñ *cod.* 22 prayogasandhi ] *em.*; prayogisandi *cod.*

For how long does he live? Until the earth will be hit by the great destruction in the future. It is on that occasion that the body of the yogin vanishes, but his mind is not damaged, for the Soul is not affected by death. And his insight, it is not affected by unconsciousness. The atmosphere is his object of restraint. If the atmosphere is conquered by him, he does not fall due to the air, and his body is of beautiful appearance, attractive to be seen as he is not affected by old age. Thus is the evidence of the defeat of the five gross elements by the yogin. Therefore, the external appearance of the state of supernatural prowess is met by the yogin.

The reason why he should be alert is that there are the *obstacles*, which are met by the yogin. What things are designated as *obstacles*? Those which are used by the principle of unevolved matter as means to oppose [the yogin]. He meets them in the mind. The mind having been left behind by the yogin, there [still] are the latent impressions of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, not yet extinguished. Those which are designated as *obstacles*, their categories are: insight, quickness, heaviness. Insight is the obstacle of *sattva*; it assumes the body of the yogin. That is the reason why the insight of the yogin descends. What is the evidence of the insight of the yogin? The holy scriptures not being yet [known] to him, he knows about the questions concerning them, and their explanation. Thus are the obstacles of *sattva*. Also, their outcome is to smell fragrances and perfumes, or their outcome is to see a godly form, in their manifestation while bestowing a boon. Those are the obstacles of *sattva*. The obstacle of *rajas* is as follows: power, he thinks, is in his body, for these things were not possible [to be accomplished] by him before. That is the obstacle of *rajas*. The obstacle of *tamas* is as follows: his eyes become suddenly dark, and also his mind—[he is] bewildered without remembering about his mind. In this way his body forgets about everything, being heavy and incapable of moving. That is the obstacle of *tamas*. When in this way the obstacle are met by him, he should perform *prayogasandhi*; he should apply fire.<sup>213</sup>

213. That is, *apuyapuya*, translated by OJED (117, s.v., *apuyapuy*) ‘to light a fire (sit near the fire?)’; compare *māpuyapuy* ‘to apply fire (heating) as a way of healing’, attested only in a closely related passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (74.29). If the application of fire is to be connected to the execution of *prayogasandhi*, it may refer to a kind of ‘inner’ yogic fire; cf. Part III, p. 546.

- yan pamañana sarvāpyak, yapvan agēñ salah panon lāranira, edan kunañ,  
sikəpən aṇḍihən, tambhana/na limo lāvan bavañ matanira, yapvan atutur 81r  
kədikədik, konən ta sira tutura ri jñānanira,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
5 [35] enak ikā yan parovaña sira, yapvan tuṅgaltuṅgal sire patapanira, apa ta  
upāyanira,  
sumahur bhaṭāra,  
hana kəta pañhilañ lāra, prastāvanyān dīrghāyuṣa sañ yogi,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
10 [36] kasihana ñhulun varahən ikā pañhilañ lāra,  
sabarinyān papasah ikañ pradhānatattva juga lāvan ātmā, ñuniveh yan ya  
pasaha sañ hyaṇ ātmā lāvan citta, ya ta hetu sañ yogi / tā kəneñ lāra, 81v  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[37] umapa de niñ amasahakəna sañ hyaṇ ātmā lāvan pradhānādi,  
15 sumahur bhaṭāra,  
ya don ikañ prayogasandhi tinakonakən i sañ guru yapvan an mahyun sira  
sañ yogi umasuka irikañ vvañ vaneh, ikañ dharmādharma ya ta pəgat inira,  
hana ta šeṣanya kədikədik, matañnyan tan māti, yapvan huvus pəgat siddhā  
sira pasukaneñ vvañ vaneh, yapvan mahyun sira maṅguha *aṣṭaiśvarya*, ikañ  
20 ekādaśendriya ya sañyamanira, yapvan alah ikā, kapaṅguh ikañ *aṣṭaiśvarya*  
deni/ra, apa ta lvirnya nihan, *aṇiman laghiman mahiman, prāpti, prākāmya*, 82r  
*īśitva, vaśitva, yatrakāmāvasāyitva*, nāhan yañ *aṣṭaiśvarya* ñaranya,

2 tambhana/na ] *conj.*; tambhānahə/hana *cod.* 2 bavañ ] *em.*; bava *cod.* 10 ñhulun ]  
*em.*; hulun *cod.* 18 matañnyan ] *em.*; matanyan *cod.* 19 pasukaneñ ] *conj.*; masukanāṃ  
*cod.* 19 *aṣṭaiśvarya* ] *em.*; aṇṣṭesvaryya *cod.* 20 ikā ] *em.*; ikāñ *cod.* 21 *prāpti* ] *em.*;  
*prasti cod.* 22 *yatrakāmāvasāyitva* ] *em.*; yātrakā,ma,vāśayətva, *cod.*

21–22 *aṇiman ... yatrakāmāvasāyitva* ] Cf. TJ 49.4–5; TSap f. 53r; Vṛh 14.16–17: aṇimā /  
laghimā / mahimā / prāpti / prākāmya / īśitva / vaśitva / yatrakāmāvasāyitva //



If he eats everything that has a strong [flavour],<sup>214</sup> if his suffering is a greatly distorted sight, or madness, he should be seized and pressed down, his eyes should be cured with lime and onion. If he regains a bit of consciousness, he should be ordered to become conscious in his mind.

Kumāra spoke:

[35] This is good if he has companions. If he is all alone in his hermitage, what is his procedure?

The Lord spoke:

There is indeed a means to eliminate the suffering, the cause of the long life of the yogin.

Kumāra spoke:

[36] Be kind to me, teach me that means to eliminate the suffering!

[The Lord:]

Whenever only the principle of unevolved matter is separated from the Soul, and all the more so when those which are separated are the Soul and the mind, that is the cause of the yogin not being affected by suffering.

Kumāra spoke:

[37] What is the way to separate the Soul and the unevolved matter and so on?<sup>215</sup>

The Lord spoke:

That is the goal of the *prayogasandhi* to be enquired about when facing the guru, if he wishes that the yogin enters in another man. The right-and-wrong, that is cut off by him. There is a little bit of what remains, which is why he does not die. When the cutting-off is finished, he will be successful in entering the other man. If he wishes to obtain the *eight sovereign powers*, the eleven faculties are the object of his restraint. If they are conquered, the *eight sovereign powers* will be obtained by him. What are they like? As follows: *miniaturization, weightlessness, enlargement, attainment, ability to produce multiple bodies at will, sovereignty, control of the elements, ability to satisfy one's own desires*. Thus are the *eight sovereign powers*.

214. The compound *sarvāpyak* is not attested in OJED; as above (262.16), I take *pyak* as referring to a strong (i.e. bitter) kind of food. A similar passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (74.30), describing the obstacle or *tamas*, mentions, along with the application of heat, *tapyaktapyak* as something to eat by way of medicine; in the present passage, however, *sarvāpyak* does not seem to refer to a remedy but rather to a condition of the practitioner, which causes him to eat bitter food.

215. Namely, its lower products beginning with *ahāṅkāra* and so on.

- aṇiman* ṇaranya, maganal avaknira tambhayan vəkasan malit ta ya, apa sin-  
 aṅguh alit, vənañ sira masuk mətu ri pṛthivī, kady aṅgān iñ vvañ masil-  
 urup ri vvai, maṅkana ta sañ yogi, vənañ masuk mətu riñ pṛthivī, maṅ-  
 kana yan paṅlakulaku, tan kavādha de niñ gunuñ karəs [iśe] pinurugnira,  
 5 ikā vatu trus ikā denira, ndātan vikāra ikāvaknira, ya ta kali/ṇan iñ alit, 82v  
*laghiman* ṇaranya, abyēt avaknira tambhayan vəkasan mahañan kadi kapuk,  
 ya ta matañnyan paṅlayan ri ākāśa, mvañ madrəs ta lakunira sañke manah  
 yekā *laghiman* ṇaranya, <*mahiman* ṇaranya,> tar kaləvihan gēñnira yar sa-  
 harəp gēña, athavā pinūjā ta sira saparanira, *prāptiḥ* ṇaranya, sakaharəpira  
 10 taka, sakahyunnira hana, nihan artha niñ prāpti vaneḥ, dadi sira gumaməl  
 sañ hyaṅ vulan sañkeñ paliṅgihanira, *prākāmya* ṇaranya, sakaharəpnira rū-  
 panira, *īśitva* ṇaranya, maṇadəḥ tar kādəḥ *vaśitva* ṇaranya, / mañutus, *yatra-* 83r  
*kāmavāsāyitva* ṇaranya, sakāmākāma ikā sañ hyaṅ incā, *yatrakāma* ta hal-  
 itan denira, *ṅkānāvasāyitva* pramāṇa sira, vənañ ta sira madaṇḍa yan tan  
 15 kapintuhu ikañ inutusnira, nāhan sinaṅguh *aṣṭaiśvarya* ṇaranya,

3 vvai] *em.*; vvañ *cod.* 5 trus] *em.*; tras *cod.* 7 matañnyan] *em.*; matanyan *cod.*  
 12 *īśitva* ṇaranya, maṇadəḥ tar kādəḥ] *conj.*; maṇarka kadiḥ *cod.* 12 *vaśitva*] *em.*;  
 vāsāyitva *cod.* 13 *yatrakāma*] *em.*; yatraka *cod.* 14 *ṅkānāvasāyitva*] *em.*; ṅkān·n-  
 vāsāyitva *cod.* 15 sinaṅguh] *conj.*; sinpañ *cod.*

1–4 *aṇiman* ṇaranya ... pinurugnira] Cf. TJ 49.5–8: aṇimā ṇaranya / ikāvak sañ yogi-  
 śvara / gaṇal tambayan / vəkasan alit / sūkṣma / ya ta matañnyan sañ yogiśvara vənañ sapara-  
 nira / tan katahan sira de niñ gunuñ vatu / vənañ ta sirāsilurup iñ ləmah / tan hana maḍana  
 kaiśvayanira / yeka sinaṅguh aṇimā ṇaranya //; Vṛh 67.1–4: avaknira ikañ aganal / yateka  
 matəmahan malit / alit ṇaranya / vənañ umajñānani ikañ ajñāna / masuk mətu kadi raray  
 masilurup iñ vvai / maṅkanātah sañ yogiśvarān pasuk mətṽ iñ pṛthivī / tan kāvaraṇan  
 laku nira / yan pamaṅguh gunuñ vatu magēñ tərus denira tan pavuri / 6–8 *laghiman*  
 ṇaranya ... yekā *laghiman* ṇaranya] Cf. TJ 49.8–11: laghimā ṇaranya / ikāvak sañ yogi-  
 śvara / abyēt tambayan / vəkasan aḍaṇan kadi kapuk / ya ta matañnyan sañ yogiśvara am-  
 bara mārḡa / anampak gagana / majalāntara / vənañ manampak vvai / yeka laghimā ṇara-  
 nya //; Vṛh 68.1: abvat nikāvaknira ri tambayanya / vəkasan haḍaṇan kadi kapuk / ya ta  
 matañnyan svecchā ika sañ yogiśvara / asiñ saparanira dadi / yan mariñ svarga / mareñ sap-  
 tadvīpa / mareñ saptapātāla / dadi kumuliliñ i heñ niñ aṇḍabhuvana / vaśitā sakahyun ira  
 pinaranira / yeka *laghimā* ṇaranya // 9–11 *prāptiḥ* ṇaranya ... paliṅgihanira] Cf. TSap  
 f. 53r: prāpti ṇa / vənañ sakahyun teka / vənañ maṅgamala rāditya ulan sakeñ sakna /  
 12 *īśitva* ṇaranya, maṇadəḥ tar kādəḥ] Cf. TSap 53r: īśitva ṇa / vənañ maṇadali tan kade-  
 lan / 12–13 *yatrakāmavāsāyitva* ... incā] Cf. TSap f. 53r: yatrakāmavāsāyitva ṇa / vənañ  
 sakāmākāma ika hyaṅ mami ica /

*Miniaturization* means: first his body is gross, then it becomes small. What is meant by small? He is able to go inside and come out of the earth, like a man who dives into water—in such a way is the yogin, he is able to go in and come out of the earth. In this way he is when he moves, not obstructed by the awe-inspiring mountains encountered by him. The rocks are penetrated by him; his body is without any damage. That is what is meant by small. *Weightlessness* means: first his body is heavy, then it is light like *kapok*; that is the reason why he flies in the sky, and his movement is swifter than thought. This is the *weightlessness*. *Enlargement* means:<sup>216</sup> his largeness is unsurpassed, he can become as large as he wishes; or, he is praised wherever he goes. *Attainment* means: whatever he wishes, it comes about; whatever may be his desire, exists. Another meaning of *attainment* is as follows: he becomes able to touch the moon from his seat. *Ability to produce multiple bodies at will* means: his appearance is as he wishes. *Sovereignty* means: to subdue without being subdued.<sup>217</sup> *Control of the elements*<sup>218</sup> means: to command. *Ability to satisfy one's own desires* means: [everything is] according to the wish of the Holy one [who acts] in sovereign freedom; *yatrakāma*, [he] is subtle by way of it; in that state [there is] *avasāyitva*, he is the ruler, he is able to punish if what has been ordered by him is not obeyed. Thus the *eight sovereign powers* are designated.

216. I have added this item to the text by way of emendation.

217. The emendation of the corrupt sequence *maṇṇakakadih* into *maṇadāh tar kādāh* can be convincingly justified on paleographical grounds (i.e. *maṇ<adāh>* + [*arka* → *arta* → ] *tar* + [*kādih* → *kādāh*]); furthermore, cf. the gloss of *īśitva* in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 72.1, *vānaṇ sirān umadāh saṇ hyaṇ brahma* ‘he is able to subdue Brahmā’, and Tatur *Saptati* f. 53r, *vānaṇ maṇadali tan kadalan* → *vānaṇ maṇadāhi tan kadāhan* ‘he is able to subdue without being subdued’.

218. Having emended *vāsayitva* into *vaśitva*; the former has apparently been anticipated from the following line.

- an maṅkana kasiddhyan saṅ paṇḍita, tēka kavighna ri sira, lvirnya, ikaṅ devatā mamava upabhoga mvaṅ anakēbi rahayu, mahalāp sinaṇḍaṅnya, kapva malāvihlāvih hyun, ya ta manuṅsuṅ yogi, syaṅ muliha riṅ svarga, ndān hayva sira maṅguh, apan baṅcana ikā, guma/veh vuruṅ i yoga saṅ yogiśvara don 83v
- 5 ikā, ya ta mataṅnyan paṅhulihuliha ri hati, aku ahāta tutakneṅkva pasyaṅ nikaṅ devatā byaktāku mahiḍāp saṅsāra muvah, apan jāti niṅ śakti niṅ vi-ṣaya, luput ikaṅ suka viśeṣa denyā, ikaṅ lāra tan vuruṅ kabhukti deku, ikaṅ kasiddhyan huvus kabhukti deku, tan ulihkv aṅinakinak, hulihkv agave brata lāvan samādhi, sajīva niṅ rāt ikā, hilaṅa pva ya de niṅ viṣaya sakarāṅ, lalu 84r
- 10 kaśmalaṅku, pakṣa ni kahanan ikā, indrajālasāḍṛ/śya, kadi kilat kabhuktinya, yadyan malavas i bhinukti, ndātan vuruṅ maveh lāra, ikaṅ lāra, aneka lvirnya, yāvat pvekaṅ janma katibān lāra, tāvat †kadasyatanayā, mevāh maluy janma muvah, aṅhiṅ kēbho sapi asu vāk tēmahanya, yekā katakutku kamu manah, yan aṅgānān pasyaṅ nikaṅ vatāk devatā, maṅkana liṅnira varah- 84v
- 15 varah ry avaknira,  
 nihan sahur saṅ para, satus kveha nikaṅ viṣaya kabhukti de niṅ vvaṅ, tan ya maṅhiḍāpa lāra yan vruh ri katattvan bhaṭāra, mataṅnyan maṅkana, apan tan hana tu/hutuhun ikaṅ ulah kabeh, mataṅnyan tan hana tuhu, an 84v
- 20 hilaṅa don ikā kabeh, maluya ri saṅkanya, ndi saṅkanya, saṅke saṅ hyaṅ tayā, malilaṅ tan kāvaraṅan, sira sinaṅguh *niṣkala* ṅaranya, anuṅ kalinan iṅ rāt kabeh, niyata tan salah paran, maṅkana pva katattvan iṅ janma, mvaṅ kavruhan saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha,

1 ikaṅ ] *em.*; ikā *cod.* 3 manuṅsuṅ ] *em.*; manuṅsuṅ *cod.* 5 ahāta ] *conj.*; yātaḥ *cod.* 6 nikaṅ ] *em.*; niṅtā *cod.* 8 hulihkv ] *em.*; halihkv *cod.* 11 vuruṅ ] *em.*; vuru *cod.* 11–12 lvirnya ] *em.*; lvarnya *cod.* 12 yāvat ] *em.*; kavat *cod.* 12 katibān ] *em.*; katabān *cod.* 12 mevāh ] *em.*; meviḥ *cod.* 16 de niṅ vvaṅ ] *em.*; de ni ṅva *cod.* 17 maṅhiḍāpa ] *em.*; maṅhadāpā *cod.* 18 ikaṅ ] *em.*; iṅkā *cod.* 22 paramārtha ] *em.*; parārtā *cod.*

The state of supernatural prowess of the master being such, the hindrances come to him. Their manifestations are: the gods bring objects of enjoyment and beautiful women, dressed in a charming way and at the same time exceedingly wanton. They greet the yogin, inviting him to come to the heaven. However, he should not consent, for that is a deception, its purpose being to cause the failure of the yoga of the leader among yogins. That is the reason why he should deliberate in the heart: 'I should be concerned that, should I follow the invitation of the gods, I will certainly experience again the cycle of rebirth, for the nature of the power of the objects of pleasure is that the supreme bliss is out of reach because of it. The suffering has been unremittingly experienced by me. The state of supernatural prowess has been experienced by me already. It was not the result of my relaxing; it was the result of my practicing observances and absorption. That [state] lasts for as long as the life of the universe. It will vanish in only a moment because of the sensual objects. Thereupon I shall be impure. The likeness of the feeling of those [sensual objects] is like an illusion; the enjoyment of them is like a lightning. Even if they are enjoyed for a long time, they cause no less suffering. The sorts of the suffering are various. As soon as the human beings are stricken by suffering, †*kadasyatanayā*.<sup>219</sup> It is difficult to return to a human birth: only water-buffaloes, cows, dogs or pigs will be their outcomes. That is my object of fear, if the invitation of the gods will be accepted'. Thus are his thoughts in his body.

The opponent replies as follows: 'A hundred shall be the number of pleasures enjoyed by the man; he will not experience suffering if he knows about the true state of the Lord. The reason why it is so is that all the actions do not actually exist. The reason why they do not exist in the real sense is that their effects will all disappear, going back to their origin. Where is their origin? From the Holy Non-Existence, pure without obstructions. It is designated as *unmanifest*, which is the place of dissolution of the whole universe. It is evident that [this view] is not going in the wrong direction.<sup>220</sup> Such is the true state of human beings, and the knowledge about the *Summum Bonum*.

219. I have found no satisfying solution to emend this corrupt sequence of *akṣaras*. This notwithstanding, I have emended *tavat* into *kavat* in order to preserve the parallelism with the *kavat* occurring in the preceding clause.

220. The expression *tan salah paran* seems to refer to the view that has been just expounded by the opponent; cf. OJED (1610) s.v. *salah paran* (= *salah pakṣa*) 'in the wrong direction, striving after the wrong object, missing its target'.

- ndya ta matañnyan sañsaya riñ ulah kabeh, apa matañnyan pamuhāra lāra,  
kabhuktya niñ viṣaya, mañkana ta kəbho sapi asu vək, sabarinyān mati mulih  
ri tayā, tamatan dinalih mulih riñ tayā, apan katon hilañ / ikañ avaknya, yekā 85r  
inakunta mokṣa, jñānanya lāvan cittanya tan avruh irikā, lāvan ikañ tayā  
5 an sinañguh paramārtha, apa ta pañupakāranya, ndya kasiddhyan kadadi  
denya, sumahur sañ para, tan *mokṣa* ta ñaran ikā, yan pamañguha kasid-  
dhyan, kunañ yan hilañ juga, ya *mokṣa* ñaranya, yan kva liña sañ para, ka-  
pan ta kəta yan təkā, apan dudū ikañ ahurip, kadi lañgəñ nikañ hana, kapan  
tekañ tayā yan ta pratyakṣa, sumahur sañ para, dlāha ri təkā ni pralaya, yan  
10 tayā ikañ rāt kabeh, mañkana liñ sañ para, / apa yan mətu ikā rat kabeh mu- 85v  
vah, yekā mājarakən yan lina ri tayā ikañ rāt, apan sañkeñ tayā sañkanya  
mətu ñūni, yan mañkana liña sañ para, viruddha tekā pakṣanta yan mañ-  
kana, matañnyan sinañguh viruddha, apan lina riñ tayā ikañ jagat liñta,  
mətu pva ya məne sinañguh ta mətu sañkeñ tayā ikañ jagat, adva tan tayā  
15 ñaran ikā, yan ta lina ni jagat an vətu, yan kva liña sañ para, tan dadi tañ  
paramārtha mañkana,  
sumahur sañ kumāra,  
[38] aparan ikañ sinañguh sañ para tayā uliha niñ jagat, lāvan sañka niñ jagat  
mətu, kasiha/na varahən ñhulun bhaṭāra, 86r  
20 ikañ sinañguh sañ para tayā paramārtha, yekāna sinañguh prakṛtilina, tayā  
pasañgan iñ citta sattva rajah tamah, lakṣaṇanya pətañ tan pacetanā, apan  
tan hana kaprajñān iriya,

3 avaknya,] *em.*; vaknya *cod.* 6 ñaran ikā] *em.*; ñaranpikā *cod.* 9 təkā] *em.*; daka  
*cod.* 12 viruddha] *em.*; ciruddā *cod.* 12 tekā] *em.*; teko *cod.* 12 pakṣanta yan]  
*em.*; pakṣanta han *cod.* 13 matañnyan] *em.*; matañnya *cod.* 13 liñta,] *em.*; lita *cod.*  
15 an vətu] *em.*; anā vtu *cod.* 18 ikañ] *em.*; iñkā *cod.* 18 sañka] *em.*; sañkeñ *cod.*  
18 jagat] *em.*; jat *cod.* 19 ñhulun] *em.*; hulun *cod.* 20 yekāna] *em.*; hekāna *cod.*  
20 prakṛtilina] *em.*; prakrativakna *cod.* 21 pasañgan] *conj.*; pasañh *cod.* 21 rajah]  
*em.*; rāja *cod.*

4 lāvan] *post corr.*; lān *ante corr.* 20 prakṛtilina] *prakrativakna post corr.*; *prakratikna*  
*ante corr.*

What is the reason of doubting about all the acts? What is the reason of causing suffering [to oneself]? Let there be the enjoyment of the objects of pleasure! Similarly, water-buffaloes, cows, dogs, pigs, as soon as they die they return to non-existence. The returning to non-existence is by no means a guess, for visibly their bodies disappear'. [I reply:] That which you claim to be liberation, the heart and mind do not know about it. And as for the non-existence being called *Summum Bonum*, what is the favour granted by it?<sup>221</sup> How is the state of supernatural prowess brought about by it? The opponent replies: 'When one obtains the state of supernatural prowess, that is not *liberation*. Only when one vanishes, that is *liberation*'. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] When, then, does it (i.e. liberation) come? For there is not one who lives [after one is liberated]. How could what exists be permanent? When is the non-existence directly perceived? The opponent replies: 'It is in the future, at the time that dissolution comes about, when the whole universe will be non-existence'. Thus speaks the opponent. [I reply:] What if the whole universe will arise once again? 'That explains why the universe is dissolved into non-existence, for from non-existence is the origin from which it came forth formerly'. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] If it is so, your view is contradictory. The reason why it is regarded as contradictory is that, as you say, the universe is dissolved in the non-existence. The universe arising now, it is regarded as arising from non-existence. 'Wrong, non-existence does not mean the dissolution of the universe while it arises'. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] it is not possible that the *Summum Bonum* is like this.

Kumāra spoke:

[38] What is that which has been designated by the opponent as non-existence and destination of the universe, and the origin of the universe's arising? Please be kind, teach me, o Lord!

[The Lord:]

What has been designated by the opponent as non-existence and *Summum Bonum*, that is designated as [being] dissolved into unevolved matter:<sup>222</sup> there is no union of the mind [and] the *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*. Its characteristic is darkness without sentience, for the state of insight is not found in it.

221. This argument is a common rhetorical device in Sanskrit Śāstras (cf. Part III, p. 606).

222. My emendations of *prakrativakna* (itself a scribal correction of *prakratikna*), into *prakṛtilina*, and of *pasamhniṃ* into *paśaṅgaṃ in*, are justified by the doctrinal context of the passage (cf. Part III, p. 606).

- 5    *ñuniveh ikañ cetanā, apa matañnyan sinañguh uliha niñ jagat apan ya ikā  
      kriyāśakti bhaṭāra ñaranya, māyāmāyā ikā ātmā<,> ya ta khyāti bhaṭāra para-  
      makāraṇa, yāvat pvekañ ātmā cumetanekañ prakṛtitattva, tāvat mētu ikañ* 86v  
 10   *jagat, yapvan mari ikañ prakṛtitattva ci/netanā denirañ ātmā, lina ikañ jagat*  
      *maluy ri sañkanya ri prakṛtitattva, mañkana sthiti nikañ rāt sañkanya ñūni,*  
      *sumahur sañ kumāra,*  
      *[39] apa dumeñ nikañ prakṛtitattva sañguhən tayā de sañ para,*  
      *sumahur bhaṭāra,*  
      *apan tan hiḍəpnya, ñuniveh ikañ lakṣaṇa, tan paramārtha pvekañ tayā sin-  
      añguh sañ para viśeṣa, taha tan paramārtha ikā, apan sañka ni jagat lāvan* 87r  
      *ulihanya, mvañ inulihakən taya, vruh pva sañ yogi, an tan paramārtha ikañ*  
      *tayā, ya ta matañnyan tan ikā phala ni / samādhi sañ yogi, ndya ta lakṣaṇa*  
 15   *sañ hyañ paramārtha, anuñ tuju ni samādhi sañ yogi, yan kva liñanta, ikañ*  
      *cetanā sarvajña sañ kumavruhi ikañ rāt kabeh, sarvakāryakartā, sañ gumave*  
      *ikañ rāt kabeh, ndi ta kahananira, yan kva liñanta, kahananira ikañ rāt kabeh,*  
      *ndātan katon, apan tan palakṣaṇa, tan parūpa, tan pahiḍəp, pisaninū, apa*  
      *byaktanyān hana, yan kva liñanta, nihan utpattisthitilina ni jagat, yeka incā* 87v  
      *bhaṭāra, ikañ prakṛtitattva, ya sinañguh niṣkala ñaranya, a/hyun pva sira*  
      *gumavaya jagat ya matañnyan tañ ātmā cumetanekañ prakṛtitattva, matañ-  
      nyan mētu nāda sañkeñ niṣkala, sañke nāda mētu tañ vindu, sañkeñ vindu*  
 20   *mētu tañ ardhaçandra, sañke ardhaçandra, mētu ta ॐkāra, sañkeñ ॐkāra*  
      *mētu tañ tryakṣara, <sañkeñ tryakṣara> mētu tañ pañcākṣara, sañkeñ pañ-  
      cākṣara, mētu tañ jagat kabeh, nāhan lakṣaṇa nikañ niṣkalatattvān pamət-  
      vakəna jagat,*

1 ikañ ] *em.*; ikā *cod.*    1 matañnyan sinañguh ] *em.*; mañtañnyan sinañgu *cod.*    2 kriyā-  
 śakti ] *em.*; krəyasakti *cod.*    2 khyāti ] *conj.*; katti *cod.*    3 yāvat ] *em.*; tavat *cod.*    4 ma-  
 ri ] *em.*; marri *cod.*    6 sumahur ] *em.*; sumahu *cod.*    7 nikañ ] *em.*; nikā *cod.*    7 sañguh-  
 ən ] *em.*; sañguhhiñ *cod.*    10 ikā ] *em.*; ikāñ *cod.*    14 ikañ ] *em.*; ikā *cod.*    17 utpatti-  
 sthitilina ni ] *em.*; utpāptistiliṇa nə *cod.*    17 yeka ] *em.*; yoka *cod.*    18 pva ] *em.*; pa  
*cod.*    21 tañ ardhaçandra ] *em.*; tañ addāçandra *cod.*    22 tryakṣara ] *em.*; tryara *cod.*  
 23 nikañ ] *em.*; niñkā *cod.*    23–24 pamətvakəna ] *em.*; pamtukna *cod.*



Furthermore for what reason is the sentient designated as the destination of the universe? Because it is the *power of action of the Lord*. The Soul is like an illusory image; it is a denomination<sup>223</sup> of the Lord Supreme Cause. As soon as the Soul becomes aware of the principle of unevolved matter, the universe arises. When the Soul ceases to be aware of the principle of unevolved matter, the universe dissolves, going back to its origin, in the principle of unevolved matter. Thus is the fixed order of the universe, its former origin.

Kumāra spoke:

[39] For what reason has the principle of unevolved matter been designated as non-existence by the opponent?

The Lord spoke:

For [there is] no conception of it, all the less so any distinctive mark. It is not the case that the *Summum Bonum* is the non-existence that has been designated as *Supreme* by the opponent. No, it is not the *Summum Bonum*, for [it is] the origin of the universe, and its destination. As for the being brought back [to] non-existence, the yogin knows that the *Summum Bonum* is not the non-existence; that is the reason why that [non-existence] is not the fruit of the absorption of the yogin. ‘What is the distinctive mark of the *Summum Bonum*, which is the direct aim of the absorption of the yogin?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] The sentient: omniscient, who knows the whole universe; omnipotent, who is the author of the entire universe. ‘Where are His whereabouts?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] His whereabouts are the whole universe, although he is not seen, for He is without distinctive marks, without form, without a notion. ‘Impossible. What is the evidence of its existence?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] As follows: the creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe. That is the wish of the Lord. The principle of unevolved matter, that is designated as *unmanifest*. He desires to create the universe; that is the reason why the Soul becomes aware of the principle of unevolved matter. Therefore, the *nāda* comes forth from the unmanifest. From the *nāda* comes forth the *bindu*. From the *bindu* comes forth the *ardhacandra*. From the *ardhacandra* comes forth the *om-kāra*. From the *om-kāra* come forth the three-syllables. From the three-syllables<sup>224</sup> come forth the five-syllables. From the five-syllables comes forth the whole universe. Thus are the characteristics of the unmanifest principle in generating the universe.

223. Conjecturally emending *katti* into *khyāti*.

224. I have added this clause by way of emendation.

- sumahur sañ para, kadi sañkeñ prakṛti ikañ vindu nāda, apan sañkeñ bhaṭāra  
 ikañ vindu nāda mētu, yan mañkana liña sañ para, yan dadya tañ dharma  
 tuṅgal sumaṇḍaṇa dha/rma rva, ndya dharma rva ñaranya, nyan cetanā lā- 88r  
 van acetanā, ≤n≥dya ñaranya cetanā, bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa, ndya acetanā  
 5 ñaranya, nyan prakṛtitattva, yekā tan dadi pinakadharmān atuṅgal, padanya,  
 kady aṅgān in tēñah ñve, sēñguhēn ta tēñah vēñi, apa matañnyan tan dadi  
 mañkana bhaṭāra, apan sira vēñañ makecchā ikañ rat kabeh, yan mañkana  
 liña sañ para, sañsāra kapva bhaṭāra yan mañkana, sadenyan sañsāra bha-  
 ṭāra, yan kva liña sañ para, tan palvir kapva ikiñ rāt kabeh, denyan tan palvir  
 10 ike jagat, apa yan kasañsayakna, yan mañ/kana liña sañ para, ndya jagat tan 88v  
 palvir tinonta, apan ta pva pratyakṣa ya, yāvat tan palvir ikañ jagat, tāvat  
*pralaya, pralaya* ñaranya, mētv † əgatah tālan † yan təkā, apan icchā bhaṭāra  
 inapekṣānya, ◉

2 dadya] *em.*; dadiha *cod.* 4 ≤n≥dya ñaranya cetanā] *conj.*; \_dya na ñara cetanya *cod.*  
 6 ñve] *em.*; ñveñ *cod.* 6 vēñi] *em.*; vñə *cod.* 6 tan] *em.*; tanā *cod.* 8 sañsāra] *em.*;  
 sañsāra *cod.* 8 mañkana] *em.*; makana *cod.* 9 ikiñ] *em.*; ikēñ *cod.* 11 yāvat] *em.*;  
 tavat *cod.* 13 inapekṣānya] *em.*; inapekṣānyan *cod.*

The opponent replies: ‘How could the *bindu* and *nāda* [come] from the unevolved matter? For the *nāda* and *bindu* come forth from the Lord’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] If it happens that the single entity will be in two entities, what are the two entities called? Thus: sentient and insentient. What is the meaning of sentient? The Lord Supreme Cause. What is the meaning of insentient? Thus: the principle of unevolved matter. It is not possible that they constitute a single entity. For example: like if midday will be called midnight. ‘What is the reason why it is impossible that the Lord is in this way, as He is able to conjure up at the whole universe?’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] If it would be so, the Lord is one who experiences suffering. ‘Let there be the suffering of the Lord’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] Then, this whole universe is without form. ‘What does it matter if we call into question the very fact that the universe has a form?’ If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply]: How come that the universe, which [according to you] does not have a form, is seen by you? For it is indeed directly perceptible.<sup>225</sup> As soon as the universe does not have a form, it is the *final dissolution*. *Final dissolution* means: when it comes, the † *gatah tālan* † arises,<sup>226</sup> for it is required by the wish of the Lord.

225. Or, reading *tā pva* (stressed negative particle) instead of *ta pva* (stress particles): ‘For [the universe without form] is not directly perceptible’.

226. I have found no convincing emendation for this sequence of *akṣaras*, which is apparently corrupt. I have discarded the possibility of emending/reading this clause into *mātv i gatakālanyān tākā* ‘the time of the past has come, when it arrives’, for it does not make any sense to me. I rather think that (ə)*gatah tālan* might be a corruption for a word denoting the supernatural agent through which the universe is destroyed by the Lord, which may be fire (e.g. *bāḍavanala*, *kālabahni*) or water. In the latter case, one may consider the emendation *ghaṭakāla*, ‘the time of the [water-]jar’ (perhaps in connection with the jar-bearer Agastya, who once saved the world from deluge?); the same compound can also be intended as ‘the time of the constellation Aquarius’, which implies an astronomical calculation for the coming of the *pralaya*.



III  
DOCTRINE



## The Lord

THE DEFINITION OF THE LORD plays an important role in Old Javanese Tutur and Tattvas. It is usually Śiva Himself who, at the beginning of the treatises, describes His utterly transcendent aspect as Supreme Reality or *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*).

As the  
Absolute

This paramount aspect is defined in most sources as formless and devoid of parts; incomparable, pure, one without a second. The Old Javanese passages are in harmony with the Sanskrit Śaiva sources, from the ones of the Atimārga through the Siddhāntatantras of the Mantramārga, where a section is invariably devoted to the characterization of the Lord (*pati*) in both His transcendent and personal aspects. One observes in the sources from both South and Southeast Asia a continuity with earlier speculations on God as the Absolute found in the Upaniṣads, most notably in the *Śvetāśvatara*.

The first śloka of the *Dharma Pāṭaṅjala*, uttered by the Lord in reply to Kumāra's question regarding the nature of the Supreme Reality, describes that entity as follows:

*The Lord—unfathomable, formless, appeased, constant, immutable—  
that is Śiva, subtle, supreme, appeased, with form as well as formless.*

DHPĀT  
194.20–196.7

Because it is designated as *unfathomable*, for it is not capable of being made object of thinking. It is *formless*, it does not have a body, nor a colour. It is not red, not white, not yellow, not black, brown, bi-coloured, and so on; all of these do not exist in the *Summum Bonum*. It is not affected by old age and death. It does not diminish, it does not increase. It is entirely *immutable*, it constantly remains still. It is pleasure without end, enjoyment that does not turn into pain, life that does not turn into death. It is more extensive than the

whole universe. It surpasses, not being surpassed. It is *pervasive*. *Pervasive* means: it fills the whole universe. It is not perceived: it itself perceives. It is not known: it itself knows, for it is omniscient, it knows the whole universe. It is omnipotent: it creates the whole universe. For the evidence of this is as follows: all of you live, act, desire, know intentions.

The passage describes the *Summum Bonum* as devoid of any form and relation and thus impossible to be characterized according to the conventional human categories; but, at the same time, it attributes to that Absolute the name and attributes of the Lord Śiva.

As we read at the very outset of the *Dharma Pātañjala* (194.11–13), Śiva as the *Summum Bonum* can be known only through absorption (*samādhi*),<sup>1</sup> and hence not through the normal means of perception. The Lord Himself is indeed the Perceiver par excellence, in whom every kind of perception is grounded.<sup>2</sup> As is explained further (206.2–4), it is His Power<sup>3</sup> that makes experience of pleasure and pain possible, and which causes one to know about what is to be avoided and what is to be done. Not only experience but also life itself would be impossible without having the Lord as its ultimate ground:

DhPāt  
200.2–5

Indeed the whole universe does not exist, if the *Summum Bonum* is non-

1. Cf. below, p. 481.
2. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 206.2–6. The view that what makes knowledge possible cannot be made object of cognition itself is a common philosophical view in Śaiva texts. On the inaccessibility to human perception of the Lord as the Absolute, cf. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 4.20b: ‘No one can see Him with the eyes’ *na cakṣuṣā paśyati kaś canainam*; *Niśvāsakārikā* (T17 A, p. 549) 39–40ab: ‘Unfathomable, indiscernible, omniscient, unlimited; free from the qualities of good and bad and not joined with anything. It cannot be illuminated by the means of knowledge such as direct perception, etc.’ *aprameyam avijñeyam sarvajñam sarvato-mukham / dharmādharmaguṇair hīnam saṁśṛitam na ca kenacit / pratyakṣādipramāṇais tu na ca śakyam prakāśitum /*; *Pauṣkaraparamēśvara* 115.7: ‘The means of knowledge are taught to be just for the sake of the realization of the objects of perception; given the fact that God is unfathomable, which means of knowledge can demonstrate Him?’ *prameyasādhanāyaiva pramāṇāny uditāni tu / aprameyasya devasya kiṁ pramāṇair prasādhyate /*; etc. The early Śaiva author Sadyojyotis in his commentary ad *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, VP 4.3–6 (cf. below, p. 348), explains that Śiva as Supreme Reality is not expressible and cannot be known or characterized as a ‘reified’ entity (*evambhūtam etad*) through direct experience or inference, for ‘it is beyond the means of knowledge of bound souls’ (*paśupramāṇānām agocaram tat*, quoted from an untraced source). Sadyojyotis further argues that the Lord is subtle because He is not perceptible; He can be known only by Himself, and knowledge of Him consists of self-experience (*svaśamvedyam svānubhūtilakṣaṇam syāt*).
3. I.e. *śakti*, presumably to be understood as *jñānaśakti* (Power of Knowledge), cf. p. 356.



existence, and all of you could not live, if the *Summum Bonum* would be non-existence. This life of yours is visible, as is the existence of the whole universe: from this you can infer that the *Summum Bonum* is not non-existence.

*Dharma Pātañjala* 210.8–9 states that the whole world uses the *Summum Bonum* as a means to live; a similar view is found in the *Tattvajñāna* (5.20): ‘He serves as life for the whole universe and all creatures’ *sira ta pinakahurip in rāt kabeh / sarvajanma kabeh*, and in the *Bhuvanakośa* (1.9d): ‘[He is] the life of the creatures [...] He serves as life of everything that exists’ *bhūtānān jīva / [...] sira pinakajīva niñ dadi kabeh*.

The transcendent aspect of the Supreme Reality is characterized elsewhere in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, for instance in the course of the debate with a nihilist opponent as to the existence of the Lord and the definition of *Summum Bonum* (200.6–204.3). Besides lacking a form, body or colour, the Lord is described as utterly devoid of any kind of distinguishing marks or characteristics on account of His subtlety.<sup>4</sup> Such a negative theology is further developed in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (48) to such an extent that, paradoxically, the Supreme Reality (*viśeṣa*) cannot even be said to exist, for that would be an unwanted attribution of a condition or characteristic which would put it at the same level with other existing (or non-existing) entities:

[The *Summum Bonum* is] devoid of existence and free of non-existence; being without existence and not-existence, it is unmanifest and without distinctive marks.

If you (Vṛhaspati) would think that *viśeṣa* is being and not non-being [I would reply] that, first of all, its body is both being and not-being.<sup>5</sup>

4. In *Dharma Pātañjala* 204.3–6, to the *pūrvapakṣin*’s objection that the Supreme Reality does not exist on account of His being—according to the Lord’s words—without distinctive marks, bodiless, invisible and unfathomable, the Lord replies that such a reality is designated as subtle (and yet existing). For references to the Lord’s lack of body or colour, cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 336.15, *Navaruci* p. 55.2–3, *Bhuvanakośa* 2.14, *Gaṇapatitattva* exegesis ad śloka 52–53, *Jñānasiddhānta* śloka 8.5 and exegesis. Among the Sanskrit sources, cf. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 4.1a and the examples in *Siddhāntatantras* referred to below, p. 576. For the lack of distinguishing marks, cf. *Kaṭhopaniṣad* 6.8.

5. *Vṛhaspatitattva*, śloka 48 and commentary thereon (1–2):  
*sadbhāvena parityaktam asadbhāvavivarjitam /*  
*sadasadbhāvarahitam niṣkalan tam alakṣaṇam //*

A similar view is expressed in *Jñānasiddhānta* 8.6:

[It is] also subtle and without limitations, difficult to perceive, neither existence nor non-existence. There is nothing higher than Itself, permanent, eternally ruling—It is the Lord.

And also, absolute imperceptibility is the characteristic of the Lord, for He is *subtle*, fine without limits; [being] the very end of the fine, He escapes perception. There are neither existence nor non-existence in Him. For non-existence is [His] own nature, that is why He is greater than the greatest, higher than the highest. There is none who is able to defeat Him. For He is Sadāśiva, ruling over the manifest and unmanifest [worlds].<sup>6</sup>

The implication is: that which is Existence itself, i.e. that which makes both existence and non-existence themselves possible, is deemed to be beyond both categories.<sup>7</sup> Elsewhere, such as in *Bhuvanakośa* 3.78, the Supreme Reality, also denoted by the name Śiva, is defined as Void (*śūnya*) and without

**48d** niṣkalan tam ] A ; niskalanta CG ; niṣkālāntam DE ; niṣkalāntam F Ed.

*tan taya ta saṃ hyaṃ viśeṣa / hana kapva sira / nyapan tahan kva liṇanta / huvus rumuhun ika hana taya kapvāvaknira /*

6. *Jñānasiddhānta* 8, śloka 6 and commentary thereon:

*sūkṣmānantāpi durgrāhyaṃ na bhāvaṃ na ca nirbhāvaṃ /  
paramo nāpi tad dhruvaṃ sadādhikāram īśvaram //*

**6b** na bhāvaṃ na ] conj. ; na taye na Ed.

*lavan ta muvah, tan kagrahita kēta lakṣaṇa bhaṭṭāra. apan sūkṣma, alit tan pakahiṇan, vakaṣ niṇ alit sumilib tan hana bhāvābhāva ri sira. apan taya svabhāva, ya ta mataṇṇyan laviḥ sakeṇ laviḥ, uttama sakeṇ uttama sira. ndatan hana vanaṇ sumorakēna sira. apan sira sadāśiva, vaśavaśitva riṇ sakalanīṣkala. • bhāvābhāva ] em. ; bhāva-bhāva Ed.*

7. This view is traceable to Sanskrit sources: cf., e.g., *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 5.14a: 'Author of existence and non-existence' *bhāvābhāvakaram*; *Bhagavadgītā* 13.12cd: 'The Supreme Brahman has no beginning; it is said to be neither existing nor non-existing' *anādimat paraṃ brahma na sat tan nāsad ucyate*, and a similar version in the Vaiṣṇava *Jayākhya-saṃhitā* 4.63ab: 'That [Supreme Reality] is beginningless and infinite; it is said to be neither existing nor non-existing' *anādi tad anantaṃ ca na sat tan nāsad ucyate*; the Buddhist *Guhyasiddhi* 3.45c (on the Supreme reality): 'devoid of both existence and non-existence' *bhāvābhāvavinirmuktaṃ* (compare *Saṅ Hyaṇ Kamahāyānikan* p. 19 line 27: *astināstiviyati-krāntam*, referring to the supreme Mahāyāna-path). Among the Śaiva sources, cf. *Nīśvāsa-kārikā* 49.33cd: 'It is not the case that He does exist, it is not the case that He does not exist; standing everywhere, † *kiṃ aviṣṭhitam* †' *na cāsti na ca vā nāsti sarvasthaṃ kim aviṣṭhitam*; 49.41ab: 'free from both existence and non-existence, devoid of what has the nature of illusion and what does not' (or *māyā-mayin*, 'devoid of illusion and that which has the nature of illusion') *bhāvābhāvavinirmuktaṃ māyāmāyivivarjitam*.

a Self (*nirātmaka*).<sup>8</sup> However nihilistic they may appear, these definitions are probably not to be taken as technical terms conveying a sharp doctrinal standpoint, for they were formulated in a yogic milieu where visualization and meditative techniques were more important than philosophical speculation.<sup>9</sup>

These paradoxical characterizations notwithstanding, from a theological point of view the Lord who is the *Summum Bonum*, being the Cause of the universe (*jagatkāraṇa*; *bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa*), is by definition existent. While He is transcendent and hence not capable of being described by positive attributes, His existence can be nonetheless logically determined through inference from His effects, i.e. His creation. The syllogistic demonstration of the Lord's existence is present *in nuce* in the early Siddhāntatan-

8. Here Śiva is defined as Void because it is difficult to perceive (*durvijñeya*); compare *Bhuvanakośa* 1.9, where it is defined as Void and as being beyond the means of perception (*nirindriya*). In *Bhuvanakośa* 4.35–36 the stress on the Lord as Void is evidently to be understood in the meditative and mantric context forming the main focus of the chapter. Still, the definition of Śiva in 3.78 as having no Self calls to mind the arguments of the Buddhists. As pointed out by GONDA (1971:407), analogous definitions of Śiva as Void are widespread in Balinese Sanskrit Stutis, where the Lord is often compared to a spotless sky (*ākāśaṃ nirmalam*). As noted by SOEBADIO (1971:48) with respect to the first six prose chapters of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, *śūnya* is equated to both Śiva and the Supreme Reality and represents the last and highest goal in the practitioner's meditative practice. On the basis of the inclusion of such 'Buddhist' terms as *śūnya* and *śūnyatā* among those used to describe the Supreme reality in Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas (e.g. *Jñānasiddhānta* 3.2–3, 8.3; *Gaṇapatitattva* 2, 23; *Mahājñāna* 62, 83), SANDERSON (2009:122) envisages in those works a direct Buddhist influence that would have affected Śaivism in the Archipelago. Be this as it may, it needs to be pointed out that among the interpretations of the term *śūnya*, according to an earlier Buddhist text like the *Madhyāntavibhāṅgabhāṣya* by Vasubandhu (1.14c), there is that of being neither existence (*bhāva*) nor non-existence (*abhāva*)—a characterization that occurs often in Old Javanese sources as applied to Śiva as Supreme Reality.

9. That the attribution of the predicate Void came easily to the minds of the philosophically-minded Śaiva authors as a potential issue is suggested by the question of Pratoda to the Lord that opens the section on *pati* of such a speculative scripture as the *Kiraṇa* (VP 9, śloka 1, 3ab and 5): 'How can the principle of Śiva be void? That which is void is not within the domain of the senses. Direct perception is the knowledge of the senses; what is beyond it is not at all. [...] [Śiva] is designated as void not because He does not exist, but because He is not dependent upon anything else [...] He is beyond the senses because of subtleness. He is dissolved into the subtle Power. That is regarded as the Power of Knowledge; it is through that Knowledge only that He is known' *śivatattvaṃ katham śūnyaṃ yac chūnyaṃ nākṣagocaram / pratyakṣam ākṣavijñānam tadatītam na kimcana* // [...] *nābhāvāc chūnyam ity uktam anyāpekṣatayātra tu* // [...] *atīndriyaḥ susūkṣmatvāt sūkṣmaśaktīlayaṃ gataḥ / jñānaśaktir matā sāpi tajjñānāḥ jñāta eva saḥ* //.

tras and eventually becomes a well-established cliché in the later Śāstric Śaiva scriptures as in the commentaries thereon, where the arguments of the atheists are refuted.<sup>10</sup> It should be pointed out, however, that for the Śaiva the primary and only ‘real’ means for establishing the existence of such an unfathomable reality as the Supreme Being remains revelation (*āgama*).

Several Tuturs and Tattvas characterize the paradoxical nature of the Lord as transcendent yet immanent in His creation, thereby continuing the speculative trend documented in Siddhāntatantras whose oldest known manifestation is in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*.<sup>11</sup> In the Old Javanese sources, however, this characterization is not problematized in terms of monism or dualism, an issue which was considered important especially by the Sanskrit Śaiva commentators. Thus, in Tuturs and Tattvas, His being hidden in everything is illustrated not with elaborate logical arguments, but simply through well-established analogies, which are attested in the Upaniṣads and in some early Siddhāntatantras. These analogies, namely the presence of fire in wood and butter in milk, bore the force of proof to establish the existence of the Lord, invisible and yet existent, One and yet omnipresent in the manifest world.<sup>12</sup>

A series of attributes of the transcendent aspect of the Supreme Reality that closely resembles those appearing in the Old Javanese passage after the opening śloka of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is found in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 7–10, which finds a parallel in *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 4.3–6.<sup>13</sup> All the four verses are commented upon as a unit in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*—an arrangement which reflects the one in the *Vṛtti* on the *Svāyambhuva* by Sadyojyotis, according to whom the last three are the explanation of the first one:

10. For a discussion of this philosophical topos in Old Javanese and Sanskrit sources, cf. below, pp. 570–584.

11. Cf. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 6.11 (trans. OLIVELLE 1998:431): ‘The one God hidden in all beings, pervading the universe, the inner self of all beings, the overseer of the work [i.e. creation], dwelling in all beings, the witness, the avenger, alone, devoid of qualities’ *eko devaḥ sarvabhūteṣu gūḍhaḥ sarvavyāpī sarvabhūtāntarātmā / karmādhyakṣaḥ sarvabhūtādhivāsaḥ sākṣī cetā kevalo nirguṇaś ca //*.

12. I shall discuss these analogies in detail below (pp. 381–383), in connection with the issue of monism vs. dualism in Old Javanese Śaiva sources, and in connection with *prayogasandhi* (pp. 544–550).

13. This series of verses indeed finds parallels in several Siddhāntatantras, which define the Lord using similar attributes: cf., e.g., *Sarvajñānottara* VP 1.45–47; *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 10.10–20; *Niśvāsakārikā* VP 49; *Netratantra* 21.20–31.

*Unfathomable, undefinable, incomparable, without stain, subtle, ubiquitous, eternal, unchangeable, undecaying—He is the Lord.*

*He is immeasurable, because He is infinite. He is undefinable and without distinguishing marks. He is incomparable and one-in-His-kind. He is without stain, because He is spotless.*

*He is subtle, because He is not perceived. He is ubiquitous, by virtue of His pervasiveness. He is eternal, by virtue of His being devoid of cause.*

*He is unchangeable, by virtue of His being immovable.*

*He is undecaying, by virtue of His being a perfect whole, and He has an auspicious nature. This principle of Śiva has been [thus] told. He is present within everything.<sup>14</sup>*

The Lord is *unfathomable*, He cannot be made object of thought. For what reason? Because He is *endless*, without boundaries. *Undefinable*, without indication as to His existence, because of His being without distinguishing marks. *Incomparable*, without an equal, because there is absolutely nothing similar to Him. *Without disease*, without being effected by suffering because of His being pure. He is *subtle*, because of His being incapable of being perceived. He is pervasive and omnipresent, the universe along with its whole content is filled by Him. He is *eternal*, constantly still, because of being without origin. *Unchangeable*, He is steadfast because of His being without change, constantly still. *Undecaying*, without diminishing, because of being full. He is the *Lord*. He is called the Lord because He is powerful. He is the ruler, without being ruled upon [by anything]. Thus is the Principle of the Supreme Śiva.<sup>15</sup>

14. The final half-line 10d, reading *sarvataḥ parisaṁsthitaḥ*, has been translated by ZIESENIS (1958:27) as 'überall ringsum befindlich' (cf. a similar expression, characterizing the Lord, in *Netratantra* 21.25: *sarvabhūteṣu saṁsthitam*). As I have pointed out previously (ACRI 2006:119–120), the reading of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which differs from the *sarvādhvoparisaṁsthitaḥ* (i.e. *sarva-adhva-upari-saṁsthitaḥ* 'standing above the ensemble of the paths') of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, is remarkable insofar as it may suggest a lack of familiarity with the Śaiva doctrine of the initiatory cosmic 'paths' (*adhvan*) on the part of the Javanese author(s). The term *sarvādhvan* is indeed commented upon by Sad-jojyotis as referring to the sixfold path of phonemes, worlds, *kalās*, principles, words and mantras. I have searched in vain for any precise references to this systematization (as well as to the twofold pure and impure path, *śuddha-* and *aśuddhādhvan*) in Old Javanese sources. Cf. below, p. 421.

15. *Vṛhaspatitattva*, śloka 7–10 and exegesis:

*aprameyam anirdeśyam anaupamyam anāmayam /*  
*sūkṣmaṁ sarvagataṁ nityaṁ dhruvaṁ avyayam īśvaram // 7*  
*aprameyam anantatvād anirdeśyam alakṣaṇam /*

Unlike the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* characterizes the Lord according to three aspects or manifestations, namely the highest principle of the Supreme Śiva (*paramaśivatattva*), followed by the principle of Sadāśiva (*sadāśivatattva*) and of Śiva (*śivatattva* or *śivātmattva*). These three forms of the Lord are but three aspects of the principle of sentience (*cetanā*).<sup>16</sup> Although a similar threefold systematization is attested in Siddhāntatantras, I have found no exact correspondences; as a matter of fact, these three prin-

*anaupamyam asādrśyaṃ vimalatvād anāmayam // 8*

*sūkṣmaṃ cānupalabhyatvād vyāpakatvāc ca sarvagam /*

*nityaṃ kāraṇaśūnyatvam acalatvāc ca tad dhruvam // 9*

*avyayam paripūrṇatvāt saumyabhāvaṃ tathaiva ca /*

*śivatattvam idam uktaṃ sarvataḥ parisaṃsthitāḥ // 10*

▷ Vṛh 7–10 ≈ SBSS VP 4.3–6 ▷ Vṛh 7ab = NT 21.20cd, NiKār 49.11ab ▷ Vṛh 7c = RSS VP 15a ▷ Vṛh 7d = DhPāt 1b

**8b** alakṣaṇam ] Vṛh Ed.; alakṣyataḥ SBSS **8c** asādrśyaṃ ] SBSS; anādrśyaṃ

Vṛh Ed., BDEF; mahādrśyaṃ A; mahadrśyaṃ CG **8d** vimalatvād ] Vṛh Ed.,

SBSS; viphalatvam A; viphalatvād BDEF (CG om.) **9a** cānupalabhyatvād ]

Vṛh Ed., SBSS; cānupalabdhvat A; cānupalabdha tat CG; cānupalabhyatvāt

B; cānupalabhyatvāt DEF **9b** vyāpakatvāc ca sarvagam ] Vṛh Ed., SBSS; vya-

pakatvaṃ ca sarvaṅgam A; sarvaṅgam CG; vyāpakam sarvavatvaṃ ca BDE; vya-

pakam sarvvasarvaṅgam F **9c** nityaṃ kāraṇaśūnyatvam ] SBSS; nityākāreṇa

śūnyatvam Vṛh Ed.; nityakāreṇa śūnyasya ACG; nityākāreṇa śūnyasya BDEF

**9d** acalatvāc ca tad dhruvam ] Vṛh Ed., SBSS; avalanoccha tan dravam A;

avalano ca tad dravam B; °tadravam D; °tan dravam E; avalanoḥ ca tad ravavam

CG; acaleno ca tad ravan F **10b** saumyabhāvaṃ tathaiva ca ] Vṛh Ed.; sora° A;

soma° BEF; somabhava ta° CG; somabhavam ta° D; svāmibhāvāt tathesvaram

SBSS **10d** sarvataḥ ] Vṛh Ed.; sarvatva AF; sarvatvā BDE; sarvata CG; sar-

vādhvo° SBSS • parisaṃsthitāḥ ] Vṛh Ed., F; parisaṃstastha A; °saṃstathā B;

°sastato CG; °saṃstada D; parisaṃstastha E

*aprameya bhāṭāra / tan pāṇṇaṇṇan / apa hetu / ri kadadinyan ananta / tan pahiṇan / a-*

*nirdeśyam / tan patuduhan / ri kadadinyan tan palakṣaṇa / anaupamyam / tatan papaḍa / ri*

*kadadinyan tan hana paḍanira juga / anāmayam / tatan kṇeṇ lara / ri kadadinyan alilaṇ /*

*sūkṣma ta sira / ri kadadinyan tan vṇaṇ inupalabdhi / vyāpaka ta sira sarvagata / kahibḥkan*

*tikaṇ rāt denira / sahananya kabeh / nityomiḍḍḥ sadākāla / ri kadadinyan tan pasaṇkan /*

*dhruvam / meṇṭ ta sira / ri kadadinyan tan polah / umiḍḍḥ sadākāla / avyayam / tatan pa-*

*lvaṇ / ri kadadinyan paripūrṇa / īśvara ta sira / īśvara ṇaranya ri kadadinyan prabhu ta sira /*

*sira ta pramāṇa tan kapramāṇan / nahan yaṇ paramaśivatattva ṇaranya //*

16. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 6.9–10; 14.36–45; 50.18–21. The last passage defines the triad as follows, in an evidently hierarchical way: *śivatattva* is ‘pleasure that does not turn into pain’ *sukha tan pabalik duhkha*; *sadāśivatattva* is ‘pleasure without beginning nor end’ *vvit tan patuṇtuṇ ikaṇ sukha*; *paramaśivatattva* is ‘pleasure without parts, which is not capable of being characterized’ *niṣkala tan vṇaṇ vinastvan ikaṇ sukha*.

ciples differ in their denominations from source to source.<sup>17</sup> The commonest triad encountered in the Sanskrit scriptures is Śiva, Sadāśiva and Īśvara, in their turn corresponding to His aspects of ‘endowed with parts’ (*sakala*), ‘both endowed with and devoid of parts’ (*sakalanīṣkala*) and ‘devoid of parts’ (*nīṣkala*).<sup>18</sup> It is evident that this kind of arrangement is an attempt to justify on doctrinal grounds the paradoxical character of the Supreme reality, which is transcendent yet immanent in creation, invisible yet inferable, impersonal yet embodied in the Lord, unfathomable yet not totally inaccessible to the human mind.

A threefold systematization of the Supreme Reality similar to the one expounded in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* is found in the *Tattvajñāna*. The text (ch. 2–5) divides the *śivatattva* into the three categories of *paramaśivatattva*, *sadāśivatattva* and *ātmikatattva*.<sup>19</sup> Ch. 3 describes the supreme principle as follows:

The principle of the Supreme Śiva is the place of existence of the Lord in the unmanifest (*nīṣkala*). Without activity, without oscillation, without movement, without flow, without cause, without result, without origin, without end. He is only continuous existence, unchanging, still, permanent. The whole universe is completely filled by Him. All the seven worlds are com-

17. On the different systematizations found in the Saiddhāntika literature, cf. GOODALL (2004:192–193, fn. 80).

18. As pointed out by HADIWIJONO (1967:22–23), the *Bhuvanakośa* (9.31–33) relates this threefold categorization in the context of *akṣara* mysticism, equating the *praṇava* (syllable OM), which can be written with one, two or three *vindus* (diacritic signs indicating nasalization) to, respectively, the Lord embodied as *sakala*, *sakalanīṣkala* and *nīṣkala*. Note that in Sanskrit Śaivatantras the words *sakala* and *nīṣkala* can be translated, according to the context, as ‘with parts’ and ‘without parts’, ‘gross’ and ‘subtle’, ‘manifest’ and ‘unmanifest’; while in the (later) Javano-Balinese tradition the terms *sakala* and *nīṣkala* eventually came to mean primarily ‘visible/invisible worlds’ (cf. RUBINSTEIN 2000:49), I find the usage in Old Javanese *Tattvas* and *Tuturs* to be mostly in harmony with the Sanskrit sources.

19. The discrepancy between the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna* with regard to the last member of the triad can be explained by the fact that in the former text (14.44–46) the *śivatattva*, when its powers of omniscience and omnipotence are obliterated because of the intervention of *Māyā*, is said to correspond to *ātmatattva*. On the other hand, *Tattvajñāna* 5 further characterizes the *ātmikatattva* as the principle of Sadāśiva (and not Śiva) when it pervades the principle of *Māyā*, being thereby woven crosswise and lengthwise (*ūtaprota*) and ceasing to be perceived by His creation. A counterpart of both characterizations of Śiva and Sadāśiva appears to be expounded in *Kumāratattva* II (folios 19r–19v), which defines Śiva as He whose body serves as the life for the Soul (*pinakahurip ātmāvahnira*) and Sadāśiva as *ūtaprota* (cf. below, p. 382).

pletely covered, kept together and pervaded by Him. [He] completely fills [them] reaching up to the seven underworlds. The whole universe is entirely filled and covered by Him. He cannot be made to decrease, He cannot be made to increase. He is absolutely without a purpose, without an end. [He] does not aim to be engaged in bad and good. He does not care about them at all. Furthermore, there is no past, future and present in Him. He is not divided by time. He is always just daylight.<sup>20</sup> He is without end, just constant. Thus are the distinguishing marks of the Lord [who is in the] level of the Supreme Śiva.<sup>21</sup>

The triad Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva and Śiva is occasionally found in other (possibly later) Tutors, which appear to be drawing this doctrine from the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Tattvajñāna*. For instance, the *Kumāratattva* II (folio 19a–19b) characterizes Paramaśiva as unfathomable and undefinable (*acintya tan kavastvan*), Sadāśiva as pervaded and pervasive (*vyāpivyāpaka*),<sup>22</sup> omniscient (*sarvajña*) and omnipotent (*sarvakāryakartā*), Śiva as having a body that serves as the life for the Soul (*pinakahurip ātmāvahnira*). Similarly, *Gaṇapatitattva* 52–53 5b refers to the ‘reabsorption’ of Śiva into Sadāśiva and finally Paramaśiva, who is without form and colour. Śloka 104 of the *Bhuvā-*

20. It is possible that the word *rahina*, instead of ‘day, daylight’ (as opposed to night, cf. OJED 1480) here means ‘today’, for the sense required to comply with the metaphor must refer to the concept of time rather than light. For a similar image, cf. *Kaṭhapaniṣad* 4.13cd, according to which the Supreme Reality is the ‘Lord of the past and future. He is the same today and tomorrow’ *iśāno bhūtabhavyasya sa evādyā sa u śvaḥ* (trans. OLIVELLE 1998:395).

21. *Tattvajñāna* 3.1–10: *paramaśivatattva nāranya kashṭhityan bhaṭāra riṇ niṣkala / tan polah tan limbak tan laku tan hili tan pasaṅkan tan paparan tan pavitan tan pavākasan / kevala sthiti umidāṇ humānāṇ laṅgāṇ juga sira / ibək taṇ rāt kabeh denira / kakasut kahəma kavyāpaka kabeh kaṇ saptabhuvana denira / saptapātāla suṇḍul vuntu / sasək pənuh lyab kaṇ jagat denira / tan kavənaṇ linoṇan tan kavənaṇ tinambəhan / niṣkārya niṣprajojana juga sira / tan para vyāpāra riṇ halahayu / nirhuniṇa ta sira ika kabeh / mvaṇ tan hanaṇ atītānā-gatavartamāna ri sira / tan kahələtan sira de niṇ kāla / rahina sadā juga sira / tan pakahilaṇan lanā juga sira / nahan lakṣaṇa bhaṭāra paramaśivatattva /*

22. OJED (2349) explains the compound as ‘probably a reinforcement of *vyāpaka*, but it could also possibly be “including the including”’; another possibility could be ‘pervasive and pervaded’, cf. the usage in *Arjunavivāha* 10.1. A similar compound (*vyāpyavyāpaka*), which might have been the original Sanskrit form, appears in a passage of *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (on *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.5) describing the principle of Soul as pervaded by the Lord (presumably Sadāśiva, for the sūtra *kalitāsana* refers to Sadāśiva’s seat—cf. below, p. 360) and pervading all the lower principles. cf. the analogous description of Sadāśiva in *Tattvajñāna* 33 and 50, *Saṇ Hyaṇ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 70 lines 9–10.



*nasan̄kṣepa* equates, in hierarchical manner, Śiva with the mind-knowledge (*cittajñāna*), Sadāśiva with the isolation (*kevala*) and Para (glossed in the Old Javanese exegesis as Paramaśiva) with supreme isolation (*paramakaivalya*).

But most of the sources do not know about this division and present their own set of speculations. The eighth chapter of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, labelled *Naiṣṭhikajñāna*, is almost entirely devoted to the characterization of the *śivatattva* as impersonal absolute, which is non-cognisable and difficult to be grasped (*avijñeyātidurgrāhya*), the supreme secret (*para guhya*), bodiless (*na śarīraṃ—tātan hana śarīranira*), incomparable (*anopama*) and perfect (*paripūrṇa*); a similar series of attributes of Paramaśiva is found in chapter 25 (*San̄ Hyaṇ̄ Śaivasiddhānta*).<sup>23</sup>

Unlike other Old Javanese sources (including the speculative Tattvas), which are remarkably reticent on the subject and at most touch upon it through elliptic references, the eighth chapter of the *Jñānasiddhānta* features what looks like an elaboration on the issue of the oneness of the Lord:

*He, the Holy Śarva, is One. He is the Primary Cause of the Primary Cause that is Śiva. [But] Śarva is [also] regarded as Not-One, for He is the cause of the fourfold.*

The explanation is: the inherent nature of the Lord is Oneness-and-Non-Oneness. *Oneness* is to conceive the characteristic of the Principle of Śiva as being One. That is, He is considered as only One, not two or three. He has only the Primal Cause that is Śiva as His unique characteristic, without differentiation. *Non-One* means to conceive the Lord as having a fourfold characterization. *Fourfold* means His characteristics: gross, subtle, supreme and Void.<sup>24</sup>

The fourfold division of the Supreme Reality is further detailed in śloka 3 of

23. Verse 6 of which has a parallel in the *Mūlasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (6.8) as well as in *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 19.4 (cf. ACRI 2006:122).

24. *Jñānasiddhānta* 8.2:

*sa eko bhagavān śarvaḥ śivakāraṇakāraṇam /  
aneko viditaḥ śarvaḥ caturvidhasya kāraṇam //*

*kaliṇanya: ekatvānekatva svalakṣaṇa bhaṭṭāra. ekatva ṇaranya, kahiḍāp maṇekalakṣaṇaṇ śivatattva. ndan tuṅgal, tan rva tiga kahiḍāpanira. maṇekalakṣaṇa śivakāraṇa juga, tan paprabheda. aneka ṇaranya kahiḍāpan bhaṭṭāra makalakṣaṇa caturdhā. caturdhā ṇaranya, lakṣaṇanirān sthūla, sūkṣma, para, śūnya.*

the *Jñānasiddhānta* and the elaborate commentary thereon.<sup>25</sup> Gross (*sthūla*) corresponds to the level of audible sound (*śabda*), in which the Lord ‘is uttered as embodied in mantras’ *inuccāraṇa makāvak mantra*, in which case His names are Gaurīpati, Īśvara and Paśupati-Śiva. On the level of the subtle (*sūkṣma*) He is made of conceptualization (*cittamaya*) and ‘reflected upon as embodied in the sacred scriptures’ *inanusmaraṇa makāvak jñāna*, in which case His names are Sadāśiva<sup>26</sup> and Gāyatrī.<sup>27</sup> On the level of the Supreme (*para*), He is beyond conceptualization (*cittavirahita*), as in the Fourth State (*tūryapada*): He is Paramaśiva. On the level of Void (*śūnya*) He is utterly devoid of conceptualization (*cittarahitāntya*): He is without distinguishing marks (*nirlakṣaṇa*), isolated (*kevalya*), having the form of Voidness (*śūnyākāra*). He is called Śiva and Mahānātha, residing in the level of the *kalā* beyond the pacified (*śāntyatīta*) at the top of the cosmic hierarchy. In this level, we are told in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese dyad 8.4, the distinction between *sakala* and *niṣkala* makes no more sense, for ‘the seat of that reality has no real existence’ *tan kavastvan uṅgvānira*, and lacks the dichotomy of near and far, beginning, middle and end.

The longest definition of the Lord is found between the 13th and 15th śloka of the second chapter of the *Bhuvanakośa* (*Brahmarahasya*), whose twenty ślokas are entirely devoted to characterize the Supreme Reality. A long portion of Sanskrit prose (14) describes the Lord—in the rather formu-

25. That verse runs (almost) parallel to *Sārdhatrīśatikālottarāgama* 1.8, which itself constitutes just one of the several variants in which it is attested in Sanskrit sources, including commentaries written by both Śaiva and Buddhist authors (cf. ACRI 2006:121; SFERRA 2007:444 fn. 3; TORELLA 2001:860). The verse describes the three levels of the word or of the *bindu*, being gross, subtle and supreme; the addition of Void to the series appears to be an original Javanese development.

26. *Śivasāda* in the text, which might be an inverted compound (on this phenomenon, cf. GONDA 1973:463–464) or simply a corruption.

27. This sentence seems to refer to Sadāśiva as being the embodiment of Śaiva sacred scriptures: as I have pointed out above (p. 9), besides meaning ‘knowledge’, *jñāna* in Sanskrit and Old Javanese texts can also (simultaneously) refer to a scripture. One may argue that *jñāna* here stands for the Vedas—for Gāyatrī is the essence of the Vedas, and *veda* = *jñāna*; however, since the only Gāyatrī that was known in the Archipelago appears to have been its ‘Tantric’ version (cf. StSt 360), which is attested in the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, the *Pāśupata-sūtra* and a variety of Śaiva Tantric texts, it is more likely that here *jñāna* refers to Śaiva scriptures. Sadāśiva is indeed regarded as the author of sacred, philosophical and other kind of texts in *Tattvajñāna* 4.16–17 (*sañ hyaṇ śāstra āgama aji vaidya tarka vyākaraṇa gaṇita*), and is usually associated with the level of both *sakala* and *niṣkala* (with here corresponds to *sūkṣma*; cf. also p. 351).

laic manner that is typical of a hymn—as having no less than seventy-nine attributes. Each Sanskrit term is then embedded in an Old Javanese commentary and provided with a brief gloss. The Lord, who is called Paramārtha, Maheśvara, Paramātmā and Mahādeva, is characterized through the negative attributes that we have come across in other Old Javanese and Sanskrit texts, such as unfathomable (*acintyaṃ*, *tar kaneṇ hiḍap*), without form (*na rūpam*, *tan parūpa sira*), color (*na varṇam*, *tan pavarṇa sira*), body (*agātram*, *tar pāvak*; *vitanuḥ*, *sira tan pāvak*), etc.; beyond perception of the senses (*atīndriyaḥ*, *sira laviḥ ikaṇ katon*); emptier than the empty (*śūnyātīśūnya*); not touched by affliction (*aśokaṃ*, *tar kaneṇ kiṅkiṇ*), etc.

As  
Personal God

A decidedly ‘humanized’ definition of the paramount reality is given at the end of the passage, where God is said to be the Mother, Father, Kinsman, Kindred, Friend and Teacher.<sup>28</sup> This probably amounts to an attempt at distinguishing the impersonal and personal aspects of God. Various other passages of the *Bhuvanakośa* present attempts at subdividing these aspects of the Lord in a hierarchical way, for instance by characterizing Him as manifested as the pentad of Paramaśiva, Sadāśiva, Śivatara, Śivatama and Śiva, corresponding to, respectively, the ‘lower’ deities called Parameśvara, Sadāśiva, Rudra, Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>29</sup>

Speculations about the distinction between the personal and impersonal aspects of the Supreme Reality are found in *Tattvas*. According to the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (śloka 11–13), the *paramaśivatattva*, which is described as an impersonal absolute, omnipervasive and hidden within everything, is nonetheless capable of being conceptualized as a personal God in His Sadāśiva-form, which is engaged in activity (*savyāpāraḥ*):

Śiva engaged in activity is the Sun, the principle of the sentient [that is] Sadāśiva. Provided with an abode, qualities, pervasive, He appears out of the state of formlessness.

He is the creator, not the efficient agent [of the Universe]. Therefore He is

28. *Bhuvanakośa* 2.14: *sa evam mātā / sira ibu / sira bapa / saḥ vandhuḥ / sira kadaṇ / saḥ svajānaḥ / sira varga / saḥ mitra / sira mitra / saḥ guruḥ / sira guru / saḥ devaḥ / sira deva /*. Compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 13, quoted hereafter. This motif is common in Sanskrit sources: cf., e.g., the *stotra* in *Nyāyamañjarī* 1.684.15–16: ‘For instance, in the world only you are my mother, only you are my father, only you are my sister, only you are my brother’ *tad yathā loke tvam eva me mātā tvam eva me pitā tvam eva me bhaginī tvam eva bhrāteṭi //*.

29. Cf. ZIESENIS (1939:149–151) and HADIWIJONO (1967:24–25).

intent upon its maintenance,<sup>30</sup> constantly shining, omniscient, omnipotent, pervasive.

He is regarded to be the brother, the mother, the father of him who is without refuge; He is the one who liberates from all suffering, from birth to birth.<sup>31</sup>

Here we see that such attributes of the Lord as brother, mother and father, which are similar to those encountered at the end of *Bhuvanakośa* 2.14, characterize the personal God and saviour Sadāśiva. The exegesis defines the term *savyāpāraḥ* as Sadāśiva, which is equated to the Sun (*saṅ hyaṅ āditya*).<sup>32</sup> In the Old Javanese exegesis to śloka 13 He is further described as enthroned on a lotus formed by His Four Powers (*caduśakti*), i.e. Pervasion (*vibhuśakti*), Sovereignty (*prabhuśakti*), Knowledge (*jñānaśakti*) and Action (*kriyāśakti*). Further on, in the exegesis to śloka 15, a mantric body is attributed to Sadāśiva:

In the middle of that [lotus], there is the seat of the Lord when He takes a body. He is *mantrātmā*: the mantras serve as His body. *Īśāna* is the head. *Tatpuruṣa* is the face. *Aghora* is the heart. *Bāmadeva* is the genital organ. *Sadyojāta* is the aspect. *AUM*. Such is that which serves as the body of the Lord. He is shining, having the color of crystal.<sup>33</sup>

30. That is, *anugraha*. I entirely subscribe to NIROM's (1995b:660–661, fn. 30) observation that 'in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* *anugraha* ['maintenance'] must be distinguished from *prāsāda* ['grace']. I have the impression that the former appears to supplant what in other Śaivite schools is called *sthiti* ['maintenance'] and that the term *tirobhāva* ['delusion'] substitutes for *saṃhāra* ['resorption']. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 7.6–11; 14.21–23; 54.2–18; 55.6–8; 56.8–13; 60.20–61.4; 147.14–17' (words within square brackets are my additions). Śloka 13 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* appears to be related to the issue of the Lord as being the material or efficient cause of the universe (cf. below, p. 389).

31. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 11–13: *savyāpāraḥ śivaḥ sūryaḥ caittatattvaḥ sadāśivaḥ / sapadaḥ saṃyo vyāpī arūpatvāt pracaryate // utpādako na sādhaḥ tattasyānugrahaparaḥ / virocanakaro nityaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvakṛd vibhuḥ // aśaraṇasya sa bhrātā sa mātā sa pitā mataḥ / sa mocakaḥ sarvaduḥkhād yathā janmani janmani //*

32. As in *Tattvajñāna* 5 and 35. Though not specifically ascribed to Sadāśiva but rather to Śiva Parameśvara, the luminous and solar aspect of the Lord pervading the whole universe is encountered also in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (212.9–12); cf. further *Bhuvanakośa* 1.12 and 1.23, *Kumārattattva* II f. 19r. For the same characterization of Śiva in a Sanskrit source, cf. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 2.19.28–29.

33. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.7–11: *ri madhya nikā / nīkāna ta paluṅguhan bhaṭāra ri kālaniran maśarīra / mantrātmā ta sira / mantra pinakaśarīranira / īśāna mūrdha ya / tatpuruṣa vaktra ya / aghora hṛdaya ya / bāmadeva guhya ya / sadyojāta mūrti ya / aum / nahan pinakaśarīra bhaṭāra / bhāsvara sphaṭikavarṇa //*. As noted by SUDARSHANA DEVI (1957:78), the sen-

The image of Sadāśiva provided with a five-fold mantric body (*pañcamantra-tanu*) corresponds to the standard iconography of that deity met in Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras.<sup>34</sup> The five faces of Sadāśiva are those invoked in the *pañcabrahmamantra*, the mantra at the basis of the Śaiva cult of the Atimārga.<sup>35</sup>

A description of Sadāśiva that is almost identical to the one in *Vṛhaspatitattva* is found in *Tattvajñāna* 4.1–5:

The Principle of Sadāśiva is as follows: the Lord [who is the] Principle of Sadāśiva is [engaged in] action. [Being engaged in] action means that He is endowed with Omniscience and Omnipotence. Omniscience and Omnipotence, they are [together with the supernatural powers they carry with them] six. There is a lotus-throne, the seat of the Lord, its name is ‘the Four Powers’. Its constituents are the Power of Knowledge, the Power of Pervasion, the Power of Lordship, the Power of Action. Thus are designated the Four Powers.<sup>36</sup>

The term *vyāpāra* here indicates that the Lord is omniscient (*sarvajña*) and omnipotent *sarvakāryakartā*.<sup>37</sup> The two are said to be six(fold), which probably refers to a categorization of the supernatural abilities they are further

tence from *īśāna mūrdha* to *sadyojāta mūrti* ya / *aum* is probably to be intended as (being originally) a mantra, i.e. the *pañcabrahmamantra*. The original form could be restored to: *īśānamūrdhāya / tatpuruṣavaktrāya / aghorahṛdayāya / bāmadevaguhyāya / sadyojātamūrtaye / OM //*.

34. Cf., e.g. *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.9; *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 3.18, 4.14–15, 39, 5.10; *Mṛgendratāntra* VP 13.197; etc.

35. As attested in the *Pāsupatasūtra* and *Ratnaṭikā*. Although it is no longer predominant, meditation upon this fivefold mantra is retained in later Śaiva sources of the Siddhānta, for example in the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (chapter 12). In the same source (*Niśvāsasamukha* 3.191cd; 4.40c–12b; 4.130; 4.133c–134b; *Guhyasūtra* 12.14–21) as well as in the *Svacchandatantra* (11.43e–45b) and the *Mrgendratāntra* (KP 8.73–79 with Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha’s *vṛtti*) the five faces of Sadāśiva are equated to the five streams into which the Śaiva revelation is traditionally divided (the precise denominations varying from source to source).

36. *Tattvajñāna* 4.1–5: *nihan sadāśivatattva naranira / vyāpāra ta bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva / vyāpāra naranira kinahanan sira de niṅ sarvajña mvaṅ sarvakāryakartā sira / sarvajña sarvakāryakartā naranira / anam pih / hana padmāsana paluṅghan bhaṭāra caduśakti naranira / lvinnya // jñānaśakti vibhuśakti prabhuśakti kriyāśakti / nahan taṅ sinaṅgah caduśakti naranira //*.

37. Because of their construction with *kinahanan* ‘inhabited by, occupied by; possessed by, possessing, feeling, full of, endowed with’ (OJED 584), referring to the Lord, the Sanskrit agent nouns *sarvajña* and *sarvakāryakartā* are used in this passage as if they were abstract substantives, i.e. *sarvajñatva* and *sarvakartṛtva* (cf. above, p. 64).

subdivided into (cf. below, table 3).<sup>38</sup> Another possibility is that the two faculties were regarded as different from the Power of Knowledge and Action, which are part of the *caduśakti*; *sarvajña* and *sarvakāryakartā* plus the *caduśakti* amounts to six. The *Tattvajñāna* deviates from the *Vṛhaspatitattva* insofar as it explicitly divides the sphere of action of Sadāśiva into manifest (*sakala*) and unmanifest (*niṣkala*), thereby making this deity an intermediary figure possessing the characteristics both of the transcendent and of the personal aspect of the Godhead.<sup>39</sup> The activity of Sadāśiva in the unmanifest is the creation of the Gods, the Ṛṣis and other celestial or demonic beings, as well as of the natural elements, the earth and the heavenly bodies (4.11–15). The things created by Sadāśiva in the manifest are the Śāstras, the Āgamas and the treatises on medicine, logic, grammar and mathematics (4.16–17). The passage concludes:

While He governs the whole universe He has as His property both the Manifest and the Unmanifest. He is the Lord Ādipramāṇa. He is the Lord Jagannātha. He is the Lord who is the ‘Cause’. He is the Lord Parameśvara. He is the Lord who is the Teacher. He is the Paramount Lord. He is called the Lord [possessing the power of] not being subjected [to anybody’s will] and subjecting [others to His will] (*vaśavaśitva*).<sup>40</sup> [As for] the whole [world]: He makes [it], without being made [by it]. He has the power to create and the power to destroy [it]. There is none who can surpass his state of Sovereign Prowess. He is the Lord Teacher of Teachers. Thus are the distinctive marks of the Lord *sadāśivatattva*.<sup>41</sup>

38. However, whereas the text explicitly attributes to *jñānaśakti* (= *sarvajñatva*) a subset of three powers, the other three powers usually attributed to *kriyāśakti* (= *sarvakartṛtva*) by related sources are passed over in silence by the text.

39. The transcendent aspect of the Lord (Paramaśiva) was in fact already described as abiding in the *niṣkala* in section 3 (quoted above, p. 351). According to HADIWIJONO (1967:23), *Bhuvanakośa* 11.23–25 characterizes Sadāśiva as being both *sakala* and *niṣkala*—albeit in an obscure and seemingly contradictory way. Cf. also the first śloka of *Dharma Pātañjala*. A twofold characterization of Śiva as *sakala* and *niṣkala* is found in *Parākhyatantra* 97ab, while the *Kiraṇa* (3.14c and 3.21a) refers to Sadāśiva in these terms by using the expression *dviśvabhāva* ‘having two natures’ (cf. GOODALL 2004:196, fn. 189).

40. OJED s.v. (2216) notes: ‘(*bahuvrīhi*? not in Skt?) ruling (over). Also *baśabaśitva*’. Since both *vaśa* (‘power/dominion/mastery’) and *vaśitva* (‘having power or control over’) are attested in Old Javanese, I propose to consider the compound *vaśavaśitva* as an Old Javanese *tadbhava* originating from, and having the meaning of, *avaśa+avaśitva* (or *avaśya+vaśitva*) ‘the supernatural power of being not subjected to others’ will while subjecting others to one’s own will’. On these two supernatural powers, cf. below, pp. 359–363.

41. *Tattvajñāna* 4.18–24: *an sira pramāṇa irikaṇ rāt kabeh sira makadravya irikaṇ sa-*

The above passage characterizes the Lord Sadāśiva as the Cause (*bhaṭāra makāraṇa*), having power over powerless subjects (*vaśavaśitva*), provided with the four Powers of Knowledge, Action, Pervasion and Lordship, and being both immanent (*sakala*) and transcendent (*niṣkala*). Apart from the last subdivision into two aspects, the characterization of Sadāśiva is substantially in harmony with that of *Vṛhaspatitattva*.

Although Sadāśiva is the main deity of the Mantramārgic Śaivasiddhānta, this characterization closely reflects the one of the Lord according to the Atimārga Pāsupata Śaivism. In fact, in the seminal scriptures of that system, i.e. the *Pāsupatasūtra* (with Kaunḍinya's *Pañcārthabhāṣya*) and the *Gaṇakārikā* (with Bhāsarvajña's *Ratnaṭikā*), the Lord is defined as the Cause (*kāraṇa*),<sup>42</sup> i.e. the creator, destroyer and supporter of the universe and whatever abides in it;<sup>43</sup> not subjected to anybody's will (*avaśya*), He, possesses the supernatural ability of *vaśitva*, thanks to which everything becomes subject to His will;<sup>44</sup> He is characterized by the aspects of immanence (*sakala*) and transcendence (*niṣkala*),<sup>45</sup> and by the two dyads formed by the Power of Knowledge and Action and by the Power of Pervasion and Lordship.<sup>46</sup>

A description of the Powers of the Lord is found in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 1.1 where, to the question as to why He is called the Lord (*patiḥ kasmāt*), the commentator answers:

*kalanīṣkala / sira ta bhaṭāra ādipramāṇa naranira / sira ta bhaṭāra jagannātha naranira / sira ta bhaṭāra makāraṇa naranira / sira ta bhaṭāra paramēśvara naranira / sira ta bhaṭāra guru naranira / sira ta bhaṭāra mahulun naranira / sira ta maṇaran bhaṭāra vaśavaśitva / ika ta kabeh / sirāgave tan ginave / sira ta vṇaṇ maṇhanākṇ vṇaṇ maṇhilaṇakṇ / tan hana lumāvihana kaiśvāryanira / sira ta bhaṭāra guru niṇ guru / nahan ta lakṣaṇa bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva //*

42. The use of the word *kāraṇa* to designate Śiva is probably of Pāsupata origin (cf. TAK II:91 [GOODALL], listing various occurrences of this term in Siddhāntatantras).

43. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 1.1, p. 5.22–23; *Ratnaṭikā* 1.6ab (also in *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, *Pāsupatadarśana* 84): 'Cause is that which creates and retracts the universe, and maintains it' *samastasṛṣṭisamhārānugrahakāri kāraṇam* (for my translation of *anugraha*, cf. above, p. edpagerefanugrahafnpage fn. 30).

44. Cf. *Pāsupatasūtra* 1.27–28: 'And all become subject to Him. And He becomes not subjected to all' *sarve cāśya vaśyā bhavanti // sarveṣāṃ cāvaśyo bhavati //*; *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 2.12, listing the superhuman power of *vaśitva*.

45. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 2.26.

46. Cf., besides *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 1.1 and 1.26, the commentary to the following sūtras: 1.24, 1.32 (*vibhuśakti*); (*jñānaśakti*) 1.29, 5.26, 5.46; 1.9, 1.26, 1.32, 2.23, 5.41, 5.42 (*prabhuśakti*); 1.29, 5.46 (*kriyāśakti*).

He is the Lord (*pati*) because He pervades (*āpti*) and because He protects (*pāti*) the cattle. By what means does He pervade and protect them? He pervades by means of the Power of Pervasion (*vibhuśakti*). Because no one anywhere can surpass His endless power. His Power of Knowledge (*jñānaśakti*) is endless and unlimited, because [in PS 5.26 it is said that] He is a sage (*vipra*). By means of this unlimited [Power] He pervades the cattle who are unlimited as present to His eyes, therefore [He is called] the Lord. Similarly He has the power of Lordship (*prabhuśakti*) because He protects.<sup>47</sup>

With the exception of the Power of Action (*kriyāśakti*), three of the four Powers attributed to the Lord by the Old Javanese sources are mentioned, in the same sequence, in the Sanskrit passage. Another textual portion enumerating all four Powers is the commentary on sūtra 1.26 'And the possession of a property' *dharmitvaṃ ca*, where they are attributed to the accomplished master (*siddha*):

The word 'and' is used in order to add this [quality of supernatural prowess] to the Powers of Knowledge (*jñāna-*) and Action (*kriyāśakti*). Thus, it has been shown from the scriptural statement of His possessing all forms He wishes and His also being without instruments that the Siddha has Lordship over (*prabhutva*) and Pervasiveness in (*vibhutva*) the forms which He creates, and is endowed with a property.<sup>48</sup>

The similarities appear to go further, for the description of the Lord as possessing Four Powers in the form of a lotus-seat (*padmāsana*) found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (exegesis to śloka 13) and the *Tattvajñāna* (ch. 4) finds an echo in the following passage of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, where sūtra 2.5 *kalitāsanam* 'A formed seat' is quoted by Kauṇḍinya as an answer to the question what sort of property the Lord Rudra possesses:

47. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on 1.1 (p. 5.17–21): *āpti pāti ca tāt paśūn ity atah patir bhavati / tāt kenāpnoti kena rakṣati / āpnoti vibhuśaktyā / yasmāt kutrāpi śaktim asyānantām nātivartante / vipratvāc cāsyānantā jñānaśaktiḥ aparimitā / tayā aparimitayā aparimitān eva pratyakṣān paśūn āpnotīti patiḥ / tathā pālayatīti prabhuśaktiḥ / • āpnoti vibhuśaktyā ] conj. SANDERSON (cf. PBh (2)); tato vibhuśaktyā Ed. • kutrāpi ] conj. SANDERSON (cf. PBh (2)); tatrāpi Ed.*

48. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on 1.26 (p. 46.5–7): *caśabdo 'tra jñānakriyāśaktisamāropaṇārthaḥ // evam atrāsyā siddhasya kāmārūpivikaraṇavacanāt svakṛteṣu rūpeṣu prabhutva-vibhutvaṃ guṇadharmitvaṃ ca vyākhyātam / • prabhutvavibhutvaṃ ] em. BISSCHOP (cf. PBh (2)); brabhutvaṃ vibhutvaṃ Ed.*



The seat (*āsana*) is God's Lordship (*patitva*), Power (*śakti*), Capability (*sāmarthyā*) or Sovereignty (*aiśvarya*), which is His very nature and real state of being, and is truly His essential property; it is not a posture of sitting such as the lotus-posture.<sup>49</sup>

Even though there is no direct correspondence between the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and the Old Javanese passages quoted above, the similarity of context is apparent and conveys the same image of the Lord having a seat constituted by His Powers. It is also possible that some of the terms used by Kauṇḍinya may be considered as being alternative, and technical, designations of the 'standard' set of four Powers. In this respect, I may point to the fact that, for example, *Ratnaṭīkā* 1.6ab.47 explains the Power of Lordship (*patitva*) attributed to the Lord as 'being His incomparable Power of Knowledge and Action' *niratiśayadrkkriyāśaktiḥ patitvaṃ*.<sup>50</sup>

That the fourfold pattern expounded in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Tattva-jñāna* was a constitutive doctrinal tenet of Śaivism in the Archipelago is supported by the fact that the same arrangement is found also in several *Tuturs*,<sup>51</sup> as well as in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. In 282.7–17 we read that the Lord Supreme Cause (*paramakāraṇa*) possesses the Four Powers of Pervasion, Knowledge, Action and Lordship. In 282.18–284.16, each one of the four is characterized as comprising a set of subsidiary supernatural faculties obtained by the Siddha when he reaches unity with the Lord.

49. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on 2.5 (p. 58.3–5): *yad etat patyuh patitvaṃ śaktiḥ sāmarthyam aiśvaryaṃ svaguṇaḥ sadbhāvaḥ satattvaṃ tattvadharmāḥ tad āsanam // na tu padmāsanavad upaveśanalakṣaṇam ity arthaḥ [...]* //

50. Cf. also *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, *Pāśupatadarśana*, lines 75–76. That a variety of alternative technical designations of the same concepts existed is suggested by the attestation of such glosses in both the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and the *Ratnaṭīkā*. For instance, in the latter text (1.6ab:14–15) Bhāsarvajña glosses *aiśvarya* as indicating the Powers of Knowledge and Action (*maheśvaraiśvryalakṣaṇā siddhiḥ // sā dvirūpā jñānaśaktiḥ kriyāśaktiś ceti*), while in 1.6ab:51 the term *ṛṣitvaṃ* 'the state of a ṛṣi' and *vipratvaṃ* 'the state of sage' are said to stand for, respectively, *kriyāśakti* and *jñānaśakti* (*ṛṣitvaṃ kriyāśaktir jñānaśaktis tu vipratvaṃ*).

51. Cf., e.g., *Kumāratattva* II folio 35r–35v, glossing *caduśakti*, in connection with the body of the Lord (*sadāvak bhaṭāra*), as *vibhuśakti*, *jñānaśakti*, *kriyāśakti* and *prabhuśakti*. *Tutur Saptati*, folio 52v–53r, defines the Four Powers as forming the nature of the Lord (*ika canduśakti* [sic] *pinakasvabhāva bhaṭāra lvirnya*), listing them in the same sequence as in *Kumāratattva* II; in *Tutur Cadhu Śakti* folio 5r the list inverts the position of *jñāna*- and *kriyāśakti*. On the basis of their doctrinal contents and linguistic features, my impression is that these texts constitute in all probability late (post 15th-century) specimens composed on Bali, which have borrowed this specific doctrinal motif from the two *Tattvas*.

Table 2: The Lord's Powers according to the DhPāt

|  |                     |   |                      |
|--|---------------------|---|----------------------|
| Not being subjected<br>[to others' will]<br>Impenetrability                      | } <i>vibhuśakti</i> | Swiftiness as of<br>thought<br>Acting without<br>physical organs<br>Ability to assume any<br>form at will | } <i>kriyāśakti</i>  |
| Seeing from afar<br>Hearing from afar<br>Thinking from afar<br>Knowing from afar | } <i>jñānaśakti</i> | Fearlessness<br>Undecaying<br>Unaging<br>Immortal<br>Going anywhere<br>without hindrance                  | } <i>prabhuśakti</i> |

A similar arrangement is outlined in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and the *Ratnaṭīkā*<sup>52</sup> with respect to the state of perfection and lordship corresponding to the goal of personal end of sorrow attained by the Pāsupata practitioner, with the difference that the attribution of a set of subsidiary faculties to the power of Pervasion and Lordship is not made explicit in the Sanskrit sources.<sup>53</sup> This feature also characterizes other Old Javanese sources, such as the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*. Verses 5, 11 and 18 of chapter 11 of the *Jñānasiddhānta* paraphrase *Pāsupatasūtra* 1.21–37, but divide the powers into three series, viz. *triśakti*, *pañcaśakti* and *aṣṭaśakti*.<sup>54</sup> The different accounts are compared in table 3.

52. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 5.47 and *Ratnaṭīkā* on kārikā 6ab (pp. 9.28–10.2); compare also the *Pāsupatadarśana* of the *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* (HARA 2002:208–210).

53. The explanation of the terms by the *Dharma Pātañjala* is generally the same as the explanation given in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, with one interesting exception: the power of 'not being subjected' (*avaśyaḥ/aṇavaśyaḥ*) is interpreted in the latter sources as 'not being subjected to the power of all other beings', denoted as cattle (*paśu*), whereas the Old Javanese source glosses it as 'not being subjected to attachment, hate, delusion' (i.e. the three defilements of *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*).

54. Whereas the paraphrase is nowhere as detailed and close to the *Pāsupatasūtra* as the one found in the *Jñānasiddhānta*, the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* also mentions some of these powers, e.g. in *Mukhasūtra* 4.85cd–86ab (*sarvajñātā ca bhavate śravaṇaṃ darśanaṃ tathā / mananaṃ ca śodhanaṃ caiva vijñānaṃ ca ya †...†*) and in *Niśvāsamūla* 7.18cd–19 (*aṇimādiguṇaiśvaryaṃ sarvajñatvaṃ prajāyate / dūrāc chravaṇavijñānadarśanaṃ mananaṃ tathā // jāyate sarvakāmitvaṃ dehenānena sādhaḥkaḥ*).

Table 3: Systematization of the Lord's Powers according to various Old Javanese and Sanskrit Sources

| <i>Jñānasiddhānta</i> ch. 11  | <i>Pāsupatasūtra</i> ch. 1  | <i>Dharma Pāṇījāla</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvavajñāna</i>   |
|---|---|---|--|--|
| <i>avaśyānāveśya ucyate*</i> (18d)  | <i>sarveśāṃ cāvaśyo bhavati</i> (28)<br><i>sarveśāṃ cānāveśyo bhavati</i> (30)  | <i>ai-avaśyah</i><br><i>anāveśyah</i>   | Pervasive (as if woven crosswise and lengthwise)   | He is short of nothing in the whole universe                           |
| <i>darśanam yugapac caiva śravaṇam mananam tathā yugapad vijñānam cāpi mahāsarvajñatā smṛtaḥ</i> (11) | <i>dūradaśanaśravaṇamananavi-jñānāni cāśya pravartante</i> (21)<br><i>sarvajñatā</i> (22)   | <i>dūradaśana</i><br><i>dūrāśravaṇa</i><br><i>dūrāt manana</i><br><i>dūrāt masarvajñatā</i> | <i>dūrāśravaṇa</i><br><i>dūrāśravajña</i><br><i>dūradaśana</i>                                 | <i>dūradaśana</i><br><i>dūrāśravaṇa</i><br><i>dūrātmaka</i>            |
| <i>yugapad manojavitvam kāmārūpitvam eva ca avikāradharmitvam tu trīśakti etad ucyate</i> (5)         | <i>manojavitvam</i> (23)<br><i>kāmārūpitvam</i> (24)<br><i>vikāraṇaḥ</i> (25) <i>dharmitvam</i> ca (26)   | <i>manojavitvam</i><br><i>vikāradharmitvam</i><br><i>kāmārūpitvam</i>                       |  | He is the origin of the universe, the gods, the natural elements, etc. |
| <i>ajarah amaras caiva akṣayaś cāpratīhata vadhyam avadhyam**</i> ca <i>proktā</i> (18abc)            | <i>sarve cāśya vadhya bhavanti</i> (31)<br><i>sarveśāṃ cāvadhya bhavati</i> (32)<br><i>abhītaḥ</i> (33) <i>akṣayaḥ</i> (34)<br><i>ajarah</i> (35) <i>amarah</i> (36) <i>sarvatra cāpratīhataḥ</i> <i>bhavati</i> (37) | <i>abhītaḥ</i><br><i>akṣayaḥ</i><br><i>ajarah</i><br><i>amarah</i><br><i>apratīhataḥ</i>    | The actions of the creator of the universe are not resisted [by anybody] in the whole universe | Whatever he desires cannot be opposed                                  |

\* This *pāda* is metrically problematic. The edition reads *vaśyār avāśyam ucyate* (?). (sic; note that SOEBADIO did not recognize the parallel with the powers described in the *Pāsupatasūtra* and left the whole śloka untranslated), based on mss. *vasar avāśyam ucyate* (metrical). As the Old Javanese commentary has *vaśyā. anavaśyā* (which, regrettably, are left unexplained), I have opted to restore the *pāda* in accordance with the Sanskrit parallel(s), even though the result is still a hypermetrical *pāda*.

\*\* As a result of my emendation of *bandhām abandhām* of the edition, based on the readings *bandham abandhata* (TĀdh), *bandam abadata* (TK).

The arrangement of Sadāśiva's powers into the tetrad of *jñānaśakti*, *kriyāśakti*, *vibhuśakti* and *prabhuśakti* was already ascribed to the Pāśupata system by ZIESENISS (1939:144–145; 1958:69–73), on the basis of his study of the *Pāśupatadarśana* of the *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* and of the *Ratnaṭīkā*.<sup>55</sup> This arrangement differs from the characterization we come across in the Sanskrit Śaiva Tantras, which mention either the dyad of Knowledge (*jñāna*) and Action (*kriyā*)<sup>56</sup> or the triad formed by those two plus the Power of Will (*icchāśakti*).<sup>57</sup>

The idea of a throne (*āsana* or *siṃhāsana*), formed by four elements, seated on which the Lord (Śiva or Sadāśiva) is to be visualized by the practitioner is a common doctrine of the early Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras too.<sup>58</sup> But there the four elements are the mantras bearing the same names of the four qualities (*bhāva*) of the *buddhi* that were inherited from the Sāṅkhya system, viz. Knowledge (*jñāna*), Righteousness (*dharma*), Detachment (*vairāgya*) and Sovereignty (*aiśvarya*). Although in Tattvas the four items (plus their opposites) along with their properties are described, they are never mentioned in connection with the Lord's seat.<sup>59</sup>

ZIESENISS (1939:145–146) attributed the doctrinal standpoint of the Indonesian sources to the development of a Sadāśiva-theism, characteristic of the Śaivasiddhānta, out of a pre-existing Pāśupata core. It is evident that this innovation was carried out—unlike in the Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras that

55. In fact, when ZIESENISS was writing his treatises, the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* was necessarily unknown to him as it had not yet been published.

56. Cf., e.g., *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.10, *Kiraṇatantra* 8.139, etc.

57. However, as GOODALL (TĀK I:284) notes, 'although *icchāśakti* is sometimes spoken of, e.g., in *Mokṣakārikā* 16, it does not form a third member of this essential group except in later South Indian Siddhāntatantras, e.g. *Pūrvakāmika* 4.90 and 4.334; *Rauravāgama* KP 65.57; [etc.]'; in addition to these sources, the works of post-9th century non-Saiddhāntika authors of the Trika, Krama and Pratyabhijñā schools could also be mentioned (e.g. *Īśvara-pratyabhijñā*, *Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra*, etc.).

58. Such as *Guhyasūtra*, *Sarvajñānottara*, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, etc.; cf. the references given in TĀK II:278 [GOODALL].

59. As noted by GOODALL (TĀK II:278), the eight elements together are described as forming the Lord's throne only in later Śaiva sources. The only Old Javanese sources I am aware of mentioning the eight in connection with the Lord's seat are the ritualistic manuscripts collected by HOOYKAAS (1963:130–132), containing descriptions of the *pūjā* of Śiva. The items are there characterized as having the form of lions and therefore, presumably, are to be connected (as in the South Asian Sanskrit sources) with the *siṃhāsana*. This is confirmed by the specification, found in the same sources, that the *padmāsana* is higher than *caturaiśvarya*, and the *caturaiśvarya* (also called *siṃhāsana*) higher than *anantāsana*.

have been transmitted to us—by accretion and inclusivism, for the previous fourfold pattern comprising the dyad formed by the Powers of *vibhu* and *prabhu* was retained.

As an  
Incarnated  
Being

A crucial tenet of Śaiva religion is the theophany of the Lord as a supernatural, and yet incarnated and visible, being. The scriptures of the Atimārga describe Him as incarnated on earth in the first Pāśupata guru; the Siddhāntatantras and other scriptures of the Mantramārga

also posit the past existence of a bodily form of the Lord as universal master, through which He transmitted the Śaiva teachings to celestial as well as human beings. Since the Śaiva Tantras are almost invariably arranged in the form of dialogues between the Lord and superhuman interlocutors, it follows that He must be provided with a visible body and with the organ of speech in order to teach His doctrine.

The positing of an incarnated Lord does, however, entail a series of philosophical issues that, if not properly addressed, may provide the imaginary opponent with an easy argument to disprove the Śaiva characterization of the Lord as both impersonal and personal—yet supreme—God.<sup>60</sup> That this was felt to be the case is clear in a doctrinally minded treatise as the *Dharma Pātāñjala* from Kumāra's polemic questions on this topic. For instance, in question 18 Kumāra expresses difficulty concerning the embodiment of the Lord. After the Lord has explained the mechanism of reincarnation, His son asks who is the Holy One (*sañ apa*) who experiences the incarnations (276.1). The Lord's reply to this question is that He Himself has already experienced the cycle of existence, and that various were His incarnations (*aku huvus mañhiḍap sañsāra, aneka ikañ janma bhinuktiku*). Having detailed such incarnations in the long passage that I will present further below (pp. 367–374), He concludes that, by virtue of that experience, His knowledge of the fruits of karma leaving behind impressions in the mind is clear (280.19–20). Further on (question 20), Kumāra asks for a clarification: who is the one designated as Lord Supreme Cause (*bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa*)? The Lord replies:

He whose subtlety is permanent. He is *sadāśauca*, pure without being effect-

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60. In fact, as we have seen above, the Lord in His impersonal aspect as *Summum Bonum* was described as omnipervasive and devoid of body, while the personal God Sadāśiva was characterized as having a mantric body.

ed by maculation. Constantly blissful, He does not have a former state as a human being, unlike all of us. All the Eight Vidyeśas and above all Brahmā, Viṣṇu along with the group of the Lokapālas, they had as former existence the cycle of incarnation, all of them. And because of the greatness of their devotion toward the Lord, and of the sharpness of their absorption, for that reason they were taken back to the abode of the gods. The Lord Supreme Cause is not so: He just is eternally blissful. 'But He ends up in the cycle of existence: He will incarnate in a human being in the future.' If, possibly, thus would be your words, my son, [I would reply:] it is not possible for Him to be born as an incarnated being, my son, for He is omniscient: He knows the whole universe. He knows about the cause of the cycle of existence, and the suffering. It is not possible to escape that, without knowledge about its cause, and about the way of extinguishing suffering.

It would seem that the above passage is in contradiction with what has previously been declared by the Lord, i.e. that He has already experienced a series of incarnations. However, the point here may be that He who takes a body is the Lord in his *sakalanīṣkala* (or *Sadāśiva*) aspect, and not the Supreme Cause, which amounts to the aspect that is the *Summum Bonum*, and hence *nīṣkala*. On the other hand, it might be that the relationship between the Lord and His 'manifestation' is one of non-direct identity, which would allow Him to remain untainted as the highest principle. A sketch of an explanation in this direction seems to follow a few lines later, when Śiva details the relation between Him and the perfect yogin. The latter is said to attain His Powers and glorious body, thus becoming in every respect similar to Him. Kumāra (question 24) replies that, if so, the Lord would be in the cycle of rebirths—which contradicts the previous characterization of the Supreme Cause. The Lord replies that thanks to the yogin's perfect absorption and *prayogasandhi*, the Lord is made manifest (*abhivyakta*) in an incarnated creature. The nature of this manifestation is then explained through the simile of fire in wood: like the fire that is in wood 'manifests' its body when the wood burns, so the Lord only 'manifests' His body in the perfect yogin, without a full identity being implied.

A similar concern about the status of the Lord as incarnated or manifested on earth is detectable in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*. Kauṇḍinya, while commenting on sūtra 1.40, *sadyo 'jātaṃ prapadyāmi* 'I bow to the ever unborn', justifies the scriptural authority stating that the Lord, despite His being eternal and beginningless, is not born like a human soul; for such a birth implies having stain (*añjana*), and God is free from it. To him, the fact that the Lord

is taught to have assumed earthly incarnations constitutes no contradiction, for in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 1.1 he states that ‘on account of the authority of the sūtra that God is “not born” (*ajāta*) we know that God, when he took a human form, entered the [dead] body of a brahmin, descending on this earth at Kāyāvataṛaṇa’ *ajātātīvā ca manuṣyarūpī bhagavān brāhmaṇakāyam āsthāya kāyāvataṛaṇe avatīṛṇa iti* (p. 3.16–17). The crucial point is thus that the Lord is not born from a female womb like a common human being—a point that will also be made by the *Dharma Pātāñjala* (276.13), which asserts that Śiva’s incarnation (i.e. Pātāñjala), along with His four brothers, was not born from sperm and blood, but from the yoga of the Lord (*ndatan vātu saṅke śuklaśonita, mātu saṅke yoga bhaṭāra*). The section about the Lord’s incarnations begins as follows:

At last, [when the fruit of] my doing good came, I was conducted to a master. I was instructed about the scriptures on *dharma*. I constantly put them into practice. I practiced the scriptures on *dharma* for a long time. I died. Again I incarnated as a human being. I remembered about my human births and again I made my body the servant of a master. I was instructed in the scriptures on Yoga. Those I constantly studied, day and night; those I put into practice. I became a leader among yogins for a long time: a thousand years was the duration of my being a leader among yogins. I was brought to the heaven and given the name of Nīlāhita. I was given in marriage a virgin, the daughter of the reverend Dakṣa, whose name was Satī. Satī died. I was left alone. I again became a leader among yogins. My practice of absorption was fervent. I died and I was reborn as the Lord.

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The initial part of the account discloses nothing about the identity and mode of incarnation of the Lord; however, since He is speaking in the first person, He is probably referring to the form He assumed as teacher of the scriptures in the world, having His abode on the mount Kailāsa. It follows that the passage is about former incarnations, i.e. the ones that occurred prior to the one He is fictitiously attributed in the temporal dimension of the text. An incarnation into a human being is mentioned, but that he was not a usual being is made clear by the fact that he was a leader among yogins (*yogīśvara*) and that he lived for one thousand years. We indeed read that he was brought to heaven as Nīlāhita and was given Satī in marriage.

Nīlāhita, already appearing in the Vedic Brāhmaṇa texts as a Rudra, figures in the Purāṇas as one among Śiva’s *gaṇas* or as the very ‘first’ form of

Śiva born from Brahmā; in certain accounts, he is also depicted as the husband of Satī.<sup>61</sup> But what the text is here referring to in a few terse sentences is the ‘classic’ version of the Purāṇic myth of the marriage of Śiva (and not Nīlālohitā) and the genesis of the Śaiva holy family. At the beginning of the Treta Yuga, the ‘lord of yogins’ Śiva meditates on the Kailāsa. His detachment constitutes a hindrance to the process of creation of the universe, so Brahmā prays Dakṣa’s daughter Satī, an incarnation of the Goddess, to attract his attention. She is successful in her task, but the menage of the divine couple is bound to come to an unhappy end: as a result of Dakṣa’s failing to invite her spouse to the great sacrifice he was preparing, Satī burnt herself to death. Śiva then turned to severe asceticism and meditation, but only after his rage had caused much trouble to the gods and put at risk the existence of the universe.

Having thus related His death and ‘second incarnation’, in the immediate continuation of this passage the Lord reveals that He is the last of five brothers, the *pañcaṛṣi*, bearing the name Pātañjala; the detailed account of His incarnation follows up to 280.4. The motif of the *pañcaṛṣi* does not figure in the Purāṇic accounts of the legend of Satī and Śiva, where the common sequel to the story is the burning of Kāma, the marriage with Pārvatī and the killing of the demon Tāraka. A version of this legend is narrated in the *Dharma Pātañjala* after the conclusion of the *pañcaṛṣi* section, in 280.5–16. Although the names of the characters mentioned in the Old Javanese text do not completely correspond to those featuring in the Sanskrit accounts, the main elements of the myth are largely overlapping: a Daitya, Nīlarudraka<sup>62</sup> (Tāraka in the Epics and Purāṇas), was threatening the universe and the gods; the latter beg for the help of Śiva, who is however deeply immersed in meditation. The gods come to know through the mouth of Nīlarudraka

61. Although the accounts vary as to the plot as well as to the number of details provided, a common motif is the narration of the cutting of Brahmā’s fifth head by Nīlālohitā. According to another story, Brahmā asks his son Nīlālohitā to beget progeny; the latter copulates with his wife Satī, who gives birth to the one-thousand Rudras. For both motifs, cf. *Brahmaṇḍapurāṇa* ch. 6; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 4.6.41; *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.15.15 and 1.21.20; *Matsya-purāṇa* 133; *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* chapter 5 and 6. Whereas the Epics and the Purāṇic sources generally identify Nīlālohitā as one of the physical forms through which the transcendent Śiva acts in the world, thereby implying a relation of relative identity between the two figures, the Brāhmaṇas describe him as a separate figure. The development of the mythology of the enigmatic figure of Nīlālohitā has been discussed by GRANOFF (2006).

62. Consistently spelled Nīlarudrākṣa in the text; cf. p. 281, fn. 152.



himself, who is deceived by the goddess of speech Sarasvatī, that he will only die at the hands of a son of Śiva who is born from sperm and blood. The Gods order Kāma to shoot Śiva with his arrow, so that he will fall in love with Pārvatī and procreate. Kāma, having shot at Śiva, is reduced to ashes by His third eye. The gods then humbly beg Śiva for help, which He favourably bestows. The Lord concludes His account to Kumāra with the following words: ‘I was requested to marry your mother, the goddess Umā. For that reason, she begot Gaṇapati and Bhṛṅgiriṭi; my third son was Kumāra’ (280.16–18).

The most closely related version of this myth is narrated in the Old Javanese Kakavin *Smaradahana*. The first canto outlines the antecedent action and the main features of the plot of the story narrated in the Kakavin, i.e. the solitary meditation of Śiva, Umā’s unsuccessful attempts to arouse his desire, the unfortunate attempt of Kāma and the killing of Nīlarudraka, the demon warring against the Gods, by Gaṇa(pati). Except for a few details,<sup>63</sup> the story appears to be the same, and the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, the demon’s name Nīlarudraka appears nowhere else in both Old Javanese and Sanskrit sources strongly suggests that the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Smaradahana* borrowed their version of the myth from tradition that is otherwise lost to us.

Although this story is commonly narrated in the Purāṇas, it is not found in Sanskrit Śaiva Tantras, which are generally sparing in incorporating mythological excursions. But the motif seems to have been considered important by the authors of Tattvas, for it is mentioned, albeit only briefly, also in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. According to this text, the form of Śiva whose vicissitudes are described in the legend is Śrīkaṇṭha:

Śrīkaṇṭha was my name. I was ordered to promulgate the sacred scriptures in the Egg of Brahmā. I was shot by Kāma with [the arrow] of passion. Because of my anger at Kāma, I stared at him with [my] poisonous look and the body of the venerable Kāmadeva was suddenly destroyed, *bhasmībhūta*, reduced to ashes. But the passion remained in me. Therefore I married your mother, the Goddess Umā; she gave birth to Sanatkumāra.<sup>64</sup>

63. For example, in the *Smaradahana* it is Bṛhaspati (and not Nīlarudraka himself) who relates how, as a consequence of a boon granted by Śiva, only a son of the latter born from sperm (*putra sukraja*) will be able to kill the demon.

64. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.27–32: *śrīkaṇṭha naranku kinon maveh aji riñ brahmāṇḍa / pinanah pvāku riñ rāgi de bhaṭāra kāmā / gələnku ri sañ hyaṇ kāmā / matañyan dinələn ya riñ dṛṣṭiviṣa / syuh pvekāvak sañ hyaṇ kāmadeva / bhasmībhūta / matəmahan avu / ndan*

A remarkable point in the *Dharma Pātañjala*'s account is the addition of Bhṛṅgiriṭi to the customary Purāṇic list of Śiva's sons, i.e. Skanda (also Kumāra or Sanatkumāra) and/or Gaṇapati (also Vināyaka, Gaṇeśa or Gaṇa).<sup>65</sup> This may correspond to Bhṛṅgin, a somewhat elusive figure appearing in Sanskrit Śaiva Tantras as a member of the extended Śaiva 'holy family', i.e. a *gaṇa* in the circuit of deities outside the Vidyēśvaras, between the latter and the Lokapālas—the others being Nandin, Mahākāla, Caṇḍeśa, Gaṇeśa, Skanda and Umā.<sup>66</sup> The variant Bhṛṅgiriṭi is rare, not being attested in any of the edited Śaiva Tantric sources available to me. However, a Bhṛṅgiriṭi is enumerated among the Rudras belonging to the retinue of Śiva (*gaṇapa*) in the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* (23.68b) and, as shown by BISSCHOP (2010:243), in the *Śivadharmasāstra*,<sup>67</sup> where both Vināyaka and Bhṛṅgiriṭi are mentioned as sons of Rudra.<sup>68</sup> The *Śivadharmasāstra*'s inclusion in the Purāṇic Śaiva family of Bhṛṅgiriṭi, who in the later Śaivasiddhānta traditions rather represents—along with Caṇḍeśa—the quintessential Śaiva devotee, may be relevant to our understanding of the lines of transmission of Śaivism in the Archipelago. Besides suggesting that the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* might have borrowed this character from a source belonging to the *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus, this parallel also supports the hypothesis that the Old Javanese text, insofar as it attributes to Bhṛṅgiriṭi a role that can be traced in a pre-Saiddhāntika milieu, might have preserved an archaic status quo.<sup>69</sup>

*ikañ rāga kavēkas iry aku / ya ta matañyan makrabi ibunta bhaṭārī umā an pakānak sañ sanatkumāra /*

65. Various lists of sons of the divine couple are found in Old Javanese sources, which also present varying versions of the events leading to their conception and birth. A common one enumerates Gaṇa, Kumāra and Kāla—a demonic form born from a wrong kind of erotic feeling. The vicissitudes of the brothers are narrated in the Old Javanese *Kālapurāṇa* and *Kālatattva*, handily summarized by STEPHEN (2002).

66. Cf. SANDERSON 2003–04:437 (fn. 317) and 442 (fn. 343), who in both places refers to the 'skeletal devotee' Bhṛṅgin/Bhṛṅgiśa/Bhṛṅgiriṭi.

67. This is an early (ca. 3rd–6th century AD) non-Tantric Śaiva text belonging to the lay *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus.

68. Cf. *Śivadharmasāstra* 6.18: *rudrasya tanayo*, and 6.26a: *rudrātmaḥ* (quoted in BISSCHOP 2010:244). Rudra is the appellation of the Lord Śiva that is most frequently found in Atimārga sources.

69. However, from textual evidence gathered by BISSCHOP, it appears that this tradition existed also afterwards. For instance, the *Vāmanapurāṇa* (44.49, 72) identifies Bhṛṅgiriṭi with Śiva's demon-son Andhaka; the same applies to the late *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, 5.99cd–100ab (cf. BISSCHOP 2010:245–246).

Let us now turn to the motif of the incarnation of Śiva as the Lord and leader among yogins treated in the continuation of the passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala* quoted above, where a sudden change of subject occurs and the Lord declares to have been reborn not from sperm and blood but from yoga—along with four brothers:

I died and I was reborn as the Lord. But [we] were not born from sperm and blood: we were born from the yoga of our Lord, for we were five brothers. Each of our names [are] one by one: Kuśika was the eldest, then followed Garga and Maitri, Kuruṣya, [then] me, Pātañjala is my name, the youngest son among the Five Sages. I had a recollection of the state of leader among yogins, that is the reason why I worshiped the Lord, who was also my higher form.

DHPĀT  
276.12–17

The motif of the *pañcarṣis*, also called *pañcakuśikas*, has been recognized as a Pāśupata element of Indic origin already by SARKAR (1967:641). The first four names of the list, which already appears in Old Javanese charters from the 9th century and are abundantly attested in Old Javanese literature until the 15th century,<sup>70</sup> do in fact correspond to the names of the four disciples of Lakuliśa, the mythical promulgator of Pāñcārthika Pāśupata scriptures.<sup>71</sup> According to the Cintra *praśasti* of 1287 AD from Somnāthpattan/Prabhāsa, the four miraculously appeared in bodily form by virtue of Lakuliśa's performance of yoga (cf. BHANDARKAR 1908:153). Just as Pātañjala does in Java, Lakuliśa features as the final member of the pentad in Sanskrit sources from the Subcontinent and is hierarchically its most elevated character. It has been tentatively argued by SANDERSON (2003–04:374–375) that, given the absence of other suitable candidates to cover the role of a Pāśupata master in this context,<sup>72</sup> Pātañjala could be an attempt to make sense of a corrupted

70. The list also appears in a (Middle?) Malay inscription from Lampung, Sumatra (ca. 14th–15th century AD): cf. DJAFAR (1995).

71. There are, as usual, variants in the spelling of the names of the four in Old Javanese vs. Sanskrit, and even within the two languages the names vary according to the sources: Kuśika/Kurṣika vs. Kuśika/Kauśika, Gārga/Garga/Gargī vs. Gārga/Gārgya, Metri/Maitri/Maitreya vs. Mitra/Maitri, Kuruṣya/Puruṣya vs. Kauruṣya/Kauruṣa. The name Pātañjala appears in Old Javanese sources with the variants Pertañjala, Pṛtañjala, Pratañjala.

72. The alternative of explaining the name Pātañjala as a corruption of that of the Patañjali who authored the *Yogasūtra* appears to be rather weak (but for the hypothesis of this being so in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, cf. Introduction, p. 16). The same holds true for the

form of the original *aluk-samāsa pītañjala*, ‘he who drank the waters’, which would be an epithet of Agastya referring to the mythological episode of his drinking of the ocean.<sup>73</sup> As a matter of fact, no better candidate than Agastya can be imagined to fit into the list for, if in the Northern part of the Subcontinent Lakuliśa was considered as the first and most prominent teacher and an incarnation of the Lord Śiva himself, the sage Agastya was the Ādiguru of the Dravidian South (FILLIOZAT 1967:447).<sup>74</sup> Being the ‘cultural hero’ who introduced the religion, he holds a prominent position in the traditional accounts of the diffusion of Śaivism in the Tamil country. For instance, the Old Tamil Śaiva poem *Tirumantiram* by Tirumular (2.1.1–2) mentions Agastya, also called ‘the Muni of the North’, as the first hero who transmitted Śaivism to the South. According to FILLIOZAT, this figure is to be connected with the introduction of Brahmanism in Southeast Asia too.

In Java Agastya bears a position of great prominence in iconography, becoming a sort of quintessential Brahman bearing the attributes of the Ṛṣi sect. Conversely, to the best of my knowledge, textual occurrences of the name Lakuliśa or iconographic representations have not been found in the Archipelago. This suggests that the figure was unknown there or, in any case, never achieved a wide popularity.<sup>75</sup> This state of affairs implies that

other Patañjali known to us, e.g. the grammarian author of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the one enumerated among the founders of the Sāṅkhya philosophical school. Another Patañjali figures, according to (NATARAJAN 1991:1), among the eight Nāthas who propagated the Śaiva scriptures to South India, i.e. Sanaka, Sanātana, Sanātana, Sanatkumāra, Śivayogamuni, Patañjali, Vyāghrapāda and Tirumular.

73. As SANDERSON himself points out (p. 375 fn. 86), the compound *pītañjala* is, however, unattested in Sanskrit (where the equivalent *pītābdhi* is found). While the reading *Ṛtañjala* (or *Pratañjala*) in place of *P(a)ātañjala* can be explained by the fact that the shift of *r* (or *ra*) to *a/ā* is a well-attested phenomenon in Old Javanese (cf. GONDA 1973:365, quoting the example of the Sanskrit *dambha* > *ḍṛmbha* in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 34.8), the shift from *i/i* to *ā/a* or *r* is more difficult to explain straightforwardly on linguistic or palaeographic grounds. This corruption is therefore likely to have occurred by way of analogy with the name Patañjali.

74. A textual passage partially supporting this identification is *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* 26.3cd–4ab, where the sage appears, in identification with Śiva, as the last and most important member in the pentad formed by the ṛṣis and *ādiśaivas* Kauśika, Kāśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Agastya, who have been consecrated in the five faces of Sadāśiva (*kauśikaḥ kāśyapaś caiva bhāradvājo ’tha gautamaḥ // agastyas caiva pañcaite pañcavaktreṣu dīkṣitāḥ*, quoted in FILLIOZAT 1967:448).

75. We must probably reappraise the figure of Lakuliśa and his connection with the Pāśupatas in South Asia. To my knowledge, the first scholar who thought in which direction is SRIVASTAVA (1975), according to whom the identification of the rise of the Pāśupata or-

Lakuliśa, who became a prominent figure only in the Northwestern part of the Subcontinent from the 6th century onwards (cf. ACHARYA 2006:218), was replaced by the more familiar ‘Southern’ figure of Agastya/\*Pītañjala in order to enhance the status of the doctrine. It is possible that this shift occurred in Java,<sup>76</sup> or that there already existed an independent Pāśupata tradition in the Southern part of the Subcontinent, which was responsible for the diffusion of Pāśupatism in Java. While I am as yet not in a position to advance any hypothesis as to the historical process supporting this identification, I nonetheless believe that the possibility that Pātañjala might refer to Agastya is verisimilar. Further research into South Indian literature may throw light on this matter.

In any case, the Pāśupata connection of the Old Javanese *pañcaṛṣis* is beyond doubt, for the pentad is often associated with the Javanese Ṛṣi sect, a class of priests and ascetics to be distinguished from both the Śaivas (i.e. Saiddhāntikas) and the Buddhists.<sup>77</sup> The followers of the first group have

der with Lakuliśa which has been taken granted by many scholars is in reality defective (it is unfortunate that the—for his time innovative—hypotheses of SRIVASTAVA have been ignored in all the most significant scholarly articles and studies on the subject of Pāśupatism that have appeared after his contribution). As argued by DYCZKOWSKI (1988:20), ‘It is far from certain that Pāśupata Śaivism starts with him. [...] There are good reasons to distinguish between the Lākuliśa Pāśupata and other Pāśupata sects that have nothing to do with Lākuliśa.’ The recent studies of BAKKER on the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* and other Pāśupata-related materials have shown that there existed Pāśupata milieus before the appearance of Lakuliśa (2000:15), for the name Lakuliśa does not occur in important Pāśupata sources such as the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* and the Mathurā Pillar (ACHARYA 2006), being unattested before the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* (BAKKER (2007:2–3)). That author further argues that ‘Kauṇḍinya does not know a teacher (incarnation) by the name of Lakuliśa, but speaks only about the Lord (*bhagavant*) descending in Kāyāvatāra, who initiated only one pupil, Kuśika. [...] At some stage of the process in which the Pāśupata movement was gathering momentum, the *avatāra* of Śiva/Pāśupati received the name Lāguḍi/Lākulin/Lakuliśa. It became a basic assumption that served, on the one hand, to account for the spread of several guru lineages that all claimed to go back to Śiva’s incarnation and, on the other hand, to unite these into one coherent religious movement’. Along the same lines, BISSCHOP (2006:47–48) observes that ‘the only probable historical figure of the earliest stage of Pāśupata history is Kuśika, while identification of his teacher—“the lord” (*bhagavant*) according to Kauṇḍinya’s *Bhāṣya*—as Lakuliśa was established afterwards and is therefore a later invention’.

76. It may be argued that some Javanese Pāśupata brahmins wanted to link their doctrine to a lineage going back to the sage Agastya: such lineages of Agastya-priests are a well-documented reality from the 10th century, as they have been identified in various reliefs as bearing the iconographic traits of the sage (cf. HUNTER 2000:89–91).

77. E.g. in the Buddhist Kakavin *Kuñjarakarṇa* 23.1–4, equating the five deities of the

been convincingly identified by SANDERSON (2003–04:376) as representing local descendants of the Pāśupatas, who held a subaltern position and were mostly active away from centres of worldly and religious authority.<sup>78</sup>

The present section of the *Dharma Pātañjala* adds further evidence in support of a Pāśupata link, presenting what is so far both the longest and most detailed Old Javanese textual account on this pentad. It starts by describing how the five brothers, summoned by the Lord (*bhaṭāra*, presumably Nīlālohitā), have to accomplish the task of performing His funerary rites and cremating His body after His death, which apparently occurs shortly afterwards. The disciples then execute their respective tasks as ordered:

DHPĀT  
278.6–18

Kuśika arrived. He remembered the instructions of the Lord. The dead body was taken by him and buried. But he did not give [the same task] to all of us. Since we were given instructions concerning our tasks, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Yama, Baruṇa, Kuvera, Āgneya, Nairiti, Bāyabya and Aiśānya came, swooping down on the five of us. Then Kuśika was ordered to bury the corpse of the Lord. Once it had been buried by him, it was extracted by Garga. It was thrown into a river. It was taken by Kuruṣya; he made a funeral pyre for the corpse of the Lord. Not long afterwards, it was taken by Maitri. He cremated the corpse of the Lord. When it had already been burnt down, turned into ashes, all of them left. I was left behind alone, to gather up the ashes of the Lord. His ashes were taken by me, because of my devotion toward the teacher. That is the reason why I rubbed the ashes on my body, and I carried the remainder in my hands. Not long afterwards, my appearance as Pātañjala vanished: [I assumed] the same aspect which the Lord had in the past, when He was alive, three eyed and four armed. A jewel served as womb. Likewise was the form that I obtained.

This enigmatic (and heavily corrupt) passage seems to detail a ‘magical’ rite, through which the dead body comes to life again as a transfiguration of the divinity. This may be inferred from the fact that the corpse is first buried,

three groups; cf. also *Sutasoma* 53.3, where a similar comparison between Vairocana, Śiva and Pātañjala is made. In the Balinese version of the *Pūrvaka Bhūmi* (HOOPYKAAS 1974:10–12), the five brothers are equated to the *pañcabrahmas*, the five faces of Sadāśiva (Pṛtañjala corresponds to Īśāna/Śiva).

78. A similar view was independently put forward already by HUNTER (2000:95), who presented evidence for identifying the Rṣi group as practising a form of Śaivism different from the ‘official’ religion of the Kraton and living in hermitages removed from the urban centres.

then extracted and made the object of a funerary rite involving its disposal in the waters of a river, and then cremated on a funerary pyre, so as to fulfill a special ritual procedure. It is interesting that each of the three types of funeral procedures mentioned in this passage are known to the *Anteṣṭividhi*, an early Lakulīśa Pāśupata manual describing the last rite of persons initiated in the order, such as householder, ascetics (*sādhaka*) or masters (*ācārya*).<sup>79</sup> It seemingly represents the only known Śaiva source that describes all three types of ritual and moreover prefer the former two over cremation, the usual rite prescribed in later Saiddhāntika texts.<sup>80</sup> The *Anteṣṭividhi* (23) prescribes that two Pāśupata officiants separately perform parallel rituals on the corpse, which is only then ready to be either buried, disposed in a river or cremated. Albeit not identical, the procedure described in the Sanskrit text is remindful of the one indicated in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The outstanding character of the body of the deceased, i.e. Nīllohita, and the purpose of the ritual, i.e. bringing it to life again as the incarnation of the Lord known as Pātañjala, may justify the fact that the Old Javanese text prescribes the performance of all three Pāśupata funerary rites.

Now, those who are familiar with the myth of Lakulīśa in Sanskrit sources will note the presence of the same burial ambience as well as the motif of the incarnation of Śiva-Pāśupati as the divine master at the head of the four disciples, who entered the corpse of a Brahmin to be re-animated in a cremation ground at Kārohaṇa or Kāyāvarohaṇa ('[the place] of bodily incarnation').<sup>81</sup> BAKKER (2000:13) relates the legend of the Pāśupata guru So-maśarman found in the Malhar Plates and in the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa*, where 'the play of words may allude to "Soma" as a name of Śiva and the transfiguration undergone by Lakulīśa in the initiation ritual, which, when he underwent the anointment with ashes, made him shine like the moon.' Al-

79. This short text of forty-six verses, written on a Nepalese *codex unicus*, has been edited, translated and discussed by ACHARYA (2010).

80. The three rites are also prescribed for different kinds of ascetics in certain Brahmanic *smārta* manuals, which are however Vaiṣṇava in character (cf. ACHARYA 2010:134–136).

81. Cf. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.24.124–134; *Vāyupurāṇa* 23.219–234; *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad 1.1 (pp. 3–4); cf. LORENZEN (1991:180–181 and 176, fn. 39–43) and BISSCHOP (2006:44–50). Note that the *Liṅgapurāṇa*'s account of Kāyāvarohaṇa states twice that the Lord entered the body of a dead brahmin 'through magical yoga' (*yogamāyayā*, 1.24.127b and 128d). This might be compared to Śiva's statement occurring at the beginning of this section of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, namely that He (in the form of Pātañjala and His four brothers) was born from the yoga of the Lord (276.13).

though the process of incarnation is nowhere described in detail and certain minor elements in the accounts vary, the main motif of Śiva's incarnation remains the same.<sup>82</sup> The presence of ashes (smeared on Lakuliśa's body) is a recurrent feature too. Further, it is important to recall that Kauṇḍinya in his *Pañcārthabhāṣya* ad *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.1 never refers to Lakuliśa but simply mentions Kuśika's newly-incarnated master as *bhagavant* 'the Lord'—a detail that finds a correspondence in the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

Given the evident structural convergences present in the above accounts, it may be argued that we are dealing with different versions of an early Pāśupata motif which developed independently in different areas of the Subcontinent and in the Archipelago. As noted by BAKKER (2007:2–3), the idea of a *guru* with four pupils named Lāguḍi/Lākulin or Lakuliśa seems to be an example of 'invention of tradition,' which was introduced for reasons of legitimation. The substitution of Lakuliśa with Pātañjala, as I have argued above, may be a Javanese invention of tradition, developed on the basis of an earlier common source.

It is evident that the section of the Old Javanese text devoted to the description of the Lord's former incarnations shows a composite structure that, I believe, was the result of a cut-and-paste operation by the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala*. Now, for what reason did he feel the need to insert the Pāśupata account between the two contiguous Purāṇic myths of Dakṣa-Satī and of Nīlarudraka-Kāma-Pārvatī? A possible answer might be found in his eclectic and inclusivist approach, on account of which the harmonization of a Pāśupata and Śaiva Purāṇic myth would have been deemed desirable. Some support for this suggestion can be drawn from the closing part of the *pañcaṣṭhi* section, which has a definite Saiddhāntika flavour:

DHPĀT  
278.19–280.4

The venerable Ananta arrived, inviting me to go back into the plain of non-being.<sup>83</sup> I was not unwilling to be placed in the heaven of the one who is my superior form, that is in the *world of Śrīkaṇṭha*. Above Śrīkaṇṭha, I spent a

82. Cf. also LORENZEN (1991:176–177).

83. The connection of Ananta with the plain of non-being—corresponding to the 'pure path' (*śuddhādhvan*) in the Śaiva cosmography—is also found in a passage of the *Tantrāloka* (8.352b–353a), most probably quoting the lost *Śivatānu* by Bṛhaspati: 'The [phenomenal] existence (*bhava*) is from Māyā up to the Avīci hell; non-[phenomenal-]existence (*abhava*) is said to be from Ananta etc. up to the superintendence of the pure qualities of Śiva. That is also to be abandoned' *māyādir avīcyanto bhavas tv anantādir ucyate 'py abhavaḥ || śivaśuddhaguṇādhikārāntaḥ so 'py eṣa heyaś ca* /.



long time in the plain of non-being. Then I was ordered to take place in the Egg of Brahmā. I eventually became the teacher of the whole world. That is the reason why I taught all the gods here in the Egg of Brahmā.

This passage seems to imply that the form of Śiva obtained by Pātañjala is that of Śrīkaṇṭha. Though this detail is not explicitly mentioned by any of the Sanskrit Pāsupata sources with respect to Lakuliśa, it is in harmony with *Mahābhārata* 12.337.62, according to which Śrīkaṇṭha is the form of Śiva responsible for the promulgation of the Pāsupata doctrine in our era.<sup>84</sup> The role of this figure has been incorporated into the scriptures of the Śaiva Mantramārga, where he appears as the Guru, living on the peak of the Kailāsa, who was responsible for the diffusion of the Śaiva knowledge down to earth, first to the Gods and sages and then to human beings.

Here a problem arises: given the mention in the Old Javanese text of Ananta, the first of the eight Vidyeśvaras, it is likely that the author was thinking about the Śrīkaṇṭha who is the penultimate member of that heptad (before Śikhaṇḍin). Although the situation is not very clear, Siddhāntatantras seem to know more than one Śrīkaṇṭha. One of them is often characterized as residing on the Kailāsa (e.g. in *Kiraṇa* 8.89–90ab), but also in the Rudraloka at the top of the Egg of Brahmā. Rāmakaṇṭha in his *vṛtti* distinguishes this Śrīkaṇṭha from at least two others, i.e. the Vidyeśvara and the Mantreśvara residing in *guṇatattva* who heads the one-hundred Rudras (*śatarudra*).<sup>85</sup> Now, it seems justified to assume that the *Dharma Pātañjala*

84. The passage defines Him as husband of Umā and son of Brahmā (the latter detail also pertains to Nilalohita). Interestingly, in the (regrettably lacunary) passage of the Pāsupata stone-inscription of Ekliṅgī (BHANDARKAR 1908:166, lines 9–12) dealing with the incarnation of Śiva as Lakuliśa, the Lord is referred to as the husband of Parvatī (*girisutāpati*) and it is said that, once incarnated as Lakuliśa, ‘he, the enemy of Kāma, does not remember even the abode on the Kailāsa’ (*kailāsavāsam api na smarati smarāriḥ*). This description might refer to Śiva in His Śrīkaṇṭha form. Thus, it is perhaps against this background that we should interpret the Pāñcārthika Pāsupata accounts (such as *Pāsupatasūtra* 4.10 and Kaunḍinya’s commentary thereon) describing the Gods, such as Indra, etc., as practising the Pāsupata observance in former times, when Kuśika and Īśāna had not yet appeared: it is a form of the Lord himself that must have instructed them. According to *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 3.6cd–7, Śrīkaṇṭha, taught by Ananta in his turn taught the gods and demons; compare *Dharma Pātañjala* 278.19–4, where Ananta accompanies Śrīkaṇṭha to his heavenly abode.

85. That confusion is likely to have occurred is suggested by that author’s lengthy commentary ad *Sārdhatrisatikālottarāgama* 1.1ab, at the end of which (p. 4.8–11) he concludes that Śrīkaṇṭha is not a pupil of Ananta but of Śiva himself. On all this, cf. GOODALL’s extensive note (1998:163–164, fn. 10).

has preserved a tradition that knew of one Śrīkaṇṭha only. That we are dealing with a confusion by the author is unlikely, for the passage of *Vṛhaspatitattva* quoted above (14.27–32) mentioning the genesis of Śrīkaṇṭha's family appears immediately after the description of the eight Vidyeśvaras; this fact suggests that the author of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* too identified Śrīkaṇṭha as a form of Śiva with Śrīkaṇṭha the Vidyeśvara. The penultimate of them, Śrīkaṇṭha, is succeeded by Śikhaṇḍin in his office, and he is explicitly said to be the incarnation of the Lord who was credited for the transmission of the scriptures in the Egg of Brahmā.<sup>86</sup>

*As the Same as  
or Different  
from His  
Creation* A lucid theological definition of God in terms of non-dualism or dualism is encountered nowhere in Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas. All we have are passages at best hinting at the status of the individual Soul, incarnated beings or creation vis-à-vis the Absolute, without any philosophical implications being problematized. This state of affairs finds a counterpart in the earliest surviving Siddhāntatantras, such as the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, etc.<sup>87</sup>

An interesting passage of the *Dharma Pātāñjala*, in the section defining the so-called disabilities (*aśakti*), quotes the statements of a *pūrvapakṣin* holding monistic—and extreme—positions. Having been introduced by the Lord as a teacher whose doctrines cause one to fall in hell, he is attributed the following words:

DHPĀT  
266.2–9

‘Yourself are the place where the Lord in his manifest form resides, for those who fabricate *liṅgas*, build temples, organize assemblies, organize food- and drinking-feasts, those ones are the place where the *Summum Bonum* resides! Those Gods eat and sleep, walk and sit, just [do] whatever [they want!]. All of those Gods are hit by punishment, [but] there is no fault in all of them.’ Thus are his words. This is the reason why he performs bad conduct, i.e. because it does not matter, according to him, thus he transgresses, thus he steals the wealth of others. ‘It does not matter if you are *tuhutu*, for *tuhutu*

86. I have argued elsewhere (ACRI 2011) that the doctrine of the gradual change of office of the eight Vidyeśvaras illustrated in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* is likely to have derived from a lost scripture by the commentator Bṛhaspati, one of the earliest figures of the Śaivasiddhānta.

87. The absence of any discussion of duality and non-duality, which is one of the defining features of mature Śaivasiddhānta, is regarded by GOODALL and ISAACSON (2007:5) as a criterion to establish the antiquity of a given scripture, in their specific case the *Niśvāsa*.

means, do not be scared of dying, for that is called killing oneself; whatever way of death, for death is that which is designated as *liberation*’.

Although the difficult syntax and the presence of some apparently corrupt words prevent us from getting a full understanding of the passage, it is still possible to detect in its inclusion a desire to polemicize against a certain monistic school maintaining an absolute identity between human beings and the Lord. The *pūrvapakṣin* takes this position to its extreme by implying that such an identity would render the divine moral rules of conduct useless (for everybody is but a manifestation of the One Lord). The equation of death, which is seemingly conceived as the end of the gross elements constituting the physical body, with the concept of liberation, however, echoes a materialist doctrine; the same holds true with respect to the accusation of crimes such as slaying and stealing the wealth of others. It seems likely that our author willfully merged a monistic with a materialist standpoint. It thus appears that the *Dharma Pātañjala*, in polemic with such an overtly monistic doctrine, referred to it in negative terms as belonging to an evil teacher and to people who commit sinful actions.

Views echoing the one put forward in the above passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala* can be found in the *Tattvajñāna*, which, however, does not ascribe them to a *pūrvapakṣin*. For instance, chapter 44 states that the Lord is present in a manifest way in every human being. Having described the *prayogasandhi* as comprising seven means, namely seven ancillaries of yoga, the Lord explains that the sentient (*cetanā*) constitutes one undivided light (*prakāśa*). Its nature is constituted by the *caturdhyāna*, which is defined as follows:

*tiṣṭhan*, *bhojan*, *gacchan*, *suptan*. *tiṣṭhan* [means:] it is the Lord who sits.<sup>88</sup> *bhojan* [means:] it is the Lord who is eating. *gacchan* [means:] it is the Lord who is going. *suptan* [means:] it is the Lord who is sleeping. To sum up: only the Lord is to be kept in mind, whatever is the state of the human being, for that which is called remembering is the place of embodiment of the Lord here in the manifest world (*sakala*).<sup>89</sup>

88. ‘Sitting’ (*maluṅguh*)—and not ‘standing’, as we would expect—is the rendering of the Sanskrit verb by the Old Javanese commentary, which evidently understood it in the sense of ‘abide’; cf. the passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala* quoted above, which presents the same verb *maluṅguh* ‘to sit’ in the parallel list of four activities.

89. *Tattvajñāna* 44.5–9: *tiṣṭhan* / *bhojan* / *gacchan* / *suptan* / *tiṣṭhan* / *bhaṭara maluṅguh* / *bhojan* / *bhaṭara mañan* / *gacchan* / *bhaṭara lumaku* / *svaptan* / *bhaṭara maturū* / *saṅkṣepa-*

The parallel with the above passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is evident: if in the former the false teacher states that those eating, sleeping, walking, sitting—or whatever—are the place of existence of the Lord, the latter text expounds a technique of fourfold meditation (*caturdhyāna*) involving the identification with the Lord in the same above mentioned four states. The parallels are further extended to Sanskrit literature, for analogous lists mentioning four or more states/actions in connection with a form of meditation (*dhyāna*) on the Lord are widely attested in Saiddhāntika<sup>90</sup> and non-Saiddhāntika<sup>91</sup> Śaiva Tantras, in the *Śivasamhitā*<sup>92</sup> and in the *Agnipurāṇa*, where it is mentioned in a Vaiṣṇava context.<sup>93</sup>

The strongest piece of evidence suggesting that the *pūrvapakṣin* might have been originally a Vaiṣṇava is found in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Bhīṣma-parva*, which is based on a Sanskrit version of the same Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* (12) that preserves the section of text known as the *Bhagavadgītā*. A passage of the Old Javanese version, based on *Bhagavadgītā* 5.6–10, presents

*nya / bhaṭara juga katuturakna / sapolah bhāva niñ vvañ / apan ikañ tutur naranya / yeka paśarīran bhaṭara mañke riñ sakala //*

90. Cf. *Sarvajñānottara* VP 91–92 (Ed. Adyar; 92ab missing but found in Ed. GOODALL as 45cd), which is part of an overtly monistic passage describing the omnipervasive presence of the Lord: ‘Nothing apart from Him is useful, neither religious actions nor prescribed ceremonies; neither a *liṅga* nor the behaviour in compliance with the rules established for the social classes resides in the Supreme Self. Śiva is to be meditated upon as One even while walking, sitting, sleeping, eating and drinking; † *śivaṃ karas* † anything else should be abandoned’ *naiva tasya kṛtenārtho na kāryo na vidhiḥ smṛtaḥ / na liṅgaṃ nāśramācāraḥ paramātmāni samsthitaḥ // śiva eko dhyeyaś † śivaṃ karas† sarvam anyat parityajet / gacchan tiṣṭhan svapan jāgrān bhuñjāno ’pi pibannapi //*. This passage closely recalls that of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, for it includes eating and drinking and mentions the fact that erecting *liṅgas* and doing meritorious acts is not an effective way of worshiping the Lord.

91. Cf. *Kubjikāmatatantra* 8.78: ‘The *sādhaka* [should have] his body accoutred with mantras on all occasions, when sitting, waking, sleeping, walking, eating or being engaged in love-making’ *mantrasannaddhadehas tu sarvāvastho ’pi sādhaḥ / tiṣṭhan jāgrān svapan gacchan bhuñjāno maithune rataḥ //*.

92. Cf. *Śivasamhitā* 5.118: ‘The man who performs meditation while sitting, walking, sleeping [or] waking, he does not incur into sin, for he destroys his sinful karma’ *tiṣṭhan gacchan svapan jāgrat yo dhyānaṃ kurute naraḥ / pāpakarmavikurvāṇo na hi majjati kilviṣe //*.

93. Cf. *Agnipurāṇa* 373.10ab & 12: ‘The Supreme Hari, omniscient, should be known as embodied (*sakala*) and disembodied (*niṣkala*). [...] When one walks, sits, sleeps, is awake, has the eyes opened or closed, is pure or impure, one should meditate on the Lord at all times’ *sakalo niṣkalo jñeyaḥ sarvajñaḥ paramo hariḥ / [...] gacchaṃs tiṣṭhan svapan jāgrad unmiṣaṇ nemiṣann api // śucir vāpy aśucir vāpi dhyāyet śatatam īśvaram //*.

correspondences with many of the passages referred to above, and it is especially important to contextualize the passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala*. Having upheld the superiority of *karmayoga* ‘pursuit of (disinterested) action’ over *karmasannyāsa* ‘renunciation of action’, Kṛṣṇa explains:

*The sage, furnished with yoga, attains to Brahma without delay—such is the state of the ascetic who cultivates yoga, without delay he shall attain to the world of Brahma. He is not stained although he performs actions, though he went on performing actions, the bad does not stick to his body. For his own nature then is like this: When he sees, hears, touches, smells—though he sees, though he is hearing, (though) he is smelling all kinds of perfumes; eats, moves, sleeps, breathes—though he eats, though he moves, though he sleeps, though he breathes; when he talks, abandons, takes—when he talks, or when he gives, or when he might be taking; opens and closes his eyes—though he might close his eyes, or open his eyes, this is what he thinks: ‘I am doing nothing’ [...] He is not stained by sin—that is the reason why he is not stained by sin and impurity, no more than a lotus-leaf is wetted by water.<sup>94</sup>*

It is not unconceivable that *Bhagavadgītā* 5.6–10 could have been the earliest, and thus prototypical, attestation of the motif upon which all later sources drew. Whereas the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* seems to offer a tendentious reinterpretation of this originally Vaiṣṇava monistic teaching, the author of the *Tattvajñāna* appears to have embraced it, perhaps by the intermediary of a Śaiva source, in the form of a visualization technique applied to the Lord.

Other passages relevant to the issue of monism, in the *Dharma Pātañjala* as well as in other Old Javanese texts, present images or similes illustrating the (often paradoxical) relation of the Lord as Absolute with the manifest reality that His creation constitutes. The metaphors that are most frequently

94. *Bhīṣmaparva* p. 51.7–28 (ed. and trans. GONDA 1935:67): «yogayukto munir brahma nacireṇādhiḡacchati» kadi maṅkana tika saṅ viku maṅgē yoga, tan kapilon jugar paṅguh Brahmaloḡa; «kurvann api na lipyate» mon sirar lēkas mapravṛtti, ndatan karakāt ikaṅ hala ri śarīranira. Apayan kumva pinakasvabhāvanira: «paśyaṅ śṛṇvan sprśaṅ jighran» yadyapin mulata juga sira, aṅrēṇē tuvi, aṅambuṅa sarvagandha; «aśnan gacchan svapan śvasan» mon maṅan ya, mon lumaku, mon aturu, mon pambēkan; «pralapan viśṛjan grhṇan» yadyan mojar, maveveh kunaṅ, maṅalapa kunaṅ; «unmiṣan nimiṣann api» yadyapin kumēḡapa kunaṅ, ṇuniveh dumēliṅa, ndan kumva tāṅṇaṅṇanira, «naiva kiṃcit karomīti» tan aku iki mapravṛtti, tan aku sumiddhakēn paṅṣaya niṅ sarvendriya. Maṅkana tah tēkap saṅ viku, tan dadi maṅaku riṅ sarvabhāvārēmbha; «na sa lipyati doṣeṇa» nahan ta mataṅnyan tan kaparatan doṣa mala «padmapatṭram ivāmbhasā».

encountered in speculative Tattvas are those of fire in wood and butter in milk, which already appear in the Upaniṣads. For instance, the *Śvetāśvatara* explains that the Lord is present in conscious and unconscious entities like fire in wood, butter in milk and oil in sesame seed.<sup>95</sup>

The simile of the fire in wood revolves around the common belief that the element fire, which is already present in the wood in a latent form, becomes active and visible only on the occasion of burning. The same concept is hinted at in *Dharma Pātañjala* 236.8–11, when the Lord explains the death of the body (as a consequence of the destruction of the winds) as a piece of wood being completely consumed by fire, so that its accompanying cause also ceases to exist; it is also seen in *Bhuvanakośa* 2.18.<sup>96</sup> The simile of fire in wood further appears in *Vṛhaspatitattva* śloka 49 and exegesis,<sup>97</sup> in *Tattva-jñāna* 29,<sup>98</sup> in *Jñānasiddhānta* 25.5,<sup>99</sup> in *Kumārātattva* II f. 19r<sup>100</sup> and in the hymn to Śiva of the *Arjunavivāha* (10.1, cf. p. 548). In all these five sources the analogy is paired with the one of butter in milk. The latter image also fea-

95. Cf. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 1.13–16ab (quoted and discussed below, p. 549).

96. *Bhuvanakośa* 2.18: ‘As the fire [which is] in every piece of wood is not perceived because of [its] subtlety, so Mahādeva [who is] in every creature is not perceived because of [His] subtlety. The reverend Fire is in every piece of wood, but it is not seen because of its subtlety; yathā—as the space, so is the Lord Mahādeva in everywhere being provided with a body. However, He is not grasped because of His subtlety’ « *kāṣṭhe kāṣṭhe yathā bah-niḥ sūkṣmatvān nopalabhyate / bhūte bhūte mahādevaḥ sūkṣmatvān nopalabhyate // 17b sūkṣmatvān nopalabhyate* ] *em.* ; sūkṣmatvam upalabhyate Mss. 17d sūkṣmatvān nopalabhyate ] *em.* ; sūkṣma gno upalabhyate Mss. » *saṅ hyaṅ apuy hanerikaṅ kayukayu / ndā-tan katon / makanimitta sūkṣmanira / yathā / kady aṅgān iṅ ākāśa / maṅkana ta bhaṭāra mahādeva, an hana riṅ sarva māvak / ndātar kapaṅguh sira / makanimittān sūkṣmanira //*

97. Quoted below, p. 579.

98. Cf. below, p. 402.

99. *Jñānasiddhānta* 25.5: *yathā ghrtaṃ payasi vāri ca dāruṣu / kṣitaṃ jalaṃ nabha ca savargo ’nilaḥ / rajas tamo vṛttimana (?) guṇāni ca / tathaiva sarvagaṃ ca nopalabhyate //* (no exegesis is provided). SOEBADIO (1971:240–241), having emended *pari* in the mss. to *vāri*, translates it as ‘juice’ (in the trees); however, the parallel in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* suggests that the correct reading is *hari*, which, according to Sanskrit lexica, means ‘fire’ (‘in wood’, which is the most natural translation of *dāruṣu*). The whole verse indeed turns out to be a slightly different (and apparently corrupt) version of *Vṛhaspatitattva* 49, which defines *yogasandhi* (cf. below, p. 579).

100. The text attempts to characterize Sadāśiva, previously defined as *vyāpivyāpaka* ‘pervasive and pervaded’ (cf. fn. 22, and *Arjunavivāha* 10.1), as being ‘subtle like the fire that is in the “place of fire” (*apvan* = *apvyan*, i.e. wood?) and also like [what is] filled with milk (i.e. butter?)’ *sūkṣma kady aṅgān iṅ apvi aneṅ apvan / mvaṅ mibākan iṅ pāhan //*

tures independently in *Jñānasiddhānta* 25.1cd,<sup>101</sup> *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.2 and *Dharma Pātañjala* 214.1–3, where it is used to describe the Soul's lengthwise pervasion of the principles;<sup>102</sup> in *Dharma Pātañjala* 288.14–16 it serves the purpose of illustrating the meditative process of *prayogasandhi*.<sup>103</sup>

Both similes of fire and wood and butter in milk are found, besides in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, in other Sanskrit sources.<sup>104</sup> The latter simile only is found in *Dhyānabindūpaniṣad* 7 and in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, where, just as in śloka 49 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, it is used to demonstrate the existence of the (three) *guṇas*.<sup>105</sup> This simile also figures in a small number of early Siddhāntatantras<sup>106</sup> and is briefly hinted at by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on *Svacchandatantra* 9.80, a text that also preserves an attestation of the image of fire in wood.<sup>107</sup>

Admittedly, it is difficult to extract the philosophical standpoint lying behind the above metaphors, which are liable to have been interpreted by commentators in different ways according to their own standpoints. For instance, one could see in them illustrations of the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *satkāryavāda* (the pre-existence of the effect in the cause), explaining how everything that is visible directly emanates from the invisible Lord. Yet, it is pos-

101. The line characterizes the *siddhānta* ('supreme doctrine') as omnipervasive: 'it is said that that only pervades all, like clarified butter the milk' [...] 'it pervades all that exists, like butter pervading sour milk' *tad eva hi sarvaṃ vyāpi sarpiḥ kṣīravat iṣyate* [...] *vyāpaka riṇ sarvabhāva, paḍanira kadi miṇak vyāpaka riṇ pāhan asin* /.

102. Whereas in *Tattvajñāna* 29 the same concept is explained through the image of fire in wood; cf. p. 402.

103. To obtain butter, milk must be churned; cf. below, p. 548.

104. Such as *Mahābhārata* 3.33.25ab (reporting, as in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad*, three similes, namely oil in sesame seed, butter in milk and fire in wood); *Jayākhyasamhitā* (4.203), describing the Lord's (Viṣṇu's) all-pervading existence as being unfathomable.

105. Cf. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.70–74: 'As oil is in the sesame seed or butter resides in milk, so the universe follows from *tamas*, *sattva* and *rajas*' *tile yathā bhavet tailaṃ ghr̥taṃ payasi vā sthitam / tathā tamasi sattve ca rajasy anusṛtaṃ jagat* //.

106. Such as the *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara* (cf. below, p. 550); *Sarvajñānottara* VP 28.7 (cf. below, 402); it is also referred to by Rāmakaṇṭha on *Kiraṇatantra* VP 2.12cd, describing *Māyā* as existing in a potential and (and thus inactive) form as butter exist in a potential form in milk. As argued by GOODALL (2006: 97–101) this verse belongs to the series of 20 describing the Soul vis-à-vis Śiva in non-dualistic terms, which has been interpolated from the *Sūtasamhitā*, a monistic work belonging to the six *Samhitās* attributed to the *Skandapurāṇa*.

107. *Svacchandatantra* 10.365: 'They abide there, hidden, as fire in wood' *nigūḍhās tatra tiṣṭhanti kāṣṭhe vahnir yathā tathā*.

sible to argue that some kind of monism is implied. For instance, DEUSSEN (1897:412), while commenting on *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* 1.4.7, describing the Soul concealed in the body as fire in the [fuel] preserving the fire,<sup>108</sup> refers to this simile as being ‘typical in the later Vedānta’ of the *Brahmasūtra*, characterizing Brahman as latent in the phenomenal world. On the other hand, the simile of milk and butter is resorted to by the Śaiva author Śrīkaṇṭha in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* to 2.1.26 as a way to illustrate the view according to which the Lord is the material cause of the universe.<sup>109</sup>

Apart from those described above, other images—showing clear non-dualist nuances—are found in Tuturs. These texts, which are frequently characterized by a markedly esoteric and gnostic stance, betray influences of early non-dualist (and hence, perhaps, non-Saiddhāntika) schools.<sup>110</sup> One of the commonest images is the characterization of the Lord as pervading everything as the invisible space or a clear sky—a simile that recurs in various Old Javanese sources such as the *Jñānasiddhānta* (15.6, 25.2–3), *Bhuvana-kośa* (1.11, 2.17), *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (p. 19 line 28) and in Balinese Sanskrit Stutis. A passage of the *Jñānasiddhānta* presents a variation on the theme bearing a monistic flavour:

*He is imperishable and perfect, bodiless and spotless. He is invisible, incomparable, similar to a spotless sky.*

Even though He is not provided with limbs, He is nonetheless perfect.<sup>111</sup> He has no body and He has no stain. He cannot be perceived by direct percep-

108. OLIVELLE (1998:47; 493), noting the ambiguity of the term *viśvambhara*, among whose meanings are ‘fire’, ‘insect’ and ‘scorpion’, translates the expression *viśvambharo vā viśvambharakulāye* as ‘or a termite within a termite-hill’.

109. Indeed milk is the material cause of butter, which is obtained through the churning of the former substance by an instrument and agent. The transformation of milk into butter is defined as *pariṇāma*, just like the ‘transformation’ of Brahman into the manifest universe. According to Śrīkaṇṭha, who seems to follow a kind of transformationist (and not illusionist) Vedānta, Śiva is to be regarded as both the material and efficient cause of creation.

110. Cf., e.g., GOUDRIAAN’s (1996:28) remarks on a śloka of Balinese Stuti 429 (GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971:265) that the knower of the Supreme Reality (*paramārthavit*) may abandon the fire-ritual, the doctrinal knowledge, the yogic postures, the mudrās and the mantras altogether. GOUDRIAAN argues, since the verse is arranged as a dialogue between the Lord and the Goddess (*devī*), that it may have been extracted from a Sanskrit Tantra belonging to the Vidyāpīṭha and re-contextualized as part of a hymn (which is also suggested by a pronoun, *sa eva*, standing alone in the second half). Examples of such kind of cut-and-paste operations abound in Tutar literature (cf. below, p. 395, fn. 20).

111. From the syntax of the Old Javanese exegesis, presenting the construction *nda tapvan*



tion in the universe as ‘endowed with parts’. He cannot be fathomed, yet He exists. Indeed He has just a dimly visible form (*māyākāramātra*); *ākāśavat*, He is—to give a comparison—like a clear and cloudless sky.<sup>112</sup>

It may be pointed out that *māyākāramātra*, besides (or instead of) ‘just dimly visible’, could be translated as ‘merely having the appearance of an illusion’, thereby leaning towards non-dualism. Such a statement finds a counterpart in *Bhuvanakośa* 3.79:

*This universe, the mobile and the immobile, is the entirely illusionary appearance [of Śiva]. Śiva’s essence resides in everything; [everything] is dissolved into the principle Śiva.*

The nature of the whole universe is illusion. The form of the Lord Śiva is everything which exists. The whole universe, in the end, dissolves into Him.<sup>113</sup>

What may well be regarded as a ‘Vedāntic’ image, well-known to the Śaiva commentators from the Subcontinent,<sup>114</sup> is found in *Bhuvanakośa* 2.15, where the Lord’s pervasion of the beings is compared to the reflection of the moon in the water of various pots:

*Yet Mahādeva is pervasive within all wombs like space within pots; [knowing that, the yogin] reaches supportless liberation.*

... *yayan* ‘even though ... nevertheless’, it is apparent that here the commentator understood the Sanskrit *avyayaṃ*, which in the śloka obviously means ‘permanent, eternal’, as ‘a member or corporeal part of an organized body’—a meaning that is well-attested in Vedāntic works.

112. *Jñānasiddhānta* 8, śloka 5 and commentary:

*avyayaṃ paripūrṇaṃ ca na śarīraṃ nirāñjanam /  
anadṛśyam anopamaṃ vyomanīrmaṣasannibham //*

**5b** *nirāñjanam* ] *em.*; *nirāñjanam* Ed. (unmetrical)

*nda tapvan abyaya sira, yayan paripūrṇa. tatan hana śarīranira mvañ tan hanāñjananira. tan dadi sira katona sakala pratyakṣa riñ rāt. tan kavənañ sira inupalabdha tuhun hana. māyākāramātra, ākāśavat, kadi lañit nirmala tan pajalada pañupadṛṣṭanira • hanāñjananira* ] *em.*; *hanāñjananira* Ed.

113. *Bhuvanakośa* 3, śloka 79 and commentary:

*māyāmātram idam rūpaṃ jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam /  
śivātmā bhavate sarve śivatattve vā liyate //*

**79d** *śivatattve vā* ] *conj.*; *śivatattvavva* Mss.

*ikañ jagat kabeh / sthāvarajaṅgamāvaknya / māyā svabhāvanya / rūpa bhaṭāra śiva sahananya / ikañ rāt kabeh / i vəkasan lina mare sira //*

114. Cf., e.g., Rāmakaṇṭha ad *Mṛgendra* VP 2.12ab, who attributes to the Vedāntins the image of the Sun reflected in the surface of the water.

The leader among yogins knows that the Lord Mahādeva pervades everything which is provided with a body. Just as the moon, which is one, appears to abide [on the surface of water of] different pots, so [He], deviating from non-existence, is the final destination of everything. [Being] the epitome of superiority over the six classes [of inner stain], he reaches the state release; his release is without boundaries.<sup>115</sup>

The metaphor implies non-dualism, for the images of the various moons reflected on the surface of the water have no intrinsic reality, being mere reflections of the one moon in the sky. If the images of the moon stand, as it would seem, for the individual Souls, it follows that the latter are just manifestations of the Supreme Reality.<sup>116</sup> This is implied in the second part of the Stuti of the *Arjunavivāha*, which uses the same metaphor to characterize the ineffable presence of the absolute—in His Sadāśiva form, i.e. *sakalanīṣkala*—within all beings:

The image of the moon is [present] in pots containing water.  
Thus anything that is pure and spotless contains the moon.  
In such a manner you are said to dwell in creation.  
For one who devotes himself to yoga you are in the manifest world.<sup>117</sup>

This image is of Indic origin. It appears, for instance, in the *Amṛtabindūpaniṣad*, a non-dualist Upaniṣad of Yoga:<sup>118</sup>

The Soul of all beings, situated in each and every being, is only one.  
It is seen as one and as many, just like the moon [reflected] in water.<sup>119</sup>

115. *Bhuvanakośa* 2 śloka 15 and commentary:

*tathāpi tu mahādevaḥ vyāpī sarveṣu garbheṣu /  
ākāśam iva kumbheṣu vrajan mokṣam anāśrayam //*

**14a** *tathāpi tu* ] *conj.*; *tathāpitva* Mss. **14b** *sarveṣu garbheṣu* ] *conj.*; *vyāpi sarvva garrisu* A; *vyāpi sarvvāgaririsu* B *sarvvagaririsu* C.

*sira sañ yogīśvara vruḥ riñ bhaṭāra mahādeva / vyāpaka ri sarva māvak / mañkana riñ kumbha makveh inandālan iñ vulan tuṅgal / mañkana simpḥan iñ nora / ulih riñ kabeh / tañkəs viṣeṣa irikañ ṣadvarga / sira ta mantuk riñ kamokṣapadan / tar pahīñan ləpasnira //*

116. A similar image is found in a pre-Śaṅkara Vedāntic work, i.e. Gauḍapāda's *Gauḍapāda-kārikā* 3.3–7, where it is said that the universal Self is like space (*mahākāśa*), while the individual self is like the space within a jar (*ghaṭākāśa*).

117. *Arjunavivāha* 11.1: *śaśivimba haneñ ghaṭa mesi bañu / ndan asiñ śuci nirmala mesi vulan / iva mañkana rakva kiteñ kadadin / riñ aṇambāki yoga kiteñ sakala //*

118. Probably composed between ca. the 9th and 13th century AD (cf. BOUY 1994:48).

119. *Amṛtabindūpaniṣad* 12: *eka eva hi bhūtātmā bhūte bhūte vyavasthitaḥ / ekadā bahu-dhā caiva dṛśyate jalacandravat //*

An interesting passage presenting the same simile in a way that directly recalls the above-quoted verse of the *Arjunavivāha* is found in the *Niśvāsakārikā*:

As the moon is seen in the sky, so it is in the water.  
Thus God is omnipresent, being unseen on account of His subtlety.  
He could be directly seen through yoga, as the moon in water.<sup>120</sup>

The fragment, part of a longer passage in which the same simile appears three times, refers—just like the Old Javanese Kakavin—to a form of yoga through which the adept can perceive the form of the Lord in the manifest world, as when one realizes that the moon appearing in the water contained in different pots is but a reflection of the one moon in the sky.

It is difficult to establish whether the above examples might be of relevance to the issue of the material or efficient causality of the Lord with respect to His creation—a philosophical problem that is discussed since early times in Sanskrit sources. The position of the *Dharma Pātañjala* with respect to this important distinction appears to be represented in a passage featuring a debate between the Lord and a materialist opponent concerning the identification of the origin and end of the universe, defined as Bhaṭṭāra Paramakāraṇa or the *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*) by the former, and non-existence (*tayā*) by the latter. As an objection to the opponent's view the Lord points out that the sentient (*cetanā*) is the origin and end of the universe, which rises, exists and disappears as long as the Soul is aware of the principle of unevolved matter (334.20–336.5). The Lord then identifies in unevolved matter what is regarded as non-existence and as unmanifest by the opponent; hence, even if no notion or distinctive mark can be attributed to the *Summum Bonum*, it is still not right to call it non-existence, for He is the origin, maintenance and end of the universe, and moreover what causes non-existence to exist and disappear (336.9–11). This characterization seems to imply that the awareness of unevolved matter by the Soul is seen as the material cause of creation, whereas the Lord is the impeller—or instrumental cause—of it, for 'He desires to create the universe; that is the reason why the Soul becomes aware of

120. *Niśvāsakārikā* 31.32–33ab: *tatas toyē yathā candro dṛśyaty ākāśasaṁsthitaḥ / tadvat sarvagato devas sukṣmatvān nopalabhyate // sa ca yogena dṛśyeta pratyakṣaṁ jalacandravat / 32b dṛśyaty aīśa* passive in °ti, m.c. • °saṁsthitaḥ ] T 127; °saṁsthitam T 17A.

the principle of unevolved matter' (336.18–19). A clarification of this view is found in the remaining part of the debate. The process of origination of the universe is outlined as follows: unmanifest → *nāda* → *vinḍu* → *ardhacandra* → OM → the three-syllables (*tryakṣara*) → the five syllables (*pañcākṣara*) → the universe.<sup>121</sup> To this the opponent objects that the *nāda* and *vinḍu* come from the Lord, which amounts to saying that the material cause of the universe is not the unmanifest (i.e. unevolved matter) but the Lord Himself. The *Dharma Pātañjala* ends with the following passage:

DHPĀT  
338.2–13

If it happens that the single entity will be in two entities, what are the two entities called? Thus: sentient and insentient. What is the meaning of sentient? The Lord Supreme Cause. What is the meaning of insentient? Thus: the principle of unevolved matter. It is not possible that they constitute a single entity. For example: like if midday will be called midnight. 'What is the reason why it is impossible that the Lord is in this way, as He is able to conjure up at the whole universe?' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] If it would be so, the Lord is one who experiences suffering. 'Let there be the suffering of the Lord.' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] Then, this whole universe is without form. 'What does it matter if we call into question the very fact that the universe has a form?' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply]: How come that the universe, which [according to you] does not have a form, is seen by you? For it is indeed directly perceptible. As soon as the universe does not have a form, it is the *final dissolution* [...] required by the wish of the Lord.

This debate, worded in a typically Śāstric style, adumbrates the philosophical distinction between material and efficient cause through an extended metaphor: a single entity (*dharma*), i.e. the universe, is defined as being made out of two entities, i.e. the Lord and unevolved matter, called respectively sentient and insentient; the two cannot be confused (i.e. what is the material cause should not be confused with the instrumental cause), for otherwise one would be making a gross mistake, as if confusing midday with

121. Whereas the *tryakṣaras* can be easily identified with the three phonemes/graphemes constituting the OM, viz. A U MA, the *pañcākṣaras* can be interpreted in various way, viz. as denoting either A U MA plus *ardhacandra* and *bindu* (represented by a special graphic sign in relevant writing systems), or the five syllables of the sequence NA-MA-ŚI-VĀ-YA or SA-BA-TA-A-I (where each syllable represents the initial of one of the Pañcabrahmas; cf. p. 429). According to the *Bhuvanaśāṅkṣepa* (śloka 6–7 and commentary thereon), the *pañcākṣaras* indeed originate from the Pañcabrahmas (whereas for *Gaṇapatitattva* par. 1–4 the five deities are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Śiva and Sadāśiva).

midnight. The opponent counters by denying the idea that the (insentient) universe is the object of the will of the (sentient) Lord, to which it is replied that this state of affairs would entail as a corollary the presence of the Lord in the cycle of existence; this in turn would imply that the Lord as a material cause of the universe also is directly involved with and within it—an idea that goes against the Saiddhāntika dogma characterizing the highest Śiva as a *deus otiosus*. Therefore, everything that is visible, as well as its arising, existence and dissolution must go back to the wish of the Lord, who acts through the Soul in creating the universe out of unevolved matter.

The above account agrees with the Saiddhāntika view regarding the Lord as the efficient but not material cause of the universe, but it differs from it insofar as the latter system identifies the material cause in Māyā—and not in unevolved matter. According to the Sāṅkhya, unevolved matter is both the material and efficient cause.<sup>122</sup> The view of the *Dharma Pātāñjala*, standing midway between the two extremes, may be traced to Pāśupata Śaivism, for the ontology of that system did not feature Māyā. The *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 5.47 indeed identifies in the Lord the cause and impeller of the Universe, criticizing the views that attribute that role to unevolved matter or Spirit (*puruṣa*). The above-quoted passages of the *Dharma Pātāñjala* thus may be regarded as doctrinal ‘fossils’ that have survived within a Saiddhāntika framework, where Māyā was already enumerated among the principles of the universe and assumed a fundamental role in matters of ontology, metaphysics and soteriology.

An altogether different standpoint appears to be upheld in śloka 12 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (cf. above, p. 355), where the Lord in His Sadāśiva aspect is defined as the *utpādako* ‘creator’, ‘generator’ (i.e. material cause?) and not the *na sādhaḥ* ‘realizator’ or ‘finisher’, ‘accomplisher’ (i.e. instrumental cause?) of the universe, and as being constantly intent upon its maintenance (*anugrāhakapara*).<sup>123</sup> Such a standpoint recalls that of the transformationist Vedānta, according to which the Lord is the material cause of the universe.

As we have seen above, the *Dharma Pātāñjala* characterizes the rela-

122. That principle is indeed self-moving, without the need of positing an impeller or primary cause, i.e. God. Cf. the lengthy critique of contrary views exposed in the *Yuktidīpikā*, discussed by CHEMPARATHY (1965). The Sāṅkhya view goes against the Śaiva tenet of causal efficiency, which posits that an insentient product must perforce have a sentient cause (cf. below, pp. 573, 575 and 584).

123. For the interpretation of the word *anugraha* as ‘maintenance’ (as the Pāśupata did) instead of ‘favour’ or ‘grace’ (as the Saiddhāntika did), cf. above, p. 356 fn. 30.

tionship between the Lord and His creation through the metaphors of fire in wood and butter in milk only, without mentioning other stock images, found in the *Bhuvanakośa*, *Jñānasiddhānta* and *Arjunavivāha*, which imply a clearer non-dualism. This, along with the critique of the guru teaching monistic/materialistic views in 266.1–268.2, suggests that the text does not support monism—though it does not make any sharply-defined statements to support a dualistic position or devote a lengthy discussion to the issue either. In any event, the textual evidence makes clear that different currents of Śaivism subscribing to both positions must have existed in the Archipelago.

The exact nature of the relationship between the Souls and the Lord is of course crucial for clarifying the issue of monism or dualism, and therefore also for determining the matrix out of which Old Javanese Śaiva sources have inherited their doctrinal standpoints. An investigation of this matter will form the main subject of the next section.

## The Soul

ACCORDING TO THE MATURE Śaivasiddhānta ‘dualist’ theology, the Soul (*ātman*) is one of the three distinct entities that ultimately exist—the other two being the Lord and Māyā, the matrix out of which the material universe evolves. This triad finds its standard formulation in the scheme of *pati* (the Lord), *paśu* (the bound souls) and *pāśa* (the bond).<sup>1</sup> The individual souls<sup>2</sup> are distinct from the Lord because, if the Śivahood (*śivatva*) of the latter is beginningless, always untainted, the souls are *ab aeterno* tainted by maculation (*mala*) and may attain Śivahood only at a certain moment in time.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the liberated souls are equal but not identical to Śiva. They remain distinct from Śiva but are equal to Him in that they possess—albeit in a latent state—His powers: omniscience (or: knowledge of everything) and omnipotence (or: agency of all actions).

If the authors of the Śaivasiddhānta posited a fundamental distinction to exist between the Soul, Māyā and Śiva, the exegetes of the esoteric Śaiva traditions of the Pratyabhijñā, Krama and Trika, as well as most of the seminal Tantric scriptures devoted to the cult of Śakti or Bhairava, adhered to

1. It is notable that this terminology is not found in *Tuturs* and *Tattvas*, although the distinction is already mentioned in the scriptures of the Pāśupatas (e.g. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1). The three entities are already enumerated as *padārthas* (‘fundamental topics’) in some early Siddhāntatantras, but it is only in the post-scriptural Śaiva literature that their denominations as well as their number become fixed (cf. the informative account by GOODALL 2004:139–140, fn. 6). Note that the followers of the Classical Yoga system also accepted three distinct realities comparable to those accepted by the Śaivas, namely Nature (*prakṛti*, thus ontologically lower than Māyā), Spirit (*puruṣa*) and the Lord (*īśvara*).

2. In fact, the Śaivasiddhānta admits not only one but a plurality of innumerable individual Souls.

3. Cf., e.g., *Kiraṇatantra* 2.3, which distinguishes the souls, which are *ab aeterno* tainted by maculation (*anādimālasambandha*), from Śiva, who is *ab aeterno* free from it (*anādimālamukta*); cf. also Sadyojyotis ad *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 1 (p. 2).

monistic positions. They considered entities like the Soul and Māyā mere manifestations of the one universal consciousness, which is nothing else than the Supreme Śiva.<sup>4</sup> For the non-dualist Śaivas the Soul is identical to Śiva, for He is the only existing Subject and everything is but a direct emanation from Him—a real and not an illusory one, contrary to what the Vedāntins maintain.

How Old Javanese Tattvas and Tuturs treat this doctrinal point and specifically how they describe the status of the Soul has not yet been sufficiently investigated, and the *Dharma Pātañjala* yields precious new data for documenting this doctrinal aspect of Śaivism in the Archipelago. A better understanding of this issue may, in turn, help us to trace the history of transmission of the Śaiva religion from the Subcontinent to the Archipelago.

SOEBADIO (1971:53–54), while noting that the *Jñānasiddhānta* and other Tuturs known to her uphold the ultimate identification of all realities with the Supreme Being—who also amounts to the *Summum Bonum* or liberation—remarked that in those texts ‘we do not find a lucidly logical discussion on the philosophical implication of these identifications’, and that it is not sure ‘whether some difference is still felt between the individual soul and the Divine Power, as is explicitly explained in the South Indian Śaivasiddhānta concept of Advaita.’<sup>5</sup> Although I believe that SOEBADIO’s statements require partial revision, since most of the fundamental Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras were still little known when she was writing, it is certainly true that Old Javanese texts do not contain clear-cut and unambiguous statements aiming at clarifying the ineffable character of the relation between the Soul and the Lord. Their relation is nowhere explained by means of philosophical arguments, but rather affirmed as a doctrinal absolute. This appears to

4. For instance, according to a monist like Abhinavagupta, the Lord manifests Himself as the Soul, Māyā being a mere contraction (*saṅkoca*) of the universal divine consciousness: cf. *Tantrāloka* 9.144b–145a: ‘The so-called individual Souls (*aṇava*) are none other than Maheśvara, whose nature is light. He manifests Himself in the form of both sentience and insentience [as] an individual body, a knower of the field, a bound soul’ *aṇavo nāma naivānyat prakāśātmā maheśvaraḥ // cidacidrūpatābhāsī pudgalaḥ kṣetravit paśuḥ* /.

5. SOEBADIO refers to the *Śivajñānabodha* of Meyakaṇṭa. Noting the general absence of rationalizations on monism and dualism of the kind found in South Indian (Tamil) Śaivasiddhānta texts, SOEBADIO concluded that there seems to be a fundamental difference between the latter and ‘the sect we call in Indonesia by that name, and that in Indonesia the sect is in this respect certainly closer to Vedānta and Sāṅkhya teachings’. Cf. below, fn. 8.



be the case also in the earliest and non-dialectic Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, where the absolute difference or equality between the Soul and Śiva is rarely formulated in an explicit manner. It may in fact be argued that dualism and monism were not yet perceived as issues in the earliest strata of Śaiva literature from the Subcontinent.<sup>6</sup> It is in the philosophical works of the exegetes of the dualist Śaivasiddhānta, beginning with Sadyojyotis,<sup>7</sup> that we find first an investigation of ontological matters and the elaboration of a fixed theology enumerating souls, Śiva and Māyā. Even the later South Indian (Tamil) Śaivasiddhānta texts, which were referred to by SOEBADIO as examples of philosophical clarity, are far from systematic, and often monism is hinted at while it is nowhere affirmed in unambiguous terms.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of Sanskrit Siddhāntatantras, irrespective of their dialectic stance and philosophical awareness, have been regarded as dualist<sup>9</sup>—the only exception being the *Sarvajñānottara*, an early scripture that upholds a remarkably monistic stance;<sup>10</sup> but even in that scripture, the sections characterized by radical non-dualism have been shown by GOODALL (2006:96) to be later interpolations from sources influenced by Vedānta.<sup>11</sup> The theory that there is only one Soul or Self, which has the nature of the Supreme Brahman, was indeed labelled *ekātmavāda* in the Sanskrit sources and criticized by the Saiddhāntika authors, who attributed it to the Vedāntins.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the *Sarvajñānottara*, traces of monism are found in other early Sai-

6. Cf. above, p. 378 fn. 87.

7. Some, to my mind slightly exaggerated, remarks downplaying Sadyojyotis' role of primacy in terms of philosophical investigation while stressing his closeness to the earlier tradition of non-dialectic Siddhāntatantras are found in WATSON (2006:76). Contrast FILIOZAT 2001, especially pp. 38–39, who has—to my mind, rightly—stressed the important role of Sadyojyotis as the first historically known systematizer and polarizer towards a dualist reading of scriptures, such as the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*.

8. Cf. the remarks by GOODALL (2006:98) in this direction with respect to two important 'monistic' Śaivasiddhānta works influenced by Vedānta, such as *Meyakaṇṭhaśāstra* (13th century AD) and *Tirukkalīṟruppaṭiyār* (12th century AD).

9. The categorization of Siddhāntatantras into 'dualist' (*dvaita* or *bheda*), dual-cum-non-dual (*dvaitādvaita* or *bhedābheda*) or 'non-dualist' (*advaita* or *abheda*) is indeed largely artificial.

10. Thus according to SANDERSON (1992:291) and GOODALL (2006).

11. It is noteworthy that such interpolations must have taken place in South India, for they are not found in the (earlier) Nepalese manuscripts.

12. For indeed, as SANDERSON (1992:307) has noted, it is not before the late 10th century that such a monistic standpoint was attributed by Saiddhāntika authors to other Śaivas, namely Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja.

ddhāntika scriptures. One such statement, worded in a clearly Vedāntic jargon, is found in the *Śāntikakālaṅkā*:<sup>13</sup>

Śiva should be understood to be omnipresent, devoid of name and form.  
Śiva is soul that is pure consciousness; He rests pervading everything.<sup>14</sup>

The impression that the passage refers to a non-dualist, Vedānta-influenced standpoint is strengthened by the presence in the same text of a technical term (v. 98) that is common in monistic Śaiva exegetes while it is only rarely encountered in dualist Siddhāntatantras, i.e. *sāmarasa* (translated by GOODALL as ‘having become of the same flavour [as everything else]’), and of a reference (v. 95) to the yogin merging into Śiva after his death, which constitutes a distinguishing Vedāntic tenet as opposed to the Saiddhāntika position.<sup>15</sup>

I cannot escape the impression, and in this I follow SOEBADIO, that passages of Old Javanese Tuturs displaying a non-dualist flavour were also influenced by a form of Vedānta. The *Bhuvanakośa* upholds a decidedly monistic stance—especially with respect to the status of the Soul vis-à-vis Śiva. In śloka 1.27ab the Spirit or Soul is identified with the Absolute: *puruṣo vai mahābrahmaḥ mahādyutir anopamaḥ*, glossed in Old Javanese as ‘The Holy Brahman is the Soul. The number of its rays is outstanding’ *sañ hyaṅ brahma ātmā sirātiśaya kveh niñ tejanira*. In 4.6 the Spirit is further characterized as follows:

Shining and utterly void, the (individual) spirit (*puruṣa*) is said to be the Brahman. Having reached the Supreme, the spirit, unmanifest, is said to be the Almighty.

The spirit is the Lord *brahman*,<sup>16</sup> its form is like the splendour of the Sun.

13. That is, the hundred-verse recension of the *Kālotara*. The whole sequence of verses 91–104 has a close parallel in *Uttarasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* (5.36–49), which in all likelihood was the earlier of the two: cf. GOODALL (2007:162).

14. Trans. GOODALL (2007:161–162); *Śāntikakālaṅkā* 97: *śivaḥ sarvagato jñeyo nāmarūpavivarjitaḥ / cinmātrapuruṣo jñeyaḥ śivo vyāpya vyavasthitaḥ //*.

15. As SANDERSON (1992:284, fn. 16) has pointed out, the dissolution (*laya*) into the universal Soul (*paramātmā*) from which the individual Soul has arisen is criticized by Saiddhāntika authors, e.g. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha ad *Mṛgendra* VP 2.13–14ab.

16. It is also possible that the Old Javanese author in his gloss took the neuter term *brahman*, denoting the impersonal absolute of the Vedāntins, to be a manifestation of the personal god Brahman.

Its voidness is extreme. The masters teach: the spirit dissolves (*līna*) into the Lord Śaṅkara; its form is unmanifest.<sup>17</sup>

The above passages of the *Bhuvanakośa* are interesting in that they are both worded in the jargon of the Vedānta, equating the Brahman with the Spirit and describing its final release as a dissolution (*līna*) into the Lord (Prabhū, Śaṅkara). Another passage that displays a Vedānta-influenced theism has Kumāra ask the Lord to enlighten him about the characteristics of the Soul—is it one or many?

[Kumāra:] *ātmānaḥ vāyavāḥ bhāgāḥ tvayā pūrveṣu vācakāḥ*—The Souls, which have been taught to me by the Lord, how great is their number? You said that their embodiments are the [bodily] winds.<sup>18</sup> My Lord, please instruct me according to the truth!

The Lord spoke: *ātmāni*<sup>19</sup> *śivarūpāṇi*—they are the forms of Lord Śiva; *anekān te varānane*<sup>20</sup>—thus are their forms, not one; *jyotomayāni divyāni*—light always serves as their body; *saṁsārāni prthak prthak*—they are miserable, differing from one another.<sup>21</sup>

The view that the individual souls are all forms of Śiva implies the existence of an identity between those entities, hence it conforms to monism. As was already argued by ZIESENIS (1958:109), it is likely that the doctrines found

17. *Bhuvanakośa* 4.6:

*bhārūpam śūnyam atyantam brahmā puruṣa-r ucyate /  
puruṣaḥ paramaṁ gatvā niṣkalaḥ prabhur ucyate //*

4.6c *puruṣaḥ paramaṁ gatvā* ] *em.* ; *puruṣa paramaṁgatvam* Mss.

*bhaṭāra brahma sira puruṣa / na / kady aṅgān in ujvala niṁ āditya rūpanira / atyanta śūnya-  
nira / vinarahakān saṁ paṇḍita, saṁ hyaṁ puruṣa, līna riṁ bhaṭāra śaṅkara / lvir ira niṣkala //*

18. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 35.17–23, where Vṛhaspati asks about the characteristics of the Soul being in the body, for the difference between mind (*citta*) and Soul is difficult to grasp. The Lord's reply is that His Power of Action (*kriyāśakti*) enters the *ahaṅkāra*, which (in its turn) enters the bodily winds; it is the winds that join the Soul with the body.

19. Note the *aīśa* neuter of *ātman* instead of the masculine.

20. The verse was probably quoted from a Tantra addressed to the Goddess, as suggested by the presence of the vocative *varānane* 'o you of splendid face' (which is not glossed in the Old Javanese); cf. above, fn. 110.

21. *Bhuvanakośa* 8.32–33: « *ātmānaḥ vāyavāḥ bhāgāḥ tvayā pūrveṣu vācakāḥ* » *ikaṁ ātmā vinarahakān bhaṭāra ri ṇhulun / pira ta kvehnya / bāyu avaknya liṁta / pājarakna hyaṁ mami tāmāntāmān / « devovāca / atmani śiva rupami » rūpa bhaṭāra śiva ika / « anekān te varānane » maṅkana rūpanya tan tuṅgal / « jyotomayāni divyāni » teja pinakāvaknya nityaśa / « saṁsārāni prthak prthak » saṁsāra ya / mapalenan ta ya //*

in the *Bhuvanakośa* derive from an early Sanskrit tradition of Vedānticized non-dualist Śaiva currents.<sup>22</sup>

The doctrinal standpoint concerning the above point upheld in Old Javanese Tattvas is articulated in a more detailed manner than in Tuturs and through the use of a different terminology, which suggests its derivation from another tradition. If a separation between sentient and insentient, i.e. Śiva and Māyā, is evident in the sources, statements concerning the status of the Soul vis-à-vis the Lord are far from unambiguous. For instance, in *Dharma Pātañjala* 336.2–5, the Soul is defined as an illusory image (*māyāmāyā*), being a mere denomination (*khyāti*)<sup>23</sup> of the Lord Supreme Cause; the Soul is also instrumental in creation, for the universe arises following the Soul's awareness of unevolved matter (*prakṛti*), and dissolves as soon as that awareness ceases. Then to Kumāra's question as to what is the Soul and the origin of maculation (*mala*) the Lord replies as follows:

DHPāt  
212.8–12

As follows I shall teach you: what is designated as *Soul* is the Lord *Summum Bonum*. That is designated as Śiva Parameśvara. He is to be considered as the sun. He is like the sun. The sentient is to be considered as His splendor when [He is] the sun. The splendor of the sun goes, spreading over the ten quarters of the sky. Such is the sentient, for, endowed with the Power of Pervasion of the Lord, it fills the whole universe.

The first statement, i.e. that the Soul is the Lord *Summum Bonum*, i.e. Śiva Parameśvara, comes very close to an unambiguous profession of adherence to non-duality. The Soul is then characterized as sentient and compared to the splendour of the sun, an equation that is often encountered in Tuturs when describing the Brahman-Soul and in Tattvas when describing Sadāśiva,

22. This view may be extended to a great part of the Tutar literature *tout court*. For instance, analogous non-dualistic propositions of seemingly Vedāntic origin are found in *Kumāratattva* II, where the oneness of the Lord is compared to the oneness of the sun: both only appear to be manifold when contained in the eyes of each person (f. 22v); further, because Māyā makes Him endowed with a body, 'the Lord at last [becomes] differentiated; that can be compared to the sun and the pots. The Māyā is like that which makes the pots, hundreds, thousands, millions; the Lord is like the sun present inside; the Nature is the water of the pot; the Spirit is the light of the sun' *bhaṭāra prabheda vākasan, ya ta inupamākān āditya mvañ ghaṭa, ikañ māyā akān magave ghaṭa, satus, siyu, sayuta, ikañ bhaṭāra kadi āditya haneñ jro, ikañ pradhāna* [em.; paḍāna ms.] *ve niñ ghaṭa, ikañ puruṣa chāyā niñ āditya* (f. 23). For the occurrence of the same simile in the *Bhuvanakośa* and other sources, cf. above, pp. 385–387).

23. This form is my conjectural emendation of the nonsensical *katti*.

who pervades the whole universe in the same way as the sun does with its rays. The continuation of the above passage, having briefly listed the principles (*tattva*) out of which the universe is made, adds that all of them are ‘pervaded by the Soul, and also by the Lord Supreme Cause. That is why pervasion is another power of the Lord’ *ya binyāpakan sañ hyaṇ ātmā, astam bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa ya mataṇnyan vibhuh śakti bhaṭāra vaneh*. The apposition of Soul and Lord in pervading the principles might be an allusion to the status of the Soul vis-à-vis the Lord; but the sentence is unclear and difficult to interpret. The Old Javanese word *astam*,<sup>24</sup> which can be translated as ‘and also, let alone, even more so’, does not express an unambiguous relationship of identity between the Soul and the Lord Supreme Cause in pervading the principles, for a distinction between the two might still be implied. The reference to pervasion (*vibhuh*) as being ‘another power of the Lord’ (*śakti bhaṭāra vaneh*) probably characterizes the same power that pertains also to the Soul insofar as it is sentient (*cetanā*).<sup>25</sup>

In *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.37–43 the Soul is characterized as the principle of Śiva (*śivatattva*) that is tainted by maculation (*mala*) because of its contact with Māyā. The result is that

The *śivatattva* stops to be omniscient and omnipotent: it is designated as Soul, which means sentience that is insensible.<sup>26</sup>

The passage suggests an identity between the *śivatattva* and the Soul. The latter is characterized in terms of a single, universal spin-off of the aspect of Śiva standing below *paramaśivatattva* and *sadāśivatattva* when it pervades Māyā, thereby becoming insentient and losing its innate powers. This, again, would seem to conform to a non-dualist position.

According to the *Tattvajñāna*, the principle of Soul (*ātmikatattva*) is identified with the Lord in His *sadāśivatattva* rather than *śivatattva* aspect:

24. The word is my emendation of *astā* in the codex, which does not make sense in this context. In fact, it is extremely improbable that the sequence *astā bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa* could be interpreted as ‘the Lord by the Eight forms (e.g. Śiva *aṣṭamūrti*), the Supreme Cause’, for a ‘gross’ and manifest form of Śiva cannot subtly pervade the principles of the universe.

25. A similar point seems to be implied in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14, which speaks about the *vibhuśakti* of the Lord pervading the principles; and in *Tattvajñāna* 5, referring to their pervasion by the Soul (cf. below p. 351). On the pervasion of the principles by the Lord and Soul in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, cf. below, p. 426.

26. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.45–46: *mari pveka śivatattva / sarvajña sarvakāryakartā / ya ta sinaṅguh ātmā ṇaranya / cetana ləṇəṇləṇəṇ ṇaranya /*.

That which is designated as *ātmikatattva* is the Lord *sadāśivatattva*. His characteristics are: woven crosswise and lengthwise (*ūtaprota*). [...] He is designated as *ātmikatattva*. He is the holy *ātmaviśeṣa*. He is the Lord Dharma. He pervades the whole universe. He serves as the life of all the universe and all the creatures. Thus is His likeness. He is like the holy Sun.<sup>27</sup>

The text refers to the *ātmikatattva*, amounting to *ātmaviśeṣa*<sup>28</sup> and the Lord Dharma, using the same ‘solar’ simile that occurs in *Dharma Pātañjala* with respect to both the Soul and the Lord. As in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (214.5–10) and in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (e.g. commentary to śloka 14, 35, 50), the principle of Soul is regarded to be originally pure and sentient just as the Lord, and it is only through the obfuscating activity of *Māyā* that it loses its connatural powers.

*Losing its Divine Status* From the Old Javanese passages quoted above it clearly results that Tattvas uphold the equation Soul = Lord = sentient. The last element is part of the basic metaphysical dichotomy described as a fundamental tenet in both

Tuturs and Tattvas, namely that between the sentient (*cetanā*) and the insentient (*acetanā*). Both the Lord and the Soul are sentient, whereas *Māyā* is insentient. This seemingly dualistic metaphysic is reminiscent of the Sāṅkhya dichotomy between a sentient Spirit (*puruṣa*) and an insentient nature (*prakṛti*). This old view appears to have retained its prominence in texts from the Indonesian Archipelago, whereas in the Subcontinent it was superseded by a more innovative Śaiva cosmological doctrine.

As we have seen, in Old Javanese Tattvas the Soul possesses the paradoxical aspect of being both only sentience and innately powerful, just as the Lord, and yet being obfuscated by the influence of *Māyā*. It is only because of the intervention of *Māyā* that the Soul becomes individualized, ignorant about its own nature and impotent, thereby degenerating into lower and coarser principles. This downward journey towards insentient matter

27. *Tattvajñāna* 5.1–21: *nihan tañ sinaṅguh ātmikatattva ṅaranya / bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva kunañ lakṣaṇanira / ūtaprota / [...] ndan sira ta sinaṅgah ta ātmikatattva ṅaranira / sira ta sañ hyaṅ ātmaviśeṣa ṅaranira / sira ta bhaṭāra dharma ṅaranira / sira ta humibəkiñ rāt kabeh / sira ta pinakahuripiñ rāt kabeh sarvajanma kabeh / nahan papaḍanira kady aṅganira sañ hyaṅ āditya /*.

28. ‘The paramount Soul’? A definition of *ātmaviśeṣa* and the Lord Dharma is found in *Tattvajñāna* 33.1–5, where both categories are said to be ‘the Soul, without activity, present in the Fourth State’ *ikañ ātmā tan vyāpāra hana riñ tūryapada*.

ultimately leads the Soul to incarnate in a worldly creature and become a slave to the senses and their objects.

In the *Dharma Pātañjala* the result of the pervasion of the Soul by *Māyā* is described as follows:

The principle of Soul is omniscient and omnipotent; it pervades the principle of *Māyā*. Eventually the power of the Soul disappears, it ceases to be omniscient and omnipotent, for maculation is the nature of *Māyā*. Maculation sticks tightly to the Soul: this is the reason why its nature is being ignorant; in reality it is only sentience.

DhPāt  
214.6–10

A similar characterization of the Soul is found in the Old Javanese exegesis to *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14:

The nature of *śivatattva* is to be woven lengthwise (*prota*) within *Māyā*. That is the reason why it is tainted by maculation. Maculation means the insentience. As the *śivatattva* is absolutely crystal clear, immaculate, bright, pure and clear, the sentience forms its nature. Then it becomes tainted by the insentience, and its powers disappear. Its powers are: omniscience and omnipotence. The *śivatattva* stops to be omniscient and omnipotent: it is then designated as Soul, which means sentience that is insensible.<sup>29</sup>

And in the *Tattvajñāna*:

This is what the Lord *sadāśivatattva* pervading and being aware of *māyātattva* is like. Maculation is the nature of *māyātattva*. That is designated as being enveloped in and adhered to by maculation. For that reason, it is as if it (the Soul) thinks that the powers of the Lord are vanished in the end. But how is that possible? For the Lord *sadāśivatattva* is just like a crystal, He cannot be made impure. Indeed it is only His sentience that is adhered to by maculation. It is enveloped in and covered by *māyātattva*, so that at the end the sentience is insensible. It stops to be omniscient and it stops to be

29. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.39–46: *ikañ śivatattva prota svabhāvanya riñ māyā / ya ta matañ-yan koparəṅgan mala / mala naran in acetana / apan ikañ śivatattva səḍəñ sphatikavarṇa / nirmala malilañ aho mahəniñ / pinakasvabhāvanyañ cetana / koparəṅgan pva ya de niñ acetana / hilañ ta śaktinira / śakti naranya ikañ sarvajña lavan sarvakartā / mari pveka śivatattva / sarvajña sarvakāryakartā / ya ta sinaṅguh ātmā naranya / cetana ləñəñləñəñ naranya /*.

omnipotent, even though in reality the sentience is constituted by sentience only.<sup>30</sup>

All three Tattvas agree in characterizing the Soul as having consciousness only as its true nature, while being at the same time ignorant in view of the fact that this original nature is not realized by the Soul. This view conforms to a well-known tenet of Sanskrit Saiddhāntika literature. It is summarized in a verse of the *Sarvajñānottara*:

The Bound Soul is the Soul when not-independent; [though] being sentience only, it is defiled by maculation. It is ignorant, experiencing suffering *ab æterno*, of limited knowledge, devoid of sovereignty, inactive.<sup>31</sup>

From the Tattva passages quoted above the Soul appears to have a liminal status, standing between sentience and insentience. Rather than by providing a rationalization of the paradoxical nature of the Soul, the Old Javanese texts explain the union between the Soul and *Māyā* by resorting to similes. Two of these, namely the simile of the butter in milk and the fire in wood, we have already encountered while illustrating the existence (or pervasion) of an invisible entity within a visible one.<sup>32</sup> Thus, the sentience of the Soul being tainted by maculation is described in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (212.25–214.4) in terms of a pervasion of the principles of the universe (*tattva*) by the Soul, as if woven crosswise-and-lengthwise (*ūtaprota*). The Soul being woven crosswise (*ūta*) within the principles is compared to the (invisible) butter pervading milk. To illustrate the Soul's being woven lengthwise (*prota*), a

30. *Tattvajñāna* 5.2–21: *kadi maṅkana ta bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva an vyāpaka cumetane-kañ māyātattva / mala pva svabhāva nikañ māyātattva / ya ta sinaṅguh koparəṅga karakə-tan mala naranya / mataṅnyan kadi hilañ kahiḍəpanya śakti bhaṭāra vəkasan / kintu taha / apan sphaṭikopama kətañ bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva tan vənañ cinampuran / tuhun cetana nira juga karakətan mala / koparəṅgan sinaput de nikañ māyātattva / kavəkas tañ cetana ləṅə-ləṅə / mari sarvajña mari sarvakāryakartā / tuhun makāvək tuturmātra / juga kañ cetana vəkasan /*

31. *Sarvajñānottara* VP 28.4: *paśur ātmāsvatantraś ca cinmātro maladūṣitaḥ / sa mūḍho 'nityasaṃsārī kiñcijjño 'nīśvaro 'kriyaḥ //*. In pāda c I read, as in the Nepalese manuscript, *sa mūḍho* 'he is ignorant' instead of *sammūḍho* 'bewildered, insentient', as in the southern transmission commented upon by Aghoraśiva. Note that the text deviates from the Saiddhāntika path insofar as it characterizes the Soul as inactive (*akriya*; cf. also 28.18d, defining the *puruṣa* as *akartā*). According to the Siddhānta the Soul is always active (*kartā*), whereas both Vedānta and Sāṅkhya characterize the Self (be it Spirit or Brahman) as inactive.

32. Cf. above, pp. 381–383 and 401–402.



new metaphor is resorted to, namely that of a string that keeps in one row the pearls of a necklace. According to the text (214.5), the *ātmatattva*, pervading the principle of Māyā, amounts to *ātmā prota*.

Even though the expression *ātma prota* is unique to the *Dharma Pātāñjala*, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (14) also employs the similes of butter in milk and the string of pearls to describe the Supreme Śiva being woven crosswise-and-lengthwise across the principles by way of His *vibhuśakti*. The same image is taken up again in 14.38–40, where *ūta* is defined as the pervasion of the body of Māyā by the principle of Śiva, while *protā* as becoming individualized (*maṇekadeśa*).<sup>33</sup> Maculation thus obfuscates the principle of Śiva, which in origin is crystal-clear like a diamond.

The *Tattvajñāna* describes the *ātmikatattva*, which is equal to *sadāśivatattva*, as pervading Māyā in a woven crosswise-manner, like fire pervades the fire drill; its being woven lengthwise is illustrated through the same image found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, namely a crystal losing its transparency:

What is designated as *ātmikatattva* is as follows: the Lord *sadāśivatattva*. Its characteristic is that of being woven crosswise and lengthwise. Woven crosswise is like the fire that is within the fire drill. The fire, when it resides within the bamboo-wood, is invisible. In the same way is the Lord *sadāśivatattva* when He pervades the principle Māyā. He is not seen nor known. He is pervasive, filling the principle of Māyā. Woven lengthwise is like a diamond, pure, shining, penetrated (by light), clear, without obstructions. It absorbs the colours. Thus the crystal changes colour, covered by the colours that adhere to the principle Māyā. It is not seen nor known. It is pervasive, filling the principle of Māyā. The crystal is covered by the colours that adhere to it (Māyā). In case of a separation between the gem and the colours, because of that its pure aspect comes back. The colours which adhered to it formerly, in the end they are again in its body.<sup>34</sup>

33. The verbal form (*m*)*aṇekadeśa* is glossed by OJED (464) as ‘to be in one place, move in one direction; to fill the whole place’; its base, i.e. the substantive *ekadeśa*, is seemingly not attested in Old Javanese but occurs in a similar context in Sanskrit Śaiva sources; cf., e.g., *Kiraṇatantra* VP 2.13: ‘Once maculation has been split partial manifestation of consciousness comes about in the soul’ *malaṃ vidārya cidvyaktir ekadeśe bhavaty aṇau* (following the reading of the Nepalese manuscripts, against commentator Rāmakaṇṭha; cf. GOODALL 1998:238 fn. 235).

34. *Tattvajñāna* 5.1–14: *nihan taṃ sinaṅguh ātmikatattva ṇaranya / bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva kunaṃ lakṣaṇanira / ūtaprota / ūta ṇaranya kady aṅgan iṇ puy hana riṇ aṣayən / sūkṣma juga kaṇ puy hana riṇ kayu priṇ / maṅkana ta bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva an vyāpaka riṇ māyātattva / tan katon tan kinavruhan / sira vibhu humibakiṇ māyātattva / prota ṇaranya kady*

The two similes occur also elsewhere in the *Tattvajñāna* (29 and 30, associated with *ūta* and *prota* respectively), where they serve the purpose of justifying the (both visible and invisible) presence of the Lord as Soul within human beings.<sup>35</sup>

I have found no Sanskrit sources in which the similes of the fire in wood and butter in milk are used in precisely the same context, i.e. referring to the pervasion of the principles by the Soul. Furthermore, these images appear to be uncommon in Siddhāntatantras. The closest similarity I have been able to find is in the *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara*, mentioning the invisible presence of the butter within milk,<sup>36</sup> and in (an interpolated passage of) the *Sarvajñānot-tara*, where the same example refers to the inextricable connection existing between the Soul (*ātman*) and the Bond (*pāśa*).<sup>37</sup>

The image of the string of pearls is also of Sanskrit origin: it appears in three commentaries to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (17), where it is referred to as a view of certain (seemingly *pūrvapakṣin*) teachers about the pervasion of the bodies by the Spirit.<sup>38</sup> The simile occurs also in two Siddhāntatantras,

*aṅgan iṅ maṇik sphatika / hanaṅ / hamāyamāya trus alilaṅ tan kāvaraṇan / rakatakna irikaṅ varṇa / dadi masalin varṇa ikaṅ maṇik sinaput de nikaṅ varṇa raketa riṅ mātātattva / tan katon tan kinavruhan / sira vibhu humibakiṅ mātātattva sinaput de nikaṅ varṇa rakatanya jugekaṅ maṇik / makanimitta pasahakna ikaṅ maṇik lavan varṇa / ndan irika mulih rūpa nikā hanaṅ / ikaṅ varṇa rakatanya nūni hana rikāvaknya jugeka vākasan /*

35. Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 29.4–7: ‘The Lord indeed is what renders the life of all men possible. His characteristics are being woven crosswise and lengthwise. Woven crosswise is like the fire that is in the fire drill. Be it either wood of the *priṅ* or *ampyal* variety, it is not perceived, its existence is not seen. Its existence is both manifest and unmanifest’ *siṅgih bhaṭara hana pinakahurip niṅ voṅ kabeh / ndan ūtaprota lakṣaṇanira / ūta ṅaranya / kady aṅgān iṅ apuy hana riṅ aṣṇyān / priṅ ampyal kayu / kunaṅ tan kinavruhan / tan katon juga hananya / vyakta tan vyakta juga hananya //*; 30.13–14 (said of one within whom the presence of the Lord is manifest): ‘Being woven lengthwise is your horizon. Like the light of a gem: its presence in one place. In this way is the Lord’ *prota kapva paṅhiṅgananta / kady aṅgān iṅ teja niṅ maṇik / maṅekadeśa hananya / ndah maṅkana bhaṭara /*

36. Cf. below, p. 550.

37. *Sarvajñānot-tara* VP 28.7 (ed. and trans. GOODALL 2006:96): ‘On sait que le beurre se trouve, non différencié, dans le lait; de même, l’âme aussi se trouve, non différenciée, entrecroisée par les liens [de l’existence mondaine]’ *yathā jñātvāvibhāgena ghṛtaṃ payasi saṁsthitam / tathātmā pāśasaṁśliṣṭa avibhāgena saṁsthitat //*

38. Cf. *Mātharavṛtti*, where the simile referred to as *maṇisūtravat* (cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14) is explained: ‘Like a string of pearls. In this case, however many pearls there are in a string, it is only one single string that is present in them all. Similarly, is the string-like Supreme Soul in the pearl-like bodies only one?’ *maṇisūtravat / iha rasanāyāṃ yāvanto maṇayas teṣu sarveṣu ekam eva sūtram pravartate / evaṃ maṇibhūteṣu śarīreṣu kim ekaḥ*

namely the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* and in the *Niśvāsakārikā*,<sup>39</sup> as well as in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*;<sup>40</sup> in all instances it is used in a cosmological context that recalls that of the Old Javanese sources as it illustrates the invisible pervasion of the universe by Śiva.

Let us resume the journey of the Soul through the lower cosmological principles. Having reached the domain of Māyā and being enshrouded by maculation, the Soul ceases to be a single universal principle and is turned into multiple individual entities, provided with an intellect. Whereas the other Tattvas stress the role of intellect (*buddhi*) and the three constituents (*guṇa*) in fettering the Soul, thus perpetuating the old Sāṅkhya view concerning the delusion of the spirit by nature, the *Dharma Pātañjala* more closely follows the Śaiva ontological accounts insofar as it brings to the scene the three principles of activation (*kalā*), attachment (*rāga*) and awareness (*vidyā*). The three are produced by Māyā and hence occur right after that principle in the cosmic hierarchy described by the *Dharma Pātañjala*.<sup>41</sup> They are called shrouds (*kañcuka*) by the Sanskrit Śaiva sources, for they intervene at the deepest unmanifest level of the Soul, enshrouding it and, in so doing, enabling it to perform the most basic activities of desiring, knowing and acting in the manifest universe. These same processes, however, alienate the

*sūtrabhūtaḥ paramātmā* (the view of another *pūrvapakṣin* is referred to with the example of the moon being one and yet appearing as manifold on the water's surface [*jalacandravat*]; cf. above, pp. 385–387); according to the *Suvarṇasaptati*, available through Paramārtha's (6th century AD) Chinese translation, a single Spirit pervades the bodies of all the beings like a string tying together pearls: whereas the pearls are many, the string is one (cf. TAKAKUSU 1904:1003); the *Bhāṣya* by Gauḍapāda (8th century AD) reports the question whether there is one Soul 'governing all bodies, like the string belonging to a line of pearls' (*sarvaśarīre dhiṣṭhātā maṇīrasanātmakasūtravat*) or a plurality of them, 'each one governing a single body?' (*pratiśarīram adhiṣṭhātāraḥ*).

39. Cf. *Nayasūtra* 4.146ab: 'By that [thread that is Mahādeva] all this [universe] is pervaded, just as pearls on a thread' *tena sarvaṃ idaṃ vyāptaṃ sūtre maṇigaṇā iva* ≈ *Niśvāsakārikā* 37.11cd, *Nāradaparivṛājakopaniṣad* (SCHRADER 1912:152) and *Brahmopaniṣad* 2.4 (all reading *protam* instead of *vyāptam*; in the last two sources the thread corresponds to *brahman*).

40. Cf. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 2.16.12–13: 'Some praise that Śiva as having the invisible form of a thread; that form is the invisible Nature of the Supreme Lord. That through which the worlds stand along a thread like a string of pearls, that is to be known as the thread, a form of marvelous power' *sūtrāvyākṛtarūpaṃ taṃ śivaṃ śaṃsanti kecana / avyākṛtaṃ pradhānaṃ hi tad rūpaṃ parameṣṭhinaḥ // lokā yenaiva tiṣṭhanti sūtre maṇigaṇā iva / tat sūtram iti vijñeyaṃ rūpaṃ adbhutavikramam //*.

41. Cf. Figure 4, p. 426.

souls from their divine nature of unlimited freedom, omniscience and omnipotence. This fundamental and defining tenet of Śaiva schools, which distinguishes them from the earlier Sāṅkhya theology, appears to be unknown to both the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*.<sup>42</sup> It is therefore arguable that the *Dharma Pātañjala* amalgamates an old view common to the earliest Archipelago texts with this specifically Śaiva item of doctrine.

According to the Sanskrit sources, the first principle of the triad, *kalātattva*, provides the Soul, whose powers have been obliterated, with an injection of basic energy and connects it in an inextricable way to the sense faculties, bringing about fruition of karma.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore of crucial importance in creating the unity called *pudgala*, which forms the individual psychosomatic being.<sup>44</sup>

According to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, *kalā* causes the intervention of the *principium individuationis*. The Soul, ceasing to be a single universal principle, becomes a plurality of individual souls:

DhPāt  
214.10–12

It pervades the level of the principle of activation, and it becomes differentiated from its [true] nature. Like the children of the bees that are in the holes [of a hive]: thus is the Soul while being differentiated from its [true] nature, having as body the principle of activation.

Even though no mention of *kalātattva* is made, the same metaphor of the juvenile bees recurs in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* while it describes how the Soul, having lost its original powers of omniscience and omnipotence, becomes individualized in the principle of Māyā:

The principle of Soul becomes manifold. That is the reason why the principle of Māyā is densely filled. Like a beehive is tightly arranged, layer upon layer, Māyā is comparable to a beehive. The Souls are like child-bees. Their faces bent downwards (*adhomuka*) means: they bend down. The souls look

42. Although it is not altogether unknown in sources from the Archipelago: as I have pointed out elsewhere (ACRI 2006:129), the same series of three shrouds is mentioned in two Sanskrit hymns from Bali, namely *Bhūtarājastava/Yamastava* (StSt 133.3) and *Śivastava* (StSt 751.11); cf. below, p. 428.

43. Cf. TORELLA (1998:59–61).

44. Cf. *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* 9.28–29a and *Śivasūtravimarśinī*, p. 6: ‘The function of activation is to delimitate the various things by entering into (taking possession of) their own natures’ *tathā kalayati svasvarūpāveśena tat tad vastu paricchinattīti kalāvyāpārah* (TORELLA 1998:67).

downwards only; they do not know about the principles that stand above them.<sup>45</sup>

Similarly the *Tattvajñāna*, while describing the Soul in the sleeping state (*svapnapada*), uses the metaphor of the bees in the beehive, thereby distinguishing the one, universal Holy Soul (*sañ hyaṇ ātmā*) from the individual souls (*ātmā*):

But the Holy Soul is one. That [Holy Soul] only becomes differentiated [into a plurality of individual souls], more and more coarse. The souls are separated by all the principles, arranged layer upon layer. The characteristic of the Holy Soul, being in various quarters, is like a honeycomb of bees. The souls are regarded to be the children of the bees, staying in their [own] quarters.<sup>46</sup>

Appearing in all three Tattvas, the metaphor of Māyā filled with souls like a hive filled with bees has been borrowed from a common Sanskrit source. It is indeed found in two early Siddhāntatantras, i.e. the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* (VP 8.65) and the *Sarvajñānottara* (VP 9.133), and also appears in the non-Saiddhāntika *Brahmayāmala* (f. 153r.4–5 to 153v.1); in all sources it occurs in a similar context, namely the description of the bound Soul residing in Māyā.<sup>47</sup>

According to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the second principle in the list of shrouds is attachment (*rāga*), which intervenes immediately after activation. The text (214.13) simply explains that the Soul pervading the principle of attachment ‘desires to be sentient of [the external reality].’ (*mahyun ta ya mañetanā*). This conforms to the characterization of attachment in Sanskrit sources, according to which this principle is the root of all feelings of the individual soul. The soul cannot even become sentient without the prior

45. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.46–50: *akveḥ pvekaṇ ātmatattva / ya ta mataṇyan sāsāk taṇ māyā-tattva / kadyaṅga niṇ umah niṇ tavvan / matap matumpaṇtumpaṇan / ikaṇ māyā yāṅkəna umah niṇ tavvan / ikaṇ ātmā yāṅkən anak niṇ tavvan / adhomuka tumuṅkul ṇaranya / mulat i sor juga tikaṇ ātmā / tan vruh irikaṇ tattva i ruhurnya /*

46. *Tattvajñāna* 35.15–18: *kintu tuṅgal sañ hyaṇ ātmā / ika juga paḍa maprabheda saṇśaya gaṇal / ātmā mahlət ikaṇ sarvatattva / an matumpaṇtumpaṇan / kadi tala niṇ tavvan lakṣaṇa sañ hyaṇ ātmā / hana riṇ sapadapada / ātmā ya ta inaranan hanak niṇ tavon / umuṅguḥ irikaṇ pada /*

47. A detailed comparison between the Old Javanese passages quoted above and relevant Sanskrit sources, like Bṛhaspati's *Śivatanu* and the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, may be found in ACRI 2011.

desire of being so. Attachment is, therefore, not to be confused with the 'lower' feeling of craving for the objects of senses but as a subtle psychic force intervening at a much deeper level of the subject (cf. TORELLA 1998:63–65).

The last of the shrouds listed in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is awareness (or 'knowledge', *vidyā*). It is explained as follows:

DHPĀT  
214.12–15

It (the Soul) pervades the principle of awareness: finally it perceives the external reality, for the principles of awareness serves as a light for it. That is the reason why it perceives the external reality. What is the external reality that is perceived by it? It is the principle of unevolved matter.

The *Dharma Pātañjala*'s definition of awareness conforms to the one commonly found in Siddhāntatantras, according to which this principle enables the subject to perceive the objects of senses.<sup>48</sup> Awareness constitutes a link between the subject and the material world. It is not a perfect knowledge, through which the adept would recognize His own powerful state and thus immediately attain Śivahood, but an imperfect one that merely enables the subject to experience the external world.<sup>49</sup> As such, it appears to function as a higher duplicate of the principle of intellect (*buddhi*), which, however, is fundamentally insentient, being merely a mirror for the sentient activity of the Spirit.<sup>50</sup>

Since neither the *Tattvajñāna* nor the *Vṛhaspatitattva* know about the three shrouds, they only describe the obfuscation of the Soul by *Māyā* and its products. The *Vṛhaspatitattva* describes this process as follows:

*Māyā* means the heavy mind, for the Powers of the Spirit are covered by it. What are the Powers? Omniscience and omnipotence. The powers of

48. Cf., e.g., *Kiraṇatantra* VP 1.16d (*vidyākhyāpitagocaraḥ*); *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 1.10b (*vidyādarśitagocaraḥ*).

49. For the Soul, precisely because of the activity of maculation and the shrouds, is *kiñcijñā* 'knowing imperfectly': cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 50, according to which the nature of man is *kiñcidjñāna* i.e. having little knowledge (*akṛdīk pañavruṇya*). For the characterization of the individual Soul as *kiñcijñā* in Sanskrit Śaiva sources, cf. *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.172; *Kiraṇa* VP 1.19; *Sarvajñānottara* VP 28.4; *Parākhyatantra* 1.92.

50. As pointed out by TORELLA (1998:56–57), the status of *vidyā* as a double of *buddhi* was perceived as problematic by the Śaiva sources, which try to anticipate the opponent's potential objections. In fact *buddhi* already had an ambivalent position in Sāṅkhya philosophy, standing at a high level in the cosmological hierarchy and functioning as the primary locus of knowledge, and yet being an insentient product of nature. For Old Javanese passages reflecting this situation, cf. below, pp. 437–438.

the Spirit disappear as He pervades Māyā. In the end it stays in the principle Māyā. The principle of Māyā, however, is clear. The offspring of the principle of Māyā, namely the principle of nature, that is the coarse part of the principle of Māyā. It is its manifestation that causes the unconsciousness of the Soul. Since it is unconscious because of the principle of nature, that is the reason why Spirit (*puruṣa*) is the name of the Soul (*ātmā*). [*puruṣa* is to be analyzed as:] *puru śete*. *puru* means: palace. The palace of the Soul is the principle of nature. *śete* means that the Soul sleeps there.<sup>51</sup> This is why the Soul is Spirit. That is considered as experiencing. Its name is *cetanaśāṁsāra*.<sup>52</sup>

The passage seems to try to accommodate the Sāṅkhya and Śaiva views of the Soul. The spirit, which is regarded by Sāṅkhya as the highest principle, maintains a subaltern position in the Śaiva system, located at a lower ontological level; in the Śaiva system of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* it came to represent the Soul when enshrouded by Māyā, and then the principle of nature.

The text mentions the principles occurring immediately after Māyā and nature (*pradhānatattva*) in the cosmic hierarchy, namely the three constituents (*guṇa*) and *buddhi* or *citta*, as being the primary factors responsible for the fettering of the Soul to a body. Śloka 22a of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* defines the mind as being obscured by the three constituents (*triguṇamūḍhakaṇ cittaṁ*); these amount to having maculation (*malatva*) and result in being born as a human being.<sup>53</sup>

According to the *Tattvajñāna* (10), the incarnation of the Soul into vari-

51. The semantic analysis of *puruṣa* given in the Old Javanese portion of the text recalls a cliché found in several Sanskrit sources, the earliest of which is perhaps *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* (13.6.2, *puri śete*); for Śaiva sources, cf. *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.70.103 (*puryāṁ śete*) and *Tattvatrayanirṇayavivṛti* 3.5.

52. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 50.34–43: *māyā viḥ ṇaran iṇ manah abvat / apan sinahabanya śakti niṇ saṇ puruṣa / aparan śakti ṇaranya / sarvajña sarvakāryakartā / hilaṇ pva śakti saṇ puruṣa / apan vyāpaka riṇ māyā / ya ta paṇṇṇar iṇ māyātattva ri vəkasan / kintu malilaṇ ikaṇ māyātattva ṇaranya / anak niṇ māyātattva / ya tika pradhānatattva ṇaranya / ganal niṇ māyātattva / vyaktinya ya viḥ gumave lupa niṇ saṇ puruṣa / apan malupa de niṇ pradhānatattva / mataṇyan puruṣa ṇaran iṇ ātmā / puru śete / puru ṇaran iṇ kaḍatvan / kaḍatvan iṇ ātmā tekaṇ pradhānatattva / ikanaṇ śete maturū tekaṇ ātmā / ya ta mataṇyan puruṣa tekaṇ ātmā / yateka sinaṅguh ta maṇhiḍap / cetanaśāṁsāra ṇaranika /*

53. The whole verse 22 is very corrupt: *triguṇamūḍhakaṇ cittaṁ sunādi sandhakayaka / tvayakasmātva malatva sameṣṭaṁ mānuṣaṁ phalam //*; only part of its content is made clear by the Old Javanese commentary. For a different definition of maculation as insentience, cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.40: *mala ṇaran iṇ acetana*.

ous kinds of human beings is due to the three constituents, which stick tightly to the mind (*rumakət irikaṇ citta*). The important role of *citta* as the place where both the fettering of the Soul and its freedom from maculation take place is also mentioned in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. There, in reply to Kumāra's question as to why a master (*paṇḍita*) is still entrapped in the cycle of existence, the Lord defines maculation as

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212.1–3 something that adheres to the Soul. That is what does not disappear at once, for the mind is inextricably intertwined with the Soul. That ends up in tightly covering the omniscience of the Soul.

Although a positive definition of maculation—in spite of this concept being mentioned several times—is found nowhere in the text, on account of the above-quoted passages of similar contents in Tattvas it is arguable that what linked the mind to the Soul were precisely the three constituents. That the motif was widely attested in Śaiva circles in ancient Java is suggested by the fact that it also occurs in Tuturs. According to the *Jñānasiddhānta* (chapter 19), the freedom of the mind from the state of having maculation (*malinatvacittamokṣa*) is conceived to be the Spotless Śiva (śloka 5cd).<sup>54</sup> In the Old Javanese commentary the state of having maculation is defined as the spirit 'being fettered by the three constituents' (*malinata ṇaranya papasahnira mvaṇ triguṇa*).<sup>55</sup> In a number of Tuturs we come across the term *trimala* 'threefold maculation', which is explained as the three constituents;<sup>56</sup>

54. This śloka has a parallel in *Gaṇapatitattva* 43 and *Kiraṇatantra* VP 1.23, which contains the verse in its complete form only in the South Indian manuscripts (the second half-verse is missing in the Nepalese recension and not commented upon by Rāmakaṇṭha; cf. ACRI 2006:119–120).

55. This sentence is problematic as the word *papasah-* does not make sense in the context if derived from the base *sah* 'depart, be separated, come loose' (*papasah* = to be separated, split, be broken; cf. OJED 1592); *mvaṇ* ('and, also') is problematic too, for we would expect *lavan* ('with, by'). I suggest that *mvaṇ* here may have the same function of *lavan*, and that *papasah* may derive either from *saha* 'together with', usually followed by *lavan* (OJED 1593) or, perhaps more likely, from *pāśa* 'snare, bond'; *kapāśa*, *pināśa* 'to bind' (OJED 1309). In both cases one has to assume a corruption (from the unfamiliar to the familiar). Two occurrences of the form *papasah* (*mapasah*; *pamapasaha*) in passages of similar context (i.e. about the maculation of the Soul and its union/separation with nature) are attested in *Kumāratattva* II f. 25; however, since one instance could be translated as 'separated from' (*tan pamapasaha ... lavan*) and the other as 'the being ensnared' (*mapasah*), no certain conclusion can be drawn.

56. Cf., e.g., Tuttur *Cadhu Sakti*, f. 48r = *Rəsi Sasana*, f. 9v = *Vraṭiśāsana* 27.4–5: 'do not be



but *mala* as such is unknown in important texts such as the *Bhuvanakośa*, *Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa* and *Mahājñāna*.

It has been observed that the earliest of the Siddhāntatantras did not know about *mala* either, and that this concept therefore could be regarded as a doctrinal innovation.<sup>57</sup> In the earlier tradition the role of impurity was covered either by synonyms<sup>58</sup> or by different items altogether, such as the three constituents and their derivatives (*buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and the senses).<sup>59</sup> It is possible to see in this view a clear element of continuity with the earlier Sāṅkhya tradition, according to which the fettering of Spirit is to be attributed to its mistaken self-identification with the products of nature, namely the three constituents and the lower psychic and physical organs of man. Insofar as they mostly adhere to this doctrinal picture, Śaiva sources from the Archipelago document an ‘intermediate’ phase of Śaivism in which *mala* was known but did not yet assume a role of prominence as a separate and innate entity.<sup>60</sup>

tainted by the threefold maculation: *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*’ ayva *kalīpyan deniṅ trimala*, *satva*, *rajaḥ*, *tamaḥ*; *Kumāratattva* II f. 23v, mentioned along with *pradhāna*, *śaḍvarga*, *triguṇa*. Other instances are found in *Sutasoma* 22.1 and 145.3 (along with *śaḍripu*), and in 146.3. As I have observed previously (ACRI 2006:130), given the silence of the sources on this point of doctrine, it is most unlikely that the term *trimala* in Old Javanese sources refer to the classical division of maculation, formulated in relatively late (i.e. post 8–9th century) Śaiva Sanskrit sources, into *āṇava*, *kārma* and *māyīya*.

57. GOODALL et al. (2009:315) have argued that what might possibly be the earliest attestation of *mala* (in the meaning of an innate impurity removed by Śaiva initiation) is found in the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, whereas any reference to the term is absent from earlier Tantras, such as the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* and the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*. The term and the doctrine revolving around it become of primary importance in the works of Sadyojyotis as well as in the dialectic Siddhāntatantras.

58. As noted by SANDERSON (1992:285–286; 2003–04:430–431), various terms, such as *tamas*, could stand for *mala*.

59. I have found evidence of this in the following sources: *Nayasūtra* (1.98cd–99, with lacunae but clearly echoed in *Svacchandatantra* 11.103) of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, characterizing the spirit as bound by the three constituents (*puruṣas triguṇair baddhaḥ*) and also by *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra*, *tanmātras*, *indriyas* and *bhūtas*; the *Sarvajñānottara* (VP 28.11–18), describing the spirit’s bonds (*pāśa*) as consisting in the three constituents and their derivatives (*tanmātras*, *indriyas* and *bhūtas*), and *mala* as consisting in *dharma* and *adharma*; the *Kiraṇatantra* (VP 1.17)—where it survives besides this text’s developed and ‘orthodox’ understanding of *mala*—characterizing the souls bound by nature, consisting in the three constituents, through the soul’s connection with the instruments of sense and action beginning with intellect (*buddhyādikaraṇānīkasambandhāt*; cf. GOODALL 1998:202, fn. 130).

60. Even though the *Dharma Pātāñjala* is aware of *sahajamala* ‘innate maculation’ (320.3) and mentions *mala* several times, the text constantly falls back on the Sāṅkhya

*At Liberation* Having presented the treatment by Old Javanese Tattvas and Tuturs of the aetiology of the Soul, I now take up the ideas figuring in the above sources about its ultimate destiny, and in particular its relationship with the Lord from the point of view of soteriology. What is, then, the status of the Soul when it is released from the cycle of rebirth?

The Śaivasiddhānta regards the Soul as being equal to Śiva in that it innately possesses His powers of omniscience and omnipotence. The Soul merely does not realize its true nature, being tainted by innate maculation. Once it has realized its Śiva-like nature, at liberation after the death of the gross body, the Lord's powers become fully manifested (*abhivyakti*).<sup>61</sup> The Soul thus becomes *a* Śiva. This against the earlier schools of the Śaiva Atimārga, according to which the individual Soul at liberation becomes similar to (or conjoined with) Śiva by virtue of a transference of His Powers into it.<sup>62</sup>

Theistic Brahmanical schools, including the Śaivas themselves, embraced different views on the status of the Soul vis-à-vis the Lord after it has obtained release from the cycle of rebirth. Sanskrit sources contain specific technical terms defining the allegiance to one or the other particular view of liberation, be it *sālokya* 'community of abode', *sāmīpya* 'contiguity' or *sārūpya* 'community of form'.<sup>63</sup> The position of the Siddhānta is referred to as *śivasamatā/śivasāmya* and *śivatulyatva* 'equality (i.e. similarity) with Śiva', or sometimes as *śivasāyujya* 'intimate union with Śiva'.<sup>64</sup>

paradigm to explain the fettering of the Soul.

61. For passages testifying to the doctrine of manifestation (*vyakti* or *abhivyakti*) in relatively early Śaiva sources, cf. *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 4.59; *Mrgendra* VP 5.1cd; *Sadyojyotis ad Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 2, *Tattvasaṅgraha* 55, *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā* 7. Cf. also below, fn. 67 and 68.

62. This theory is referred to as *saṅkrānti* 'transference' in the case of the Pāsupatas, *utpatti* 'arising' for the Māhāvratas and *samāveśa* 'possession' for the Kāpālikas. For a discussion of the occurrences of these terms in Saiddhāntika sources, cf. WATSON (2006:122); SANDERSON (2006a:180–181); GOODALL (1998:xxii); BRUNNER (1986:518–519).

63. Cf., e.g., *Tantrāloka* 8.313 (quoted from Bṛhaspati's *Śivatānu*); *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 5.63–67 and *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti* 3.2.6. Various passages where these grades of liberation are referred to are mentioned by GOODALL (1998:xxxvii–xxxix, fn. 85).

64. The concept of *sāyujya* appears to have been inherited from the Atimārga, for it is already encountered in *Pāsupatasūtra* 5.33 (*rudrasāyujya*) and *Ratnaṭīkā ad Gaṇakārikā* 1.6ab (*śivasāyujya*), and further attested throughout the corpus of the Siddhānta, e.g. in *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* (*Mukhasūtra*) 4.86 (*rudrasāyujyatām*), *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 1.18cd, *Sarvajñānottara* VP 10.2 (in the last two sources defined as the fruit of initiation),

The view that the Soul when liberated becomes like Śiva (i.e. shares His characteristics) is already found in one of the earliest Saiddhāntika scriptures, the *Mukhasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*,<sup>65</sup> and in other seminal scriptures such as the *Sarvajñānottara*,<sup>66</sup> the *Kiraṇatantra*<sup>67</sup> and the *Parākhyatantra*.<sup>68</sup> Beyond such scriptures, attestations of this doctrine are found in works of the Śaiva exegetes, such as Sadyojyotis<sup>69</sup> and Rāmakaṇṭha.<sup>70</sup> Traces of this view, attributed to the *pūrvapakṣin*, appear to be preserved also in the sources of non-Śaiva traditions.<sup>71</sup>

The Saiddhāntika dogma regarding the manifestation of the Lord's qualities is adhered to by the *Dharma Pātañjala*. Indeed the text comprises the only attestations known to me in Old Javanese literature of the Sanskrit word *abhivyakta*,<sup>72</sup> 'manifestation'—with reference to the manifestation of the pow-

etc. It is also found in the works of Sadyojyotis, e.g. commentary ad *Svāyambhuva* (4.5a) and in *Mokṣakārikā* 89. The term implies an intimate union but has a wider spectrum, conveying also identification or even absorption; FILLIOZAT (2001:46) translates it as 'unity with Śiva'.

65. Cf. 4.72–74 (*śivavat*); cf. also *Uttarasūtra* 5.4.

66. Cf. *Sarvajñānottara* VP 7ab (*śivasama*).

67. A classical formulation illustrating both concepts of manifestation (*vyakti*) and equality with Śiva (*śivatva*) is found in *Kiraṇatantra* 1.21cd–22 (triggered by initiation).

68. Cf. *Parākhyatantra* 15.64 (both *abhivyakti* and *śivatva*).

69. Cf. *Tattvasaṅgraha* 41 (*śivasamatā* or similarity with Śiva); *mokṣakārikā* 93 (*śivatulya*); *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā* 7 and 32 (*abhivyakti* resulting in *śivasamatā*).

70. Cf. *Tattvatrayanirṇayavṛtti* 4ab: according to the Śaivasiddhānta 'liberation consists in being equal to Śiva (*śivasamatvam eva*), and not in being merged in Him (*na tu tallayaḥ*)'. Thus, the author Rāmakaṇṭha does not accept the position that there is only one Soul (*ātmaikyasya*) but rather infinite souls and infinite *muktaśivas* (however, for the attestation of the former position of dissolution into Śiva, cf. *Śatikakālajñāna* and the *Niśvāsa's Uttarasūtra*, referred to above, p. 394).

71. Such as in *Yogaśāstravivarāṇa* ad *Yogasūtra* 4.33 (arguably referring to the views of, respectively, the Pāsupatas and the followers of the Siddhānta): 'For some isolation is union with the Lord, and for others it is the attainment of the attribute of being equal to the Lord in the matter of omniscience and so forth' *keṣāṃcit sarvajñātvādiśvaratulyadharmatvaprapṛtīḥ kaivalyam iti*, where *ādi* 'and so forth' may stand for omnipotence (*sarvakartṛtva*) and other divine qualities attributed to Śiva; al-Bīrūnī's *India* (chapter 7, p. 64) reports a view of the 'Hindus' that the liberated one is equal to God (with the exception that He is liberated *ab aeterno*) and endowed with knowledge (cf. PINES and GELBLUM 1989:266 and 303).

72. As *kābhibyaktā* and *kābhibyaktan*. The latter is obtained by adding to the Sanskrit base *abhivyakta* the Old Javanese circumfix *ka-...-an*, which in the present instance seems to indicate the place where the action or state indicated by the base takes place (cf. ZOETMULDER 1983:75).

ers of the Lord in the realized yogin (*sañ siddha*).<sup>73</sup> The first occurrence of the term, in 286.18, is found in the Lord's reply to an opponent who, comparing the Lord with non-existence on account of the fact that His powers are not given to a master, asks what in that case might be the origin of the powers of a realized yogin. The Lord remarks that the leader among yogins who has already attained perfection is the visible form of the powers of the Lord (*katonan i śakti bhaṭāra*). It is not the case that He gives His Powers to the master,<sup>74</sup> for the origin of the Powers of a realized one already lies within his body, albeit in a latent form. Kumāra, in asking why the powers are in the end<sup>75</sup> made visible (*kābhibyaktā*) in the realized one, reveals his adherence to the Saiddhāntika theory of manifestation.

To the Lord's remark that the powers of a realized one are ultimately the same as the powers of the Lord, Kumāra objects in 288.10 that, if so, one can say that the Lord is in the cycle of rebirths. As it is formulated, the statement would seem to imply that the author was starting from the premise that there is a factual identification between the (Soul of the) realized one and the Lord, and hence he had to address an objection that could rightfully arise in the mind of his readers. What is philosophically problematic here is that, as we have seen above (pp. 365–367), it is not possible for the Supreme Lord to experience the cycle of existence like an ordinary incarnated being. The Lord's reply dispels Kumāra's doubt:

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The reason why it is so is that the absorption of the yogin is perfect, for the Lord is made manifest (*kābhibyaktan*) in an incarnated creature. It will be obtained by the yogin if he knows about the *prayogasandhi*.

The ineffable nature of such a manifestation of Śiva's qualities in the yogin who masters *prayogasandhi*<sup>76</sup>—which occurs through the grace or 'love' (*asih*) of the Lord toward him<sup>77</sup>—is illustrated by way of the usual example of

73. GOODALL (2004:404, fn. 907) notes that the use of the term *siddha* in similar contexts in Siddhāntatantras is probably non-Saiddhāntika as it is usually associated with Atimārga (i.e. Pāsupatas, Kālmukha or Kāpālīka) views of liberation (cf. also GOODALL 1998:220–221, fn. 186).

74. This statement appears to be a critique of the theory of *guṇasaṅkrānti* or transfer of the divine supernatural qualities adhered to by the Pāsupatas; cf. above, fn. 62.

75. The Old Javanese *vākasan* 'in the end' here probably refers to the yogin's time of death.

76. On *prayogasandhi*, cf. below, pp. 546–550.

77. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 286.19–22 and 288.4–8. On this point the *Dharma Pātañjala* is in agreement with the Sanskrit Saiddhāntika sources, which attribute a primary role to God's grace in the process of liberation.

fire and butter existing in a latent state within, respectively, wood and milk. The text explains that fire which is in the wood brings forth its body on the occasion of burning. Likewise, the butter is not produced if it is not churned; for, even though it is a material substance, it is not produced without work. The result is the meeting of the Lord Supreme Cause by the yogin through *prayogasandhi*.

So far the *Dharma Pātañjala* seems to agree with the Saiddhāntika theory of manifestation. But it disagrees with the standpoint of the Siddhānta as to the nature of the relationship between the liberated Soul and Śiva. The text maintains a more markedly monistic stance insofar as it speaks about identity or *sātmya*, i.e. oneness or identity of nature (literally ‘having the same Self’) with the Lord, rather than similarity or intimate union (*śivatulyatva* or *śivasāmya*).<sup>78</sup>

In the *Dharma Pātañjala*, to Kumāra’s question as to why a master (paṇḍita) does not become one in nature (*sātmaka*)<sup>79</sup> with the Lord at once, Śiva replies that it is because of the existence of maculation, that enshroud the original omniscience of the Soul, and concludes:

If that (i.e. maculation) disappears, it is certain that the leader among yogins will be one in nature with the Lord.

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212.3-3

According to this passage, the removal of maculation automatically entails the immediate revelation of the Soul’s innate identity with Śiva (rather than the union with Him). A second instance of the term *sātmaka* is attested in the question of Kumāra about how the yogin should practice absorption (*samādhi*) ‘in order to be[come] one with the Lord’ (*an sātmaka ri bhaṭāra*). Śiva replies that the state of supernatural prowess of the Lord (*kasiddhyan*

78. The former view is not shared by the dualist Saiddhāntikas but upheld by Umāpati, an exponent of non-dualist Tamil Śaivasiddhānta, in his *Paṇḍikarabhāṣya*; although still adhering to the doctrine of *abhivivakti*, He maintains that the ultimate conclusion (*paramasiddhānta*) concerning liberation is identity with Śiva (*śivatādātmya*) as opposed to equality with Śiva (*śivasāmya*). In doing so he refers to the scriptural authority of the *Sūtasamhitā*, and in particular to the (interpolated) monistic passage in the *Sarvajñānottara* (GOODALL 2006:101).

79. It is clear from the context that the occurrences of *satmāja* in the text are to be regarded as corruptions (or rather Javanifications?) of a Sanskrit loanword, and correspond in meaning to the Sanskrit *sātmaka* (cf. above, p. 78). For a similar case of Javanification, compare the form *sayodya*, corresponding to *sāyujya* (cf. below, p. 414).

*bhaṭāra*) can be met by the yogin through his continuous practice of absorption, which brings about isolation of the mind in the Soul as well as its adherence to (the thought of) the Lord (*rumakət ri bhaṭāra*).

The view that the liberation of a master (*paṇḍita*) consists in unity of nature with the Lord (*sātmaka lavan bhaṭāra*) is attested, besides in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, also in a passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*:

*He of Four Powers who possesses right knowledge is deemed to be the most excellent master. Having attained the plain of release, he never again enters the [cycle of] being.*

He in whom the Right Knowledge abides, he is the most excellent one, for he obtains release. He is not born again. The Four Powers abide in Him. That is designated as the attainment of the end of incarnation. He returns to the plain of Śiva. His sentience is one in nature with the Lord.<sup>80</sup>

The passage implies that the Soul, which is fundamentally sentient (*cetana*), 'returns' to its original state of Śiva (and not, as the orthodox Siddhānta would have it, a Śiva-like state).

The characterization of liberation as the return (*ulih*)<sup>81</sup> of the Soul to an original status or abode is also encountered in the *Tattvajñāna*. The very last sentence of the work refers to this concept and defines liberation as *sayodya* (= *sāyujya*)<sup>82</sup> with the Lord:

80. *Vṛhaspatitattva*, śloka 30 and commentary thereon:

*samyajñāno 'dhiko mataḥ catuḥśaktiḥ sa paṇḍitaḥ /  
mokṣapadaṃ samāsādy na bhavē viśate punaḥ //*

**30a** *samyajñāno 'dhiko mataḥ*] *em.* ; *samyajñānāddhi kāmataḥ* Ed. ; *samyajñānaṃdika mataḥ* A ; *samyajñānadhika mataḥ* B ; *samyajñānadhika mataḥ* E ; *samyakjānadvika mataḥ* CG ; *samyajñānādikatamaḥ* D ; *samyajñānādika mataḥ*

*ikaṃ kinahanan de niñ samyajñāna / sira ta rasika ləvih / apan sira umaṅguhakən kamokṣan / tan pañjanma muvah / kinahanan de niñ caduśakti / ya ta sinaṅguh təkə riñ janmāvasāna naranya / umulih riñ śivapada / cetananira sātmaka lavan bhaṭāra //*

81. As such, the verbal form *umulih* denotes not only coming back but can also be translated in a more neutral manner as 'obtain, reach'; but the context of the passages where it is used, mentioning the 'remembering', suggest that the former interpretation is correct (cf. the remarks by HADIWIJONO 1967:53 about similar passages in the *Bhuvanakośa*). The same concept is found in other Old Javanese sources: cf. *Kumāratattva* II f. 25v, which refers to the highest state of liberation attainable by the Soul as its 'going back to' or 'becoming again' (*valuya*) the Lord Paramaśivātma.

82. Attested in several texts as *sayodya*, regarded by OJED (1724) as a Javanized loan corresponding to the Sanskrit *sayugya* but more likely to correspond to *sāyujya*.

[The souls] go back, one by one, to their [original] abodes. In this way the leader among yogins remembers. Only in having a recollection does he go back to the inextricable connection of [his] body with the Lord Paramaśiva-tattva, by practicing *prayogasandhi*, whose stages are observances, penance, yoga and absorption.<sup>83</sup>

The concept of inextricable connection of the Soul with the Lord is also adhered to in a number of *Tuturs*, for instance the Śaiva version of the *San̄ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* (p. 70 lines 9–10), which describes the perfect yogin as having a soul intimately united with the Lord Sadāśiva (*sañ hyañ ātmā sayodya lavan bhaṭāra sadāśiva*). The *Bhuvanakośa* describes, throughout its chapter 10, a yogic procedure through which the yogin obtains release, which is characterized as becoming *sayojya* with the Lord and going back to the abode of Paramaśiva.<sup>84</sup> The liberated yogin is further said to obtain the Lord's powers and to become one with the Lord as a river entering the sea.<sup>85</sup>

The *Jñānasiddhānta* (chapter 6, p. 108) expresses similar ideas in that it states that the great one (*sañ hyañ mahān*)—apparently a synonym for the Soul—does not remember his true nature, i.e. that his body is the Supreme

83. *Tattvajñāna* 50.17–20: *mulih ry asthitinira sovaṇsovaṇ / maṅkana sañ yogīśvara / meṇat matutur juga sira / mulih sayodya śarīra lavan bhaṭāra paramaśivatattva / makasā-dhanañ prayogasandhi / makabhūmi brata / tapa / yoga / samādhi //*.

84. *Bhuvanakośa* 10.22: 'He is closely united with the Lord. He enters into Paramaśiva—he returns to the abode of the Lord Paramaśiva' *sayojya sira lavan bhaṭāra / viśate paramaṇ śivaṇ / umulih ta sira riṇ pada bhaṭāra paramaśiva*. Nearly every verse of ch. 10, from 10 up to 28, ends in the same quarter *viśate paramaṇ śivaṇ*, glossed in Old Javanese exactly as above.

85. *Bhuvanakośa* 10.34: 'Then he will attain unity—finally the yogin becomes one with me, as it were' *paścād ekatvam vrajet—vākan tuṅgal avaknya iva maṅkana sañ yogi lavan ṇhulun*; cf. 9.13, also mentioning the yogin's release as being one with the Lord Paramaśiva (*ekatva lavan bhaṭāra paramaśiva*). The same simile of the Soul merging into (*miśra*) and going back to (*maluyi*) the Lord as the water of a river entering the sea (*kadi aṅgān in vway riṇ lvah təkē jaladhi*) is found in *Kumāratattva* II, f. 30v. The same motif is encountered in the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 8.10cd–13ab: 'Having died he becomes Śiva, endowed with the qualities of Śiva. Having obtained Śivaness he partakes of non-distinction: as a river carrying fresh water, having reached the ocean, has its water turned to salty because of the power of the great ocean, in the same way he who dies obtains the level of Śiva, because after the union with the ocean, once and forever, distinction is no more possible' *bhinne dehe śivo bhūtva śivadharmaiḥ samanvitaḥ / śivadharmam anuprāpya hy avibhāgāya kalpate // yathā samudram āsādyā nadī miṣṭāmbuvāhinī / kṣāratoyatvam āyāti prabhāvād dhi mahodadheḥ / evaṃ vai bhinnadehas tu śivatattvam upāgataḥ // sakṛt samudrasaṇyogād vibhāgo naiva kalpate //*.

Overlord (*tan atutur in jātinirān makāvak pramāṇa viśeṣa*), becoming entangled in the cycle of rebirth. As he remembers his true nature, i.e. the Absolute Reality, the defilements (*kleśa*) and the suffering are removed.

Similar views are also found in the *Tattvajñāna*, where multiple passages (from ch. 30 up to the end of the text) describe the Soul as being not only ignorant (*apuṅguṇ*) but also forgetful (*malupa*) about its own nature (*svabhāvanya*); thus, liberation is a matter of remembering (*matutur*). Likewise, in *Vṛhaspatitattva* (34.22–23) the Lord states that liberation from sin and hell is ‘when the Soul remembers about its own nature, when it was pure’ (*yan matutur ikaṇ ātmā ri jātinya / irika ta yan alilaṇ*). In all the above cases, it is difficult to determine whether the words *tutur* and *lupa* denote respectively ‘to remember’ or ‘to be mindful of’ and ‘to forget’ or ‘to be unaware of’, and hence to establish whether these views constitute a local development or derive from a Sanskrit Śaiva tradition. But if one understands these Javanese terms in the sense of ‘remembering’, they certainly call to mind the views of liberation elaborated by the non-dualistic Śaiva school of the Pratyabhijñā, involving the ‘recognition’ or recollection of the fact that the Soul has always been Śiva.

In the first five Old Javanese prose chapters of the *Jñānasiddhānta* we come across alternative views of the status of the Soul vis-à-vis the Lord at liberation. Chapter 1 enumerates four *viphalas* or levels of release called, respectively, desireless (*niḥsprha*), extinction (*nirbāṇa*), unmanifest (*niṣkala*) and supportless (*nirāśraya*).<sup>86</sup> In the highest level, called *nirāśraya*,

there is the place of the oneness (*ekatva*) of the Lord with the Soul. When it (the Soul) has reached the unmanifest, it takes place in the level of the Lord Paramaśiva. Then it is merged with the body of the Lord.<sup>87</sup>

The view of a merging (*miśra*) into the body of the Lord resulting in complete unity or identification with him (*ekatva*) conforms more to the theistic Vedānta than to Śaivism. In that state, the text continues, the Soul is free from conceptual knowledge (*luput in sarvajñāna maṇalpana*) and its very denomination as Soul (*ātman*) ceases to exist; it is devoid of external marks

86. This passage finds an almost identical parallel in *Gaṇapatitattva* 39.

87. *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 1 (p. 68): *ṅkāna ṅgvan in ekatva bhaṭṭāra mvaṇ ātmā. huvus pva sira tēka riṇ niṣkala, sira ta makasthāna ri pāda bhaṭṭāra paramaśiva. atəhər miśra riṇ avak bhaṭṭāra*. Note that a level of release called *nirāśraya* is also mentioned in the Śaiva version of the *Saṅ Hyaṇ Kamahāyānikan* (p. 67, lines 6–7).



(*nirlakṣaṇa*) and of any form of existence altogether (*luṇḍa in sarvabhāva*). This characterization recalls, once again, the Vedānta negative theology regarding the Soul, conceived as fundamentally inert.

Similar speculations are found in passages of chapter 5, for the most part devoted to instructing the practitioner about esoteric meditation techniques. One of these passages describes seven absorptions (*saptasamādhi*) resulting in a supreme stage of release:

Your knowledge is one, [namely] that [you are] united with the Supreme Lord. Your body is one with the body (*sātmyāvayava*)<sup>88</sup> [of the Lord]. You become one and match with the Supreme Lord. Being [at His] side (*samīpa*), you join in making and in not being made.<sup>89</sup>

Another passage, worded in a most esoteric style, provides instructions to attain release through a kind of yogic procedure:

[You] know then that you are one with the Lord Śiva Paramārtha. [...] Evidently you have found unity with the Supreme Lord; that is called liberation. You are one whose body is identical (*sātmyāvayava*), at the subtle level, with the Supreme *Summum Bonum*. You are one with the Lord Śiva in an ineffable manner. *Then release is complete*. What is called the supreme liberation is reached when you have been merged into the *Summum Bonum*.<sup>90</sup>

The concept of unity of limbs (*sātmyāvayava*), recurring in both passages, is indicative of identity and hence non-dualism. However, the occurrence of the technical term *samīpa* ('proximity [with the Lord]', p. 102), implies a different and contrasting view of liberation. Such apparent incongruity is probably due to the non-specific use of terminology of Sanskrit provenance by the Javanese compiler of the *Jñānasiddhānta*, who was apparently

88. The origin of this irregular expression may be explained by postulating a *bahuvrīhi* compound *sātmāvayava* 'whose bodies share one identity', corrupted by insertion of the *y* that is only fitting in Sanskrit compounds ending in °*sātmya*.

89. *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 5 (pp. 102–104): *eka pva vruhta, an tuṅgal ta lavan bhaṭṭāra viśeṣa. sātmyāvayava śarīranta. dadi ta kita mapisan maraṅkəp lavan bhaṭṭāra viśeṣa. samīpa, milu magave, tan ilu ginave.*

90. *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 5 (p. 106): *vruh ya an tuṅgal mvaṅ bhaṭṭāra śiva paramārtha. [...] byakta kapaṅgiḥ ikaṅ tuṅgal ta mvaṅ bhaṭṭāra viśeṣa, ya ta kamoktan ṇa. sātmyāvayava sūkṣma riṅ paramārtha viśeṣa. mapisan acintya lavan bhaṭṭāra hyaṅ śiva. tāvad mokṣo viśiṣyate. tāvad mokṣaviśeṣa ṇa, yāvat miśra ri saṅ hyaṅ paramārtha.*

less concerned with philosophical coherence than with proficiency in yogic techniques.

It appears that such ideas derived from the Sanskrit philosophical tradition penetrated the Javanese religious mainstream, for they are traceable in other Old Javanese sources not belonging to the Tutar and Tattva genres. The concept of *sātmya* encountered in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* also appears in the metrical Old Javanese Śaiva catechism from the Majapahit period *Nirarthaprakṛta*,<sup>91</sup> in the Kakavin *Bhāratayuddha*<sup>92</sup> and in the Buddhist poem *Sutasoma*.<sup>93</sup> The concept of *sāyujya* occurs in the Old Javanese *Uttarakāṇḍa*.<sup>94</sup>

As we have seen, the state of liberation is described in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* as unity with Śiva, determined by the fact that His powers are made manifest within the yogin. Although this point is never stated in unambiguous terms, it can be understood that such a state comes about at the time of death. This stands in contrast with other parts of the text detailing the supernatural abilities pertaining to the Lord, such as the eight supernatural qualities (*aṣṭaguṇa*) or sovereign powers (*aṣṭaiśvarya*), obtained by the yogin, and what he achieves in this world through exercising them. Accounts stressing this very aspect, i.e. the transmutation of the leader among yogins (*yogīśvara*) into a state where he partakes of the Lord's sovereign powers also occur in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*.<sup>95</sup>

91. Cf. *Nirarthaprakṛta* 8.1b: 'Without abiding in a definite state, without thinking, merged as a subtle essence into the Lord, perpetually one in essence [with Him]' *tan maṇavastha tan hiḍap amiśra sūkṣma ri bhaṭāra sātmya lanā*.

92. Cf. *Bhāratayuddha* 1.4c, when Girinātha (i.e. Śiva) says to King Jayabhaya (trans. SUPOMO 1993:164): 'Furthermore, you and I shall be one in nature, forever Lord of the world' *tākvān laṇṇa sātmaṇaku lavan kita tulusa bhaṭāra niṇ jagat*; the same concept occurs in a similar context at the very end of the poem (52.6: *tākvān sātmya lavan bhaṭāra*).

93. *Sutasoma* 1.2, describing Buddhist liberation in thoroughly Śaiva terms: 'Truly the destiny of a leader among yogins, if he is realized, is to be[come] one with the Lord' *siṅgih yan siddha yogīśvara vākas ira saṇ sātmya lavan bhaṭāra*.

94. *Uttarakāṇḍa* 133 (p. 132): 'Whenever there is a man who recites the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, auspicious for life, his happiness in heaven is assured, along with his grandchildren, intimately united with the gods' *yan hana vvaṇ maṇuccārākān ikaṇ rāmāyaṇacarita maṅgala niṇ hurip, byakta sukhanya haneṇ svargaloka saha lavan anak putunya sayodya lavan devatā*.

95. I shall discuss below (pp. 534–538) the passages in the two texts detailing the various *siddhis*.

But a different standpoint about this matter can be recognized in *Kumāratattva* II, presenting a clear-cut statement about the obtainment of the powers vis-à-vis liberation. Having mentioned the definitive obtainment of the body of the Lord (*sadāvak bhaṭāra*) by the yogin, who becomes the visible manifestation of His Four Powers (*kahanan in caduśakti*), the text remarks:

The Four Powers are the Power of Pervasion, the Power of Knowledge, the Power of Action, the Power of Lordship. If [a man obtains] thus, that is not liberation. If one would think [thus about] the Four Powers, what you, worshiper of the Dharma, may say, [is that] it is true; for their outcome is to go straight to maculation. The proof is that, as soon as a living being is endowed with powers and supernatural abilities, surely what arises is a feeling of pride.<sup>96</sup>

A similar critique of the attainment of the powers during life is made by the Buddhist Kakavin *Sutasoma*. Stanza 40.6 openly expounds criticism of the Śaiva path, constituted by the yoga of the six ancillaries and its ultimate goal. In the first two lines the yogin's attainment is described as follows: 'Then first he will obtain the eight supernatural faculties, he may become now visible, then invisible, have power over the world, or assume the manifest form of Rudra' *taṇḍvān aṣṭaguṇān kapaṅgiḥ i tākapyā rakva karuhun dṛśyādṛśya vaśitva riñ bhuvana rudramūrti sakala*; the two remaining lines of the stanza (cf. below, p. 536) define that state as a pitfall for the yogin who wishes to obtain the paramount liberation, which may be achieved only after the complete pacification of the senses.

The above passages appear to admit that the achievement of a Śiva-like all-powerful state could have taken place already during the yogin's life. Now, the view that liberation, achieved through initiation, is a state that will become manifest only at death is typical of the Siddhānta. This idea seems to go back even further, to Atimārga Śaivism, for the Pāñcārthika Pāśupatas too held that liberation, consisting in the end of suffering and the obtainment of the divine attributes of Rudra, occurred at the time of death, when the adept achieved unity with Him.<sup>97</sup> But that there possibly existed different lines of

96. *Kumāratattva* II, f. 33: *caduśakti naran vibhuśakti, jñānaśakti, kriyāśakti, prabhuśakti. tan mokṣa ika yan maṅkana. yan tinahan in caduśakti, kaliṇanta sañ sevaka dharma, tuhu ika, tata, apan tumuju ikañ mala donya, byaktanya yavat śakti siddhi, niyata gañ hatinya tañ tumuvuh.*

97. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 4.19, 5.47; *Ratnaṭikā* on *Gaṇakārikā* 6cd.

thought among the Pāśupatas themselves is suggested by allusions in their literature as to the attainment by the practitioner in his fourth stage of asceticism of certain supernatural qualities of Rudra which manifest themselves after a certain amount of time, therefore presumably before his death.<sup>98</sup> It is perhaps to such early Śaiva views that the *Sutasoma* alludes to when mentioning the attainment of the manifest form of Rudra by an adept who pursues supernatural powers.

The possibility of liberation in life was openly upheld by the non-Sai-ddhāntika, non-dualist and gnostic schools of Śaivism, which perceived the cause of bondage (i.e. karma and maculation) as an immaterial substance capable of being completely, and instantaneously, removed through gnosis and yoga. This view stood in contrast with that of the followers of the Siddhānta, who maintained that maculation and karma were coarse substances which could be effectively removed only through a ritual act, namely the Śaiva initiation. Old Javanese sources appear to adhere to this gnostic standpoint rather than to the orthodox view of the Siddhānta.<sup>99</sup>

98. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya*, *anvaya* to sūtra 5.12: 'Question: Is the state of being constantly associated with God the highest ultimate union? Answer: No, for the scripture (PS 5.12) says: *Of him who is united constantly for six months' āha kiṃ devanīyātāivāsya paro niṣṭhāyogaḥ / ucyate na / yasmād āha // śaṇmāsān nityayuktasya //*. The supernatural abilities to be attained are those deriving from the power of Knowledge. A statement that seems to imply a gradual temporal process of attainment of the powers deriving from unity with the Lord is made in sūtra 5.13: '[The powers] for the most part begin to function' *bhūy-iṣṭhaṃ sampravartate*; according to Kaunḍinya, 'for the most part' (*bhūy-iṣṭha*) is used in the sense of 'gradually' (*krama*) and 'almost' (*prāya*), and 'the powers begin to function when the state of so-called "non-Śivaness" ends by virtue of the state of "Śivaness" occurring by grace [of God]' *aśivatvasaṃjñake vinivṛtte śivatvaprasādābhyāṃ guṇāḥ pravartante*

99. For an explicit critique of the inability of initiation to bring about the omniscience of the Soul in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, cf. 320.3–10 and below, pp. 526–527. My hypothesis is that this standpoint may have originated in an early Śaiva Atimārga milieu, for in that system too yoga and gnosis are regarded as leading to liberation, initiation not having yet assumed a prominent role.

## Cosmos

THE COSMOLOGY described in Old Javanese Tattvas revolves around the fundamental dualism constituted by sentience (*cetanā*), luminous and unobstructed, and insentience (*acetanā*), dark and coarse. This is of course reminiscent of the (classical) Sāṅkhya ontological matrix, postulating an irreducible opposition between a sentient spirit (*puruṣa*) and an insentient unevolved matter (*prakṛti*, *pradhāna* or *avyakta*), out of which Śaiva cosmology developed. The system of the latter school borrowed the ladder of twenty-five principles (*tattva*) of the universe postulated by the former and added another series to them, bringing the total to a number varying, according to the various sources, between thirty and thirty-six. The principles that were once the highest for Sāṅkhya were relegated to hierarchically lower levels of the Śaiva cosmos and regarded as the highest stages of liberation that the followers of non-Śaiva doctrines could ever aspire to reach.

Even though the dichotomy between *cetanā* and *acetanā* is not unknown in Śaiva Tantras from the Subcontinent,<sup>1</sup> it nowhere displays such a prominent position and fixed systematization as it does in Old Javanese Tattvas. The Sanskrit sources rather focus on a fundamental partition of the cosmos into pure (*śuddha*-) and impure (*aśuddha*-) paths (*adhvan*). The former portion, going from the paramount Śiva up to Māyā, was regarded as the exclusive domain of the ‘inactive’ Lord postulated by the Siddhānta, whereas the latter spans from the Vidyeśas, i.e. the overlords who act on behalf of Śiva, down to the five gross elements.<sup>2</sup>

1. Cf. *Niśvāsamukha* 4.45; *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 10.46–48ab; *Kiraṇa* VP 2.26–27.

2. Cf. the *locus classicus* in *Kiraṇatantra* VP 3.26cd. As I have previously pointed out (ACRI 2006:130) neither the term *adhvan* nor references to the sixfold path (*ṣaḍadhvan*) are attested in Śaiva sources from the Archipelago; cf. also above, p. 349 fn. 14.

The development of Sāṅkhya ontology in a theistic direction is observed in the Old Javanese sources in the homologization of the *cetanā* with Śiva in His highest form (Paramaśiva, Paramārtha) and of the *acetanā* with Māyā. To this basic dichotomy a third essential element is added, i.e. the Soul. Insofar as it is an emanation of the former principle and it is contaminated by the latter, the Soul possesses the liminal status of being sentient-yet-insentient, all-powerful portion of the Divine and yet entangled in the painful and limited realm of existence.<sup>3</sup>

*Lord, Soul*  
*Māyā*

The above triad is systematized in Old Javanese Tattvas by way of the cosmological principles Paramaśivatattva, Ātmatattva and Māyātattva. These constitute an ‘en-globing’, and hence ‘horizontal’, division of the cosmos,

which exists besides the ‘vertical’ partition into thirty hierarchically arranged principles. A similar state of affairs is mirrored in early Siddhāntatantras, also referring (although generally in rather ambiguous manner) to the triad of principles (*tritattva*) formed by Śivatattva, Ātmatattva and Vidyātattva existing besides the standard ladder of principles.<sup>4</sup> The triad, as pointed out by BRUNNER (1992:13–14), apart from surviving in the Vidyāpādas of early Siddhāntatantras, retains a much more important role in their Kriyāpādas, appearing in connection with the ritual of *pratiṣṭhā*, i.e. installation (of an object of worship), as well as initiation. To BRUNNER this situation ‘testifies of [*sic*] the importance it once must have had in the ontology of the school and no longer corresponds to the scant attention it is given in the “orthodox” texts.’<sup>5</sup> Given the structural similarity existing between them, it is con-

3. That is, provided with an 'imperfect' knowledge by the shroud *vidyā* ('awareness'), which enables the individual soul, deprived of its original omniscience, to perceive at least the manifest reality.

4. Cf. *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, Upodghāta 4 and 4.42–47, where it is referred to as a partition of the pure path from Śiva to the Vidyēśas; *Niśvāsaguhyā* 9.203–204 and 12.42–44; *Vināśikhatantra* 60–61 and 81–83; *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 13.9; *Sarvajñānottara* 3.14.

5. BRUNNER refers to the VP of the *Raurava* (i.e. the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*) as having preserved ‘an old vision that it would be interesting to try and trace in other works too’. In note 50, p. 45, she mentions the ‘pure’ form of the *tritattva* found in *Svacchanda* 4.403–406 and commentary thereon, which ‘reminds us of the three *tattvas* [i.e. *Paramaśivatattva*, *Sa-dāśivatattva* and *Śivatattva*] that stand at the core of the teachings of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*—a text that belongs to Old-Javanese literature and is presumably older than the mature texts of Śaivasiddhānta.’ I fully support the view that the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, as well as other *Tattvas*, have preserved archaic doctrinal themes that have only scantily survived in the mature Śaiva-dhāntika literature, although I am not confident to make any assumption concerning the

ceivable to envisage a correspondence between the triad of principles Śiva – Ātman – Vidyā described in the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* and Paramaśiva – Ātman – Māyā of Old Javanese Tattvas.<sup>6</sup> It is in fact the case that in both the *Raurava* and the Old Javanese texts the elements follow the same order, differing from other Saiddhāntika sources in that they put the Ātmatattva in the intermediate position between Śivatattva and Vidyātattva/Māyātattva.<sup>7</sup>

While the homology between the elements Śiva/Paramaśiva and Ātman appearing in both triads is straightforward,<sup>8</sup> the one between Māyā and Vidyā is less so, especially because it is not very clear what was originally represented by Vidyā.<sup>9</sup> Yet, it is possible to justify such a homologization on account of a passage of the commentary to Sadyojyotis' *Tattvatrayanirṇaya* 3 where Rāmakaṇṭha explains Māyā as being of two types, i.e. higher or

chronological priority of the former corpus of scriptures over the latter (cf. Introduction, p. 12).

6. Although, to my knowledge, the triad Śiva – Ātman – Vidyā never occurs in Tattvas and Tuturs, it appears in multiple passages of the Old Javanese *Sūrya Sevana* (see s.v. *vidyā*, p. 222). While the places of Śiva and Ātman are interchangeable, Vidyā constantly appears as the middle element (thus, as in the Kriyāpāda of Siddhāntatantras and different from *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, Vidyāpāda 4).

7. According to *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.7ab and 4.46ab, and in opposition to *Rauravāgama* KP 6.3ab and 45.61, as pointed out by BRUNNER (1992:13); DAGENS and BARAZER-BILLORET (2000:xxxix), however, note that the 'standard' order already appears in the first and fourth verse of the introductory chapter (*upodghāta*) of the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, arguing that no chronological implications could be drawn from the order of the elements in the list. I think that we should also take into account the possibility that the Upodghāta of the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* was a later addition, as it is often the case of the beginning and closing portions of Sanskrit scriptures, which went through a long process of compilation and rewriting.

8. Cf., for instance, the definition of *ātmatattva* given in *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.43cd–44ab, which is in harmony with the descriptions found in Tattvas: 'Devoid of any stain [and] filled up with portions of Śiva's powers: as such do practitioners proclaim the pure principle of Soul' *sarvāñjanavinirmuktaṃ śivaśaktikalaidhitam / ātmatattvam idaṃ śuddhaṃ sādhakānāṃ prakīrtitam*.

9. It is in fact likely that the Vidyā in this triad does not represent the 'shroud' Vidyā but the 'end' of the pure path, corresponding to the level of Vidyēśvaras (cf., e.g., *Svāyam-bhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 4.14–24). An interesting occurrence of Vidyā is found in *Pāñcārthabhāṣya* ad sūtra 2.5, where Kauṇḍinya introduces the Pāñcārthika theory of evolution and pervasion of the principles from Śiva down to earth (cf. below, p. 426) with the aim of clarifying the confusion of an imaginary opponent concerning the distinction between God (*īśvara*), Spirit (*puruṣa*), *vidyā* and the evolutes of nature (*kalā*). It appears to me that in such a context the term *vidyā* is unlikely to mean 'knowledge', and that it may already have indicated a portion of the universe in the cosmology of the system.

lower, the former corresponding to the reality level of (pure) Vidyā in which the Vidyēśvaras and the Mantras reside. The three principles enumerated by Sadyojyotis in the verse commented upon by Rāmakaṇṭha were indeed Śiva, Puruṣa and Māyā, all of which are pervasive (*vibhu*) and eternal (*nitya*) entities.<sup>10</sup> But rather than being a partition of the cosmos, the three represent the ‘ultimately existing’ entities according to the orthodox Śaivasiddhānta.

The three encompassing principles are described by the Old Javanese sources as pervading one another. The Tattvas describe the pervasion of Māyā—and hence, by extension, of its lower products—by either the Lord or the Soul in almost identical terms, as if they inherited the gist of their views from a common source. Śiva/Soul pervades the principles as woven cross-wise (*ūta*), as butter within milk or fire within wood, as well as woven length-wise (*prota*), as a thread (*sūtra*) keeps the pearls of a necklace in a row.<sup>11</sup> The *ūtaprota* paradigm is encountered (as *ota prota*) in similar context, but without association with the above-mentioned metaphors, in a number of Sanskrit sources, such as Upaniṣads,<sup>12</sup> Purāṇas<sup>13</sup> and Śaiva sources of the Mantramārga.<sup>14</sup>

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><i>The Thirty<br/>Principles of the<br/>Universe</i></p> | <p>Having introduced in 212.8–12 the equation <i>cetanā</i> = Parameśvara = Ātman as pervading the whole universe, the <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i> presents its list of principles, as follows: Māyā, as subtle as Śiva but insentient,<sup>15</sup> from</p> |
|---|---|

10. For relatively early attestations of the same triad, cf. *Kiraṇatantra* 9.2 and Bhoja’s *Tattvapraśāsa* 69.

11. Cf. above, pp. 401–403. On the pervasion of the principles, as described in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.5, cf. below, p. 426.

12. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* 3.8.2–8; *Atharvaśiropiṣad* 41.

13. Cf. *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* 3.2.282; *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.11.31; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 9.9.7 and 11.12.21; *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.70.73; *Śivapurāṇa* 7.1.9.19.

14. The earliest occurrences being probably in *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 10.7ab (universe pervaded by *om-ekākṣara-brahman*) and Bṛhaspati’s *Śivatānu* (quoted in *Tantrāloka* 8.316, describing the pervasion by the Soul of the products of Māyā). Cf. also *Spandakārikā* 1.4, *Niśvāsakārikā* (17A, p. 560, verse 96cd), Kṣemarāja on *Netratānta* 1.43, Umāpati’s *Kuñcitāṅghristava* 291 (all on the pervasion of the universe by Śiva).

15. The description of Māyā as an extremely subtle entity, not directly perceptible but inferable through its effects, is a cliché in Sanskrit Śaiva Literature: cf., e.g., *Parākhyatantra* 4.4–5; Bhoja’s *Tattvapraśāsa* 38 and commentaries; Bṛhaspati’s *Śivatānu* (quoted in *Tantrāloka* 8.310cd). Rāmakaṇṭha in *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgamavṛtti* to VP 6.2–5 (p. 261, lines 15–16) defends the Saiddhāntika view that Māyātattva is a subtle and not a gross entity comprising worlds, etc., as the followers of the Atimārga believe (cf. SANDERSON 2006a:179).



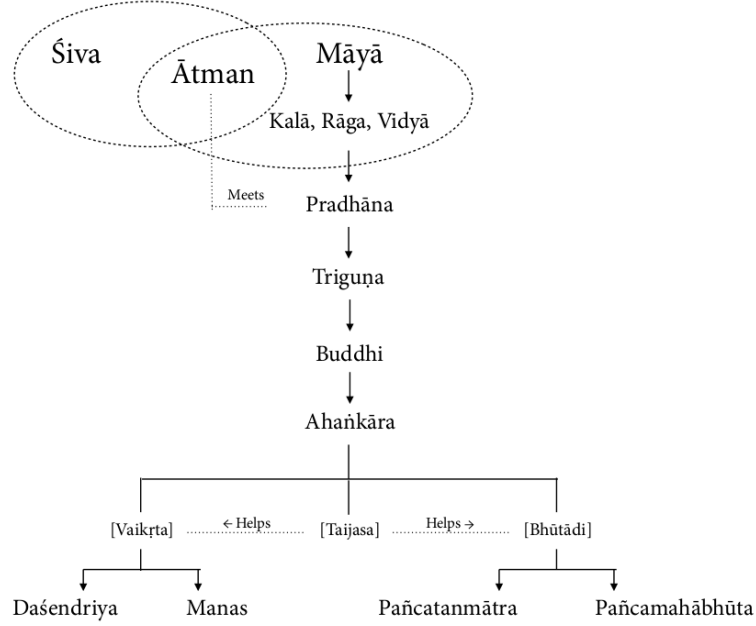
which the coarse principles (*tattva maganal*) emanate, namely activation (*kalā*), attachment (*rāga*), awareness (*vidyā*), unevolved matter (*pradhāna*), the three constituents (*triguṇa*), intellect (*buddhi*), self-identity (*ahaṅkāra*), mind-stuff (*manas*), the ten faculties (*daśendriya*), the five subtle elements (*pañcatanmātra*), space (*ākāśa*), wind (*bāyu*), fire (*tejas*), water (*āpya*), earth (*pr̥thivī*). The list concludes by repeating that all the above principles are pervaded by the Soul and the Lord Supreme Cause (*bhaṭāra paramakāraṇa*).

Having described the pervasion of the principles by the Soul in terms of crosswise and lengthwise weaving, and having also described the effect of the three shrouds on the Soul, the text (214.13–15) states that the Soul, through *vidyātattva*, perceives the unevolved matter. The unevolved matter, being dark and insentient, meets the sentient Soul; from that encounter the three constituents originate, and they in their turn give rise to intellect.<sup>16</sup> From intellect comes forth the self-identity, which is the origin of all the principles below it. The process of evolution is shown in Figure 4, in the following page.

A slightly different list of principles is found further on, in 226.4–11. There it is stated that all the principles pervade the principles lower in the process of evolution, which are progressively coarser. The sequence of pervasion is thus as follows: the Sovereign Lord (*bhaṭāra mahulun*) pervades Ātman, which pervades Māyā, which pervades Pradhāna, which pervades Buddhi, which pervades Ahaṅkāra, which pervades Manas, which pervades the Daśendriya, which pervade the Pañcatanmātra, which pervade the Pañcamahābhūta.

16. Descriptions of *pradhāna* and *puruṣa* (or *ātman*) being brought together by the Lord appear also in parallel passages of other Tattvas, i.e. in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14: *pradhānatattva*, which is the gross form of *māyātattva*, is brought together with *āmatattva* by the Lord, and there results the insentience of the *ātman*; and in *Tattvajñāna* 6, where it is said that the Lord, wishing to ‘see’ (*manon*) the manifest universe, brings together Soul with unevolved matter, the child (*anak*) of Māyā; there results the *pradhānapuruṣa*, which begets *citta* and the three constituents. The above accounts appear to be Śaiva theistic revisiting of Sāṅkhya metaphysics. The argument revolves around the view that the union between Spirit and Matter could not have happened without the intervention of a superior entity: cf. *Yuktīdīpikā* ad *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 15d (p. 157 line 13), where a *pūrvapakṣin* adduces as proof for the existence of Īśvara the fact that a product like the universe presupposes a superior being as cause and that the conjunction of the sentient soul with the insentient body is effected by a sentient being.

Figure 4: Evolution of the principles of the universe in the DhPāt



The Lord concludes that the world in which Kumāra finds himself now is the place where ‘all the principles are piled up’ *patimbhunan tattva kabeh*.<sup>17</sup> This list is more archaic than the one detailed earlier in the text (212.13–17) insofar as it does not mention the three shrouds and substitutes the Spirit with Soul, thereby putting the stress on the three pervasive principles followed by the twenty-four principles of the Sāṅkhya. In fact early textual evidence of the idea of pervasion of the principles by the Lord, who is defined as a ‘thread’ (*sūtra*), and by the Soul, is probably found in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *Pāśu-patasūtra* 2.5 ‘a formed seat’ (*kalitāsana*).<sup>18</sup> The Sanskrit passage displays an archaic list of principles, adding Śiva to the top of the twenty-five principles of Sāṅkhya. These evolve one from the other by way of *pariṇāma*, from Maheśvara to Spirit and finally unevolved matter (*pradhāna*) along with its

17. Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 14.5–6: *ndan ikaṁ bhūrloka patimbunan in tattva kabeh*; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.47–48: *ikaṁ pṛthivītattva ya patimbunan in tattva kabeh*.

18. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* pp. 58–59 and above, p. 360. I interpret the *sūtratvāt* in the sentence not as ‘because of the authority of the sūtra’, what it would appear to mean *prima facie*, but ‘because of its being [like] a thread’, which is symmetrical to the *ātmatvāt* agreeing with *puruṣatattvam* in the second part of the sentence. For characterizations of the Lord as ‘thread’ in similar contexts, cf. above, p. 403.

twenty-three evolutes. The subtler principles stand above the coarser, the former pervading (*vyāpaka*) every principle below them and the latter being pervaded (*vyāpya*). The list continues, enumerating *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra*, the eleven faculties (*ekādaśendriyāṇi*), the five subtle elements (*pañcabhūtasūkṣmāṇi*) and the five gross elements.<sup>19</sup>

The list of thirty principles described in *Dharma Pātañjala* 212.13–17 is almost identical to the list of thirty given in such an early Siddhāntatantra as the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, in which *Māyā* is substituted by *Puruṣa*. The principles listed in its *Adhvaprakaraṇa* are Śiva, activation, attachment, awareness, spirit, unevolved matter, the three constituents, intellect, self-identity, the five subtle elements, the ten faculties and the five gross elements.<sup>20</sup> An identical list of thirty principles is also found at 10.98–101 of the same scripture, a passage which has a parallel in a fragment transmitted in the codex of the *Pārameśvara*.<sup>21</sup> Another early scripture, the *Nayasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, contains a slightly different list of thirty principles.<sup>22</sup> All the remaining Siddhāntatantras transmit different lists of principles, thirty-six being the ‘standard’ number of principles accepted by Śaiva commentators (cf. GOODALL 1998:li–lii).

The number of principles in which the Śaiva cosmos is organized is an effective criterion in the dating of a Tantra, for usually the lower their number, the older the text.<sup>23</sup> Not only the *Dharma Pātañjala*, but also all the other sources from the Archipelago that contain lists of principles display thirty or less *tattvas*—although a really systematic exposition of the principles constituting the Śaiva cosmos is not to be found in any of the texts in question. For instance, the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, in the Old Javanese commen-

19. Cf. similar lists in *Vāyupurāṇa* 5.34–35 and *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.70.96.

20. Cf. *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.49–50ab: *śivaḥ kalā rāgavidye puruṣo ’vyaktam eva ca / guṇā buddhir ahaṅkāras tanmātrāṇīndriyāṇi ca // mahābhūtāni cāpy atra pṛthivyantāni pañca ca /*.

21. Cf. *Pārameśvara* f. 44r (ed. GOODALL 1998:liv). In the first quarter of the third śloka I read, as in *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 10.100a (and 1.3a), *kalāvyaktaṃ* ‘activation and unevolved matter’ instead of *kālo ’vyaktam* ‘time and unevolved matter’ (em. by SANDERSON of *kālāvyaktaṃ* in the codex, reported and accepted by GOODALL).

22. Cf. *Niśvāsana* 2.10–17, listing Īśvara, Vidyā, Māyā, Kāla, Niyati, Puruṣa, Prakṛti, Buddhi (*dhīṣaṇa*), Ahaṅkāra, Pañcabuddhīndriya, Pañcakarmendriya, Manas, Pañcatanmātra, Pañcamahābhūta (note that there is a lacuna in the ms. before the first principle).

23. Cf. GOODALL (1998:liii–liv) and GOODALL and ISAACSON (2007:5), who also refer to the fact that the oldest scriptures, such as *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, do not place any worlds (*bhuvana*) within principles.

tary to śloka 14, mentions Śiva, Sadāśiva, Māyāsiras,<sup>24</sup> Māyā, Pradhāna and Triguṇa, after which the list is interrupted by a series of śloka characterizing mind (*citta*). But the whole list can be reconstructed thanks to the commentary to śloka 6, defining the *sarvatattva* as Pradhāna, Triguṇa, Buddhi, Ahāṅkāra, Bāhyendriya, Karmendriya and Pañcamahābhūta, which are mentioned next to the triad of Paramaśivatattva, Sadāśivatattva and Śivatattva amounting to *cetanā*. It is this list of principles, or a very similar one, that is likely to have been accepted by the *Tattvajñāna* too. Although the text nowhere describes a complete succession of principles and simply speaks of *sarvatattva*, it is apparent that all the principles mentioned in various places of the text are the same as those found in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 6.

Whereas both the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Tattvajñāna* entirely ignore the three shrouds (i.e. *kalā*, *vidyā* and *rāga*), that triad appears in the list of principles attested in verses of Sanskrit Stutis from Bali. cf., for instance, *Bhūtarājastava/Yamastava* (StSt 133, GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971:88), which in verse 3 homologizes eleven principles (*īśa*, *puruṣa*, *vidyā*, *kalā*,<sup>25</sup> *rāga*, *rajas*, *tamas*, *sattva*, *buddhi*, *ahāṅkāra*, *manas*) with the eleven faces of the King of Ghosts (*bhūtarāja*), and in verse 4 mentions Pradhāna, Śiva, Sadāśarva (i.e. Sadāśiva) and Paraśiva.<sup>26</sup> A similar list of principles is given in *Śivastava* (StSt 751, GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS 1971:450–451), verse 11. There thirty items are listed, viz. twenty-four principles (of the Sāṅkhya) derived from Prakṛti plus Puruṣa, Īśvara, Rāga,<sup>27</sup> Kalā and Vidyā up to Śiva.

An elaborate account describing the evolution of the principles is given in the third chapter of the *Bhuvanakośa*. It begins by describing Rudra as being identical to Śiva (*bhaṭāra rudra sātmya kalavan bhaṭāra śiva*); Spirit,

24. This word, literally meaning ‘the top/head of Māyā’, is attested in the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* and in the *Śivatānu* by the early Śaiva master Bṛhaspati (cf. ACRI 2011); but the idea of a ‘superior’ Māyā is found in other early Śaiva scriptures, e.g. in *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.28c (*māyopari mahāmāyā*). The distinction between a superior and inferior Māyā is also well-attested in the works of the major post-scriptural Śaiva exegetes.

25. I emend the reading *kāla rāgo* of all mss. to *kalā rāgo*, instead of *kālo rāgo* (em. GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS).

26. The verse has unfortunately become garbled to the extent that its sense is virtually irrecoverable. The only emendations I feel confident to propose here are the following: *padana* into *pradhāna* and *nipunaś* into *triguṇaś* (cf. the similar occurrence in *Tattvajñāna* 42.8 of a reading *nipuṇatattva* instead of *triguṇatattva*).

27. I slightly emend *puruṣaś ceśvaro ragah* into *puruṣaś ceśvaro rāgaḥ*, which in the present context makes better sense than the reading *puruṣaś cāmaro yagaḥ* chosen by the editors.

which is homologized to Brahmā, follows. From Spirit the primal matter (*avyakta*), which is homologized with Viṣṇu, arises. Then we have the sequence of Buddhi, Ahankāra, Pañcatanmātra, Manas, the five gross elements, enumerated one by one. In 3.7 the same sequence is defined as the ‘twelve principles’ *tattva rva vlas*, and connected with the mantra SA BA TA A I, constituted by the initial *akṣaras* of the names of each of the five faces of Sadāśiva.<sup>28</sup> Further correspondences among these principles and deities are introduced. This list also retains an archaic flavour, so much so that it puts Rudra, the supreme deity of the Pāsupatas, at the top of a shortened list of principles.<sup>29</sup>

Having mentioned all the principles from the Lord down to the five elements, the *Dharma Pātañjala* describes how the coarsest principles mix to create the (lower) portion of the universe inhabited by Gods, human beings and animals. The elements complement one another and are arranged on a vertical scale, the lower pervaded by the higher. There results a combination of their qualities, i.e. sound, touch, form, taste and smell. Space, the subtlest, takes place at the top, pervaded by none and pervading all; earth, the coarsest, at the bottom, pervaded by all and pervading none. Similarly, Space possesses only the quality of sound, whereas Earth possesses all five qualities. This theory of the elements is described in an almost identical manner in a number of Old Javanese Tattvas and Tuturs.<sup>30</sup> Its origin is in fact Indic, and it has been inherited by Sanskrit Śaiva sources from the earlier treatises of the philosophical traditions of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Sāṅkhya.<sup>31</sup>

*Cosmography and Geography* Having concluded the treatment of the five gross elements, the *Dharma Pātañjala*, in the manner of the Siddhāntatantras, begins its description of the geography of the Egg-World (*aṇḍabhuvana*), constituting the inhabited universe. This corresponds to the Purāṇic Cosmic Egg or Egg of Brahmā (*brahmāṇḍa*). The text describes the general outlines of such a geography,

28. Namely, Sadyojāta, Bāmadeva, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Īśāna.

29. Of particular interest is the absence, besides of the shrouds, of *guṇatattva*, which appears in the earliest Siddhāntatantras (as well as in Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas) but is never counted as a principle by Sāṅkhya or Pāñcārthika Pāsupatism.

30. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33; *Bhuvanakośa* 3.4–7 and 4.1–2; *Tattvajñāna* 13 and 14.

31. Cf., e.g., *Niśvāsaguhya* 2.15–17 and *Parākhyantra* 4.109–122; *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.13–14 and commentaries; *Yuktidīpikā* ad *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 38 (p. 225–226; as the editors note, various passages of it find parallels in Vācaspatimiśra’s *Tattvavaiśārādī* as well as *Yogavārttika* ad *Yogasūtra* 3.44).

mentioning seven worlds (*saptaloka*), the lowest among which, *bhūrloka*, is the one inhabited by human beings.<sup>32</sup> Part of it are the seven continents (*saptadvīpa*) and the seven oceans (*saptārṇava*), which are not described. Below the Bhūrloka are the seven underworlds (*saptapātāla*), whose names are mentioned one by one although their inhabitants and features are passed over in silence. In Sanskrit sources these are characterized as subterranean paradises inhabited by various classes of superhuman beings such as Nāgas, demons, etc. At the bottom of the underworlds there are the thirty-two Great Hells (*mahānaraka*), among which is the Mahāaurava-hell. Further below there is the Tāmragardabha ‘copper-donkey’,<sup>33</sup> a place perpetually dark and without flames. At the bottom of the Egg-World, just before its external shell, is the Fire of Kālarudra (*kālarudrāgni* = *kālāgnirudra*), eternally blazing. The Hundred Rudras reside below and outside of the shell of the Egg-World.

Similar cosmographical (and geographical) sections are found in Old Javanese sources of the Tūtur and Tattva genres (with the exception of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*). These accounts, except in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, occur in contexts of micro-macrocosmic speculation in which homologizations with mantras and *akṣaras*, principles, elements, limbs of the human body, deities, etc., play an important role.

The cosmographical accounts found in seven significant Old Javanese sources of Śaiva background are summarized in the following table:<sup>34</sup>

32. According to Sanskrit sources, the other are the abodes of Gods, sages, yogins and other superhuman beings (cf. KIRFEL 1920:142–143).

33. The word is my conjectural emendation of the original, and no doubt corrupt, readings *timirāgarndama* and *tāmragarddama*. The form has been arrived at through comparison with the Hell (literally a ‘cauldron’) named *tāmragomukha*, *tambra gohvakra*, *kavah tambra gomukha* or *gomukhatāmra* attested in various Old Javanese sources (cf. GONDA 1973:241) and with the hell Balagardabha attested in a parallel passage in *Tattvajñāna* 14. Compare the hell called *tamrakunḍa* or *tāmtrakumbha* listed in Purāṇic sources (cf. KIRFEL 1920:161).

34. The sections of the sources are the following: *Dharma Pātañjala* 222.16–226.3; *Tattvajñāna* 37.19–25–38.1–11; *Bhuvanakośa* 4.56–76; *Bhuvanasaṅkṣepa* 78–86; *Jñānasiddhānta* 26.3–7; *Saṅhya Hayu* 1.17–26 and 2.1–13 (= *Bhuvana Pitu*, *Sevaka Dharma*, etc.); *Navaruci* p. 42.8–24. The table only presents a limited number of significant sources; these lists are common in Old Javano-Balinese literature, and their detailed comparison alone would require a separate study. Additional sources preserved on Balinese manuscripts are presented by GORIS (1926:108–114).



| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i> | <i>Tattvairjāna</i>  | <i>Bhuvanakośa</i>  | <i>Bhuvanasankṣepa</i>  | <i>Jñānasiddhānta</i>   | <i>San Hyañ Hayu</i>  | <i>Navaruci</i>  |
|-------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| SAPTADVĪPA              | SAPTADVĪPA<br>Jambudvīpa<br>Kūśadvīpa<br>Śāṅkhadvīpa<br>Śāṅkhadvīpa<br>Gomedhadvīpa<br>Puṣkaradvīpa<br>Kraucadvīpa | SAPTADVĪPA<br>Jambudvīpa<br>Śāṅkhadvīpa<br>Kūśadvīpa<br>Kraucadvīpa<br>Śālmadvīpa<br>Gomedhadvīpa<br>Puṣkaradvīpa | SAPTADVĪPA<br>Jambudvīpa<br>Śāṅkhadvīpa<br>Kūśadvīpa<br>Kraucadvīpa<br>Śālmadvīpa<br>Gomedhadvīpa<br>Puṣkaradvīpa | SAPTADVĪPA<br>Jambudvīpa<br>Śāṅkhadvīpa<br>Kūśadvīpa<br>Kraucadvīpa<br>Śālmadvīpa<br>Gomedhadvīpa<br>Puṣkaradvīpa |   | SAPTADVĪPA   |
|                         |  |   |   | SAPTATĪRTHA<br>Narmadā<br>Sindhu<br>Gaṅgā<br>Sarasvatī<br>Airāvati<br>Śreṣṭhanadī<br>Śivanadī                     |   |  |
| SAPTAPĀTĀLA             | SAPTAPĀTĀLA<br>Pātāla<br>Vaitāla<br>Nītala<br>Mahātala<br>Sutala<br>Talātala<br>Rāsātala                           |   | SAPTAPĀTĀLA<br>Tala<br>Sutala<br>Nītala<br>Santala<br>Atala<br>Vītala<br>Talātala                                 | SAPTAPĀTĀLA   | SAPTAPĀTĀLA<br>Pātāla<br>Nītala<br>Sutala<br>Talātala<br>Tala nini tala<br>Mahātala<br>Atyanta Antapatala | SAPTAPĀTĀLA<br>Rasātala<br>Vetala<br>Nītala<br>Mahātala<br>Sutala<br>Talātala<br>Santala |
| 32 Mahānaraka           |  | Balagardabha  |   |   |   |  |
| Tamragardabha           |  | Mahānaraka  |   |   |   |  |
| Kālarudrāgni            |  | Kālāgnirudra  |   |   |   |  |
| -----Shell-----         |  |   |   |   |   |  |
| 100 Rudras              |  |   |   |   |   |  |



In literature from the Subcontinent, besides in the Purāṇas, a section describing the geography of the Brahmāṇḍa is found in every proper Śaiva Tantra. Most of the Siddhāntatantras, being encyclopedic in nature, enumerate (usually in their Vidyāpāda), with a wealth of details, various groups of seven: seven worlds, seven mountains, seven oceans, seven continents, seven underworlds; then the various hells, Kālāgni at the bottom of the Brahmāṇḍa and the one-hundred Rudras.<sup>35</sup> However, the amount of variation between the details of the different sources is so great that it is extremely difficult to search for similarities in order to advance any hypothesis about the Sanskrit texts from which the Old Javanese sources drew upon to build their accounts. If the list of the seven worlds, in spite of slight variations in the position of each world, is well-fixed in Brahmanical literature of all persuasions, considerable variation exists in the lists of mountains, oceans and continents. Since these are only mentioned in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* but not listed one by one, a detailed treatment is not needed here. The Seven Underworlds too form a list about which the Sanskrit sources themselves are by no means in agreement. KIRFEL (1920:143–147) detailed various such lists, without however taking into account Tantric literature. Let me simply point out here that the accounts can be divided, with some omissions and simplifications, into roughly four groups, as follows:<sup>36</sup>

Table 5: Purāṇic lists of underworlds

| I           | II         | III      | IV       |
|-------------|------------|----------|----------|
| Atala       | Atala      | Tāla     | Tāla     |
| Vitala      | Sutala     | Vitala   | Sutala   |
| Nītala      | Vitala     | Nītala   | Pātāla   |
| Gabhastimat | Gabhastala | Sutala   | Tālātala |
| Mahātala    | Mahātala   | Tālātala | Ātala    |
| Sutala      | Śrītala    | Rasātala | Vitala   |
| Pātāla      | Pātāla     | Mahātala | Rasātala |

35. GOODALL (2004:289–293) has compared with great amount of details the accounts found in several Siddhāntatantras predating the 10th century. It is on the basis of the data presented by GOODALL (with some omissions and simplifications) that table 6 has been drawn.

36. I = *Agnipurāṇa*, *Garuḍapurāṇa*, *Śivapurāṇa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa*; II = *Vāyupurāṇa*; III = *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*, *Brahmapurāṇa*, *Kūrmapurāṇa*, *Liṅgapurāṇa*; IV = *Skandapurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Yogasūtra*, *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, *Aruṇopaniṣad* (note that within the latter list there exists great variation as far as the position of each item is concerned, even though the name of the items themselves are identical in all accounts).

The Underworlds listed in early Saiddhāntika literature are the following:

Table 6: Tantric lists of underworlds

| NiMukha  | NiGuhya      | SvT         | SBSS, MVUt<br>≈ MatPār | SjñUtt   | Kiraṇa   | Parākhyā,<br>Mrg |
|----------|--------------|-------------|------------------------|----------|----------|------------------|
| Nitala   | Ābhāsatala   | Ābhāsa      | Tala                   | Tala     | Varatāla | Ābhāsa           |
| Vitala   | Uttāla       | Varatāla    | Vitala                 | Nitala   | Nitala   | Paratāla         |
| Sutala   | Śrītala      | Śarkara     | Nitala                 | Vitala   | Tritala  | Nitala           |
| Nitala   | Gabhastika   | Gabhastimat | Sutala                 | Sutala   | Mahātala | Gabhastimat      |
| Talātala | Śiloccaya    | Mahātala    | Talātala               | Talātala | Pātala   | Mahātala         |
| Rasātala | Śarkaroccaya | Sutala      | Rasātala               | Pātala   | Rasātala | Rasātala         |
| Mahātala | Sauvarṇa     | Rasātala    | Mahātala               | Rasātala | Hāṭhaka  | Pātala           |

A comparison of the list of Underworlds given by the *Dharma Pātañjala* and other Old Javanese sources with the above lists shows only one remarkable feature, namely that the text, at variance with the other Old Javanese texts and in partial agreement with *Parākhyā* (5.41), *Mrgendra* (VP 13.27cd–28ab), *Svacchandatantra* (10.96) and *Guhyasūtra* (5.1–3), mentions the items Varatāla<sup>37</sup> and Gabhasti(tala). Another interesting fact is that the *Dharma Pātañjala* seems to move from a Purāṇic towards a typically Tantric presentation, for it mentions thirty-two Great Hells and Kālāgni. This situation finds its closest counterpart in the cosmology of the *Tattvajñāna*, which, however, passes over in silence the one-hundred Rudras as well as the number of the Great Hells. As evinced in the data presented by KIRFEL (1920:147–162), the Great Hells in the Purāṇas number only twenty-two or at most twenty-eight; it is only in certain Tantric texts that we come across the number of thirty-two, i.e. *Niśvāsamukha* 4.104 and *Parākhyā* 5.11. According to another tradition, thirty-two is not the number of the Great Hells themselves but of the Rudras reigning over them. *Kiraṇatantra* 8, for instance, subsumes four hells under the dominion of each Rudra and eight under the principal three Hells of Kumbhaka, Raurava and Avīci, thus bringing the total number to a hundred an forty.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the last three are

37. GOODALL (2004:289 fn. 522) defends the reading Paratāla in *Parākhyā* 5.41 on account of internal consistency and because of the fact that the same item appears in *Mrgendra* VP 13.27cd–28ab; however, he also notes that, since *vara-* and *para-* can be synonymous, no real mistake was involved and thus the reading might also be Varatāla, as in *Kiraṇa* 8.22 and *Svacchandatantra* 10.96a.

38. Among the sources that recognize a hundred and forty hells are the *Mataṅga* (VP 23.73–81) and the *Śivapurāṇa* (*Dharmasaṃhitā* 19), which mention the names of their respective Kings (*nāyaka*).

the only hells mentioned in the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* and *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*. It is not unconceivable to regard the above situation as the result of a process of systematization, through accretion, of a primitive list of Hells. Even though drawing any conclusions of chronological nature is still premature, one may assume that the list of thirty-two Hells chronologically stands between an earlier list of three and a later list of a hundred and forty.



## Man

IN THE SĀṆKHYA ONTOLOGY, the macrocosmos intersects the microcosmos in the principle of intellect (*buddhi*). The principles from intellect down to the five gross elements forming the human body constitute a combination of cosmological and psychological elements; intellect, self-awareness, mind-stuff and its lower products are both cosmic principles and psychological elements of each individual embodied human being. Intellect, the principle constituting the highest boundary of the human psychosomatic ensemble, is the subtlest principle of the human being, the one standing closest to the sentient principle of Spirit.

*Citta and  
Buddhi*

The Śaivas have inherited this cosmological picture from the Sāṅkhya, but they differ from the latter system insofar as they derive intellect from the three *guṇas*, and not from Nature, as the Sāṅkhya maintains (cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 22). Both schools considered that principle ambivalent: although, being a product of Nature, it is inherently insentient, it is illuminated by the sentience of the Spirit, thereby gaining the capacity to carry out the intellectual operations that render human knowledge and experience possible.<sup>1</sup> This view is expounded in the half-verse 20ab of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*: ‘Because of the conjunction of those two (i.e. *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*) the unconscious *liṅga* appears as if conscious’ *tasmāt tatsaṃyogād acetanaṃ cetanāvad iva liṅgaṃ*—where *liṅga*, as usual in Sāṅkhya, denotes the psychophysical aggregate that constitutes a human being.

1. An overlap between the two principles is detectable in the definition of *buddhi* found in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (to be quoted just below), which to my mind recalls the ambivalent state of the individual soul, whose perfect knowledge has been obliterated by maculation and then again partially empowered by *vidyā* (cf. above, p. 406).

Echoes of this view are found in the definition of *buddhi* given in the *Dharma Pātañjala*:

DHPĀT  
216.1–5

From the three constituents comes forth the intellect. Its characteristic is the *perception of the external reality*. The intellect is without sentience, and yet it serves the purpose of sentience. To serve the purpose of sentience means that the intellect does not know, yet it is as if capable of knowing. The intellect is without thinking faculty, yet it is as if it thinks, for it came forth from the two principles. The two principles are: Soul and unevolved matter.

And in a similar passage of the *Tattvajñāna*:

From the union of the three constituents with mind (*citta*) the intellect arises. The characteristics of intellect are: the intellect does not think, yet the intellect thinks; it is like if the intellect does not know, yet it knows; it is like if the intellect is without sentience, yet it is sentient.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the *Dharma Pātañjala* derives the intellect from the three constituents, the *Tattvajñāna* characterizes it as originating from *citta*; the latter denotes a more general psychological entity, which does not appear in the Sāṅkhya and Śaiva enumerations of the principles of the universe. Chapter 10 states that, as result of its encounter with the three constituents, *citta* causes the Soul to incarnate into a human being and produces intellect. *Tattvajñāna* 6.7–8 defines the *citta* as ‘the coarse part of the Spirit’ *citta nāraṇya gaṇal niṇ puruṣa*,<sup>3</sup> and as ‘the sentience of the Spirit adhered to and covered by the three constituents’ *cetana saṇ puruṣa karakātan koparāṅga de niṇ triguṇa* (7.1), while it also declares *buddhi* to be ‘the coarse part of the three constituents experienced through sentience by the *citta*’ *gaṇal niṇ triguṇa kacetana de niṇ citta* (11.19–20)—thus considering *citta* a separate, and higher, psychological principle from which the intellect arises.

The *Vṛhaspatitattva* appears to agree with the *Tattvajñāna* in that it also attributes the genesis of *citta* to the *buddhi*. Although the text nowhere expressly declares this to be so, it can be inferred from the fact that the first

2. *Tattvajñāna* 10.16–18: *ri pamaṅguh niṇ triguṇa lavan citta mētu taṇ buddhi / lakṣaṇa niṇ buddhi / buddhi taṇ pahidāp / ikaṇ buddhi ndan ahiḍāp ya / kadi taṇ vruh ikaṇ buddhi / ndan vruh ya / kadi taṇ pacetanekaṇ buddhi / ndan cetana ya /*.

3. Which is echoed in *Dharma Pātañjala* 288.1–2, where to the imaginary question of an opponent as to what would be the body of the Soul (*ndyāvaka niṇ ātmā*) the Lord replies that it is the *citta* mixed up with maculation (*ikā taṇ citta ivānivāṇ lāvan mala*).

mention of *citta* occurs right after the discussion of the three constituents in the cosmic hierarchy (the last word of the Old Javanese commentary to śloka 14) and before the enumerations of the eight properties of intellect, when the Old Javanese exegesis ad śloka 24 states that ‘from the three *guṇas* arises *buddhi*’. The text attributes to the *citta* the qualities of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, in all their possible combinations, just like the Sāṅkhya attributed them to the intellect. That this view was not inherent in the Sanskrit sources of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* but is rather to be regarded as an attempt by its author to identify *citta* and *buddhi* as a single principle is suggested by the textual arrangement of the relevant section of the text, which appears to squeeze ślokas 15 through 24 on the properties of *citta* between the definitions of *triguṇa* and *buddhi*.

The word *citta* is not a distinctive term of Sāṅkhya but rather of Pātañjala Yoga philosophy; it never appears in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, whereas it constitutes the basic term defining the psychological ensemble of man in the philosophy and soteriology of the *Yogasūtra*. In the latter tradition, the term may be used either as a synonym of intellect (*buddhi*) or to denote the three mental factors of intellect, self-identity (*ahankāra*) and mind-stuff (*manas*), which in Sāṅkhya terminology are together defined as one inner organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*).<sup>4</sup> This definition of the inner organ is generally accepted by Sanskrit Śaiva scriptures, and attested in Old Javanese Tattvas as well;<sup>5</sup> both categories of sources, however, are not always consistent, as the *antaḥkaraṇa* is there often used as a synonym of *manas*.<sup>6</sup> I am not sure whether the flexible usage of *citta* attested in Old Javanese Tattvas reflects this fact or if it is the result of a conscious attempt at eclectically merging the Sāṅkhya and Yoga terminologies into a Śaiva synthesis.

In order to dispel any possible confusion, Kumāra, in *Dharma Pātañjala* 216.15–16, asks if the mind-stuff, the intellect and the self-identity are identical. The Lord explains that they are different because they have different characteristics. The characteristic of the intellect is the faculty of ascertain-

4. Cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 33.

5. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 218.10 and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 35.1–2. The threefold internal organ plus the ten faculties is defined as the ‘thirteenfold organ’ (*trayodaśakaraṇa*) in *Dharma Pātañjala* 220.2 and *Tattvajñāna* 40.21–22 (compare *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 32).

6. This holds true also with respect to the Pāśupata tradition: cf., e.g., *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 5.37, where *antaḥkaraṇa*, coupled with *manas*, glosses *citta* (*cittam mano ’ntaḥkaraṇam ity arthaḥ*). VASUDEVA (2005:425–426) observes that the treatment of *citta*, *antaḥkaraṇa* and *manas* in Śaiva (Mantramārga) sources is often imprecise.

ment or decision (*adhyavasāya*), which means the knowledge of the bad and the good (*halahayu*), and determination (*niścaya*).<sup>7</sup> The distinction of intellect from the other intellectual faculties on account of its capacity of ascertainment is a cliché in Sanskrit philosophical literature and Śaiva scriptures, which all seem to go back to the definition of intellect given in *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 23 (*adhyavasāyo buddhir*).<sup>8</sup> A definition of intellect including, as in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, also *niścaya*, is documented in the *Yuktidīpikā*<sup>9</sup> and in the commentary *Tātparyadīpikā* to the *Tattvapraśāsa*.<sup>10</sup> This characteristic of the intellect is what enables perception of the world;<sup>11</sup> the *Dharma Pātañjala* in 218.10 defines the three internal organs, which are perceived in a conscious manner by the Soul, as its instruments to grasp the objects of the senses, whereas in 218.12–13 it explains that the five faculties of perception (*buddhīndriya*) are called so because they have the *buddhi* as helper in grasping the physical objects of senses (*ri denyan pakasahāya buddhin paṅgrhīta vastuviśaya*).<sup>12</sup>

It is on account of its faculty of determination that intellect maintains a central role in determining the course of human action. The *Dharma Pātañjala* attributes this central role to the more general element that is *citta*, referring to it as if it were a synonym of *buddhi*. In the text *citta* features

7. Whereas the *Dharma Pātañjala* is the only Tattva to attribute to the intellect the faculty of ascertainment, the view is attested in a śloka-quarter of the *Bhuvanakośa* (3.60) ‘Intellect determines—it gains pleasure by the objects pertaining to the spiritual world’ *buddhir adhyavasāyate* [*em.*; *adhiḥ viśayate* Mss]—*tr̥pti riṇ ādhyātma viśaya*. The *Tattvajñāna* (10.19) rather characterizes the intellect as being aware of (i.e. able to discern) good and bad (*meṇat riṇ halahayu juḡekaṇ buddhi*).

8. Cf., e.g., *Niśvāsanaya* 2:63; *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* 17 VP 1–2 and 25; *Parākhya-tantra* 4.90 and 92; *Svacchandatantra* 12.43; *Tattvapraśāsa* 52.

9. *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhya-kārikā* 46ab (p. 239.4): ‘intelligence and intellect, ascertainment and determination are synonyms’ *pratyayo buddhiḥ niścayo dhyavasāya iti paryāyāḥ*.

10. Cf. Śrī Kumāra’s *Tātparyadīpikā* on *Tattvapraśāsa* 52: ‘[Intellect] is characterized by the ascertainment of the objects of sense—that is to say, she whose characteristic, i.e. function (*vṛtti*), is ascertainment, i.e. determination, of the objects of sense, i.e. sound and so on’ *viśayādhyavasāyarūpiṇī ceti / viśayeṣu śabdādiṣv adhyavasāyo niścayo rūpaṃ vṛttir yasyāḥ sā tathoktā*.

11. Though at a lower, i.e. coarser, level than the shroud *vidyā*, which constitutes a specifically Śaiva innovation.

12. This characterization of the intellect is in harmony with the Sāṅkhya and Śaiva views. Cf., e.g., *Parākhya-tantra* (4.90–93), according to which sentience ultimately resides in the Soul, and the *buddhi* only brings about perception (*vibodhaka*), taking the form of the experienced objects.



prominently as the locus where the bondage of the Soul effected through karma takes place. The *Vṛhaspatitattva* (14–16, 19–23 and 52) characterizes *citta* in a similar manner and regards it as the cause of heaven and hell, of any kind of human, animal or divine incarnation, and also of release.

*Bhāvas and Pratyayas* The ‘cosmic’ function of the intellect, which bridges the macro- and microcosmos, underlies the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the eight states or predispositions of intellect (*buddhibhāva*) and the fifty conditions (*pratyaya*) that

arise therefrom. The list of the *bhāvas* and *pratyayas* is well fixed: the former are made up by the four items Righteousness (*dharma*), Knowledge (*jñāna*), Dispassion (*vairāgya*) and Sovereignty (*aiśvarya*)<sup>13</sup> plus their opposites; the latter include the five kinds of errors (*pañcaviṇṣṭyā*), the eight perfections (*aṣṭasiddhi*), the nine contentments (*navatuṣṭi*) and the twenty-eight disabilities or disfunctions (*aśakti*).

According to the Sāṅkhya,<sup>14</sup> the *bhāvas* and the *pratyayas* are not part of the twenty-five principles but constitute the whole of the phenomenal or ‘intellectual’ creation that is an essential part of man’s nature. Scholars of Sāṅkhya have seen an inconsistency in the mode of interaction of the ‘vertical’ creation of the twenty-five with the ‘horizontal’ creation, springing from *buddhi*, represented by the *bhāvas* and *pratyayas*, suggesting that the system preserved two distinct doctrines belonging to different layers of the school amalgamated at some time.<sup>15</sup> Be this as it may, the doctrine of the *pratyayas* is old, for it was regarded by Sāṅkhya commentators to form fifty of the sixty categories or ‘topics’ (*padārtha*) of the *Śaṣṭitantra*, the oldest Sāṅkhya treatise, of which the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* claims to be a summary.<sup>16</sup>

13. These four are defined in the *Dharma Pātañjala* as the four Sovereign Powers (*caturaiśvarya*).

14. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 40, 43, 46–51.

15. Cf. FRAUWALLNER (1973 I:268) and TORELLA (1999:557 and 1998:64 fn. 50), pace LARSON (1979:193–194).

16. The possibility that the Old Javanese sources have drawn from an ancient tradition of pre-systematized Sāṅkhya is suggested by two ślokas (characterized by *aiśa* Sanskrit, which I have not ‘corrected’) with Old Javanese commentary of the *Bhuvanakośa* (4.21–22), the first mentioning the elements (*tattva*) constituting the fifty *pratyayas* and the second explicitly referring to the *Śaṣṭitantra*: ‘Error is fivefold, the disabilities are twenty-eight; contentment is to be known as ninefold, and the perfection as eightfold.’ The meaning is: There are the five errors, there are the twenty-eight disabilities, there are the nine contentments, there are the eight perfections. Among the embodied beings there are five kinds of wombs determined by karma and five tapas. The sixty categories [are thus taught] in this book by the great seer

The doctrine of the eight *bhāvas* and fifty *pratyayas* has been universally adopted without significant modifications by Śaiva sources,<sup>17</sup> where the definition of *buddhi* as ‘eightfold’ (*aṣṭavidha*) or ‘having eight qualities’ (*aṣṭa-dharma/aṣṭaguṇa*) has become proverbial.<sup>18</sup>

An outstanding feature of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is that it devotes considerable space to the treatment of the *buddhibhāvas* and the *pratyayas*. In fact, the text presents one of the most systematic and exhaustive accounts of this doctrine to be found anywhere in Sanskrit as well as Old Javanese sources.<sup>19</sup> In no less than fifteen folios the text enumerates and defines each and every one of the fifty-eight items, as well as the fruits of the eight *bhāvas*.<sup>20</sup>

*Kapila*. There are the wombs determined by karma, five is their number; there are the five *tapas*, five is their number; thus are the fifty (*sic*) categories, which constitutes the book of the reverend Kapila’ « *viparyayaḥ pañcavidha-m aṣṭaviṁśatāśaktayaḥ / tuṣṭiś ca navadhā jñeyāḥ aṣṭadhā siddhir eva ca* » *hana pañcaviparyaya / ṇa / hana aṣṭaviṁśaty aśakti* [em.; °ti śakti ms.] / *ṇa / hana navatuṣṭi / ṇa / hana aṣṭasiddhi / ṇa //* « *karmayonis tu pañcaite pañcatāpāni dehinām / ṣaṣṭitattvam idan tantre kapilasya maharṣinā* » *hana karmayoni / lima kvehnya / hana pañcatapa / lima kvehnya / nahan taṇ tattva limaṇ puluh / pinakāji bhagavan kapila / //*. Different versions of the ten *mūlikārthas* are sometimes mentioned, but rarely explained, by Sāṅkhya commentators; however, they do not correspond with the doublet of five categories mentioned in the *Bhuvanakośa*.

17. With the caveat that, unlike in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *bhāvas* are explicitly made to be the causes of the *pratyayas* by Śaiva commentators: cf. TORELLA (1999:557 and 1998:64 fn. 50), referring to *Mṛgendra* VP 10.25a and Rāmakaṇṭha on *Mataṅga* VP 11.6 and 17.157cd.

18. Cf., e.g., *Guhyasūtra* 7.172d (*buddhir aṣṭaguṇām*); *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.26 (≈ *Guhyasūtra* 7.169b) (*buddhir aṣṭavidhā smṛtā*); *Parākhyanatantra* 4.91a (*aṣṭadharmaguṇope-tā*). The eight elements constituting the *buddhibhāvas* are already mentioned in *Pañcārtha-bhāṣya* 1.1 (p. 6), polemically referred to as the means to obtain liberation admitted by the Sāṅkhya system; cf. also 1.42 (p. 54.9), 2.24 (p. 74.10–11) and 2.25 (p. 74.16–19).

19. The commentary to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* that discusses this doctrine with the greatest level of detail is the *Yuktidīpikā*. Early Siddhāntatantras rarely mention the *pratyayas* but simply list the *bhāvas* without going into the details (cf., e.g., *Niśvāsanaya* 2.62; *Guhyasūtra* 7:173; *Rauravāgama* KP 10.23ab; *Svacchandatantra* 10.1095cd–1096ab), the only exception being the most Śāstric of the early Siddhāntatantras, i.e. the *Mṛgendra*, which devotes several verses of VP 10 and 11 to the treatment of both lists. The Śaiva exegetes, being aware of the Sāṅkhya derivation of the doctrine, usually refer to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* and sometimes refer to further sub-divisions of the *pratyayas*; for instance, according to Aghoraśiva, they are three-hundred (cf. *Mṛgendravṛttidīpikā* 10.25).

20. That this extended classificatory section bordered on pedantry and might have been detrimental to the attention of his potential readers was present in the mind of the author. Through Kumāra’s impatient enquiries about the means for liberation, the author has the Lord state that the *yogapāda* will follow soon, but not before the treatment of the present topic has been completely exhausted (250.14–15); the same is reiterated further below, in

Although in its treatment it mostly adheres to Sāṅkhya views, the text is idiosyncratic insofar as in defining the fifty conditions it does not use the term *pratyaya* but *ṛtti* ‘mode, activity, function; nature, condition,’ a term which is more proper to Pātañjala Yoga than Sāṅkhya philosophy.<sup>21</sup> The use of the term *ṛtti* in this context is uncommon in Sanskrit Śaiva sources,<sup>22</sup> but attested in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (24.19 and 33.20.), which defines them as ‘*ṛtti* of the intellect’ (*ṛtti niṣ buddhi*). The *Dharma Pātañjala* attributes these *ṛttis* a role similar to that of the *saṅskāras* and *vāsanās* of Yoga, which accompany the subtle body in the cycle of transmigration.<sup>23</sup> As for the eight dispositions of *buddhi*, the text does not use the term *bhāva* either but *vīja* (i.e. *bīja*, ‘seed’) instead, a term that is also very common in Pātañjala Yoga texts.<sup>24</sup>

260.12–12. As I have argued in the introduction (p. 18), this remarkable feature suggests that the *Dharma Pātañjala* had a single author.

21. In fact the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* on sūtra 1.2 does mention eight *bhāvas* in connection with the (*sāttvika*, *rājāsika* and *tāmāsika*) *ṛtti* of the *citta*.

22. I have found one attestation of this usage in the *Tātparyadīpikā* on *Tattvaparakāśa* 52: ‘The mind is shown to possess an eightfold condition (*ṛtti*), being characterized by Righteousness, Knowledge, Dispassion, Sovereignty, Unrighteousness, Ignorance, Passion and Non-sovereignty’ *dharmajñānavairāgyaiśvaryaḍdharmajñānavairāgyānaiśvaryaātmanā aṣṭavidhavṛttimattvaṃ buddheḥ sūcitam*.

23. The origin of this idea is perhaps *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 40, where the *liṅga* is ‘perfumed’ (*adhiṣṭita*) by the *bhāvas*—‘perfume’ being frequently associated with *vāsanās* (for the simile equating *vāsanās* to the scent of perfume sticking to a pot, cf. below, pp. 470–472). An explicit equation of the *bhāvas* with *vāsanās* is found in the *Pauṣkarāgama* (Pumstattvapaṭala 122cd–123ab, quoted in Śivāgrayogin’s *Śaivaparibhāṣā* 65): ‘Thus the dispositions beginning with merit, which reside in the intellect in the form of impressions (*vāsanātmanā*), which are of the nature of the conditions, have been mentioned according to the sequence of their different activities (*ṛtti*)’ *iti dharmādayo bhāvā buddhisthā vāsanātmanā // krameṇa pratyayātmānaḥ proktās tadṛttibhedataḥ* /. A similar concept, expressed in a different terminology, is perhaps detectable in the statement of Sadyojyotiṣ, who, commenting on *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 12, states that the *bhāvas* and the *pratyayas* derive from karma (*yaś cāyaṃ triguṇātmako bhāvapratyayākhyapariṇāmāḥ so ’pi karmata upādānāt*)—indeed, *vāsanās* too derive from karma.

24. In the *Dharma Pātañjala* the expression *vīja nikaṇ buddhi* refers indiscriminately to both the *bhāvas* and the *pratyayas*, whereas in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (24.4–11) it is only used twice to refer to the intellect ‘having as offspring’ (*makavīja*) the opposites of the four sovereign powers (i.e. the *bhāvas* arising from an intellect dominated by *tamas*).

Table 7: The eight *bhāvas* according to the *Dharma Pātāñjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva*

| Buddhibhāva | <i>Dharma Pātāñjala</i>   |   | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>  |  |
|-------------|---|---|---|--|
|             | Definition  | Fruits  | Definition  | Fruits   |
| Dharma      | Practicing good conduct and religious duties  | Rebirth in heaven and then as a famous, rich or virtuous man  | Practicing good conduct and religious duties ( <i>śīla, tapas, dāna, pravrajyā, yoga</i> )                  | Rebirth in heaven as a god and attainment of the supernatural powers of the <i>aṇimādi</i> group   |
| Jñāna       | Practicing absorption and the three <i>pramāṇas</i>   | Obtainment of the Lord's powers and consequent rebirth as one wishes  | Being conversant with the three <i>pramāṇas</i>   | Attaining <i>mokṣa</i> , thereby obtaining the Lord's Four Powers and becoming one with the Lord   |
| Vairāgya    | Not desiring worldly pleasures (i.e. <i>bhoga, upabhoga, paribhoga</i> )                                | Dissolution into unevolved matter, which is like when one enjoys pleasure in sleep  | Not desiring divine or worldly pleasures  | Dissolution into unevolved matter, which is like a long dreamless sleep, and rebirth as a god  |
| Aiśvarya    | Human beings possessing <i>bhoga, upabhoga</i> and <i>paribhoga</i> are respected by other human beings | Becoming the sovereign of heaven  | Equanimity towards <i>bhoga, upabhoga</i> and <i>paribhoga</i>  | Enjoying in full the pleasures without impediment and then becoming a god, provided with the supernatural powers of the <i>aṇimādi</i> group |
| Adharma     | Considering virtue and religious duties useless   | Being reborn as an animal   | Not believing in heaven and hell, considering merit useless, regarding ascetics as thieves                  | Becoming an animal   |
| Ajñāna      | Using only two <i>pramāṇas</i> (i.e. <i>pratyakṣa</i> and <i>anumāna</i> )                              | Incessantly transmigrating in the cycle of existence  | A mind devoid of the three <i>pramāṇas</i> and characterized by <i>vikalpā, satīśaya</i> and <i>bhrānta</i> | Being bound by karma deriving from pleasure  |
| Avairāgya   | †   | Going to hell and then reincarnating as an abnormal human being   | A mind valuing the material objects the utmost  | Going round and round as human being, animals, or falling into hell  |
| Anaiśvarya  | Perpetual pain  | becoming angry due to not obtaining what one wishes and being mistreated, then going to hell and eventually reincarnating as an ant | Being deprived of <i>bhoga, upabhoga</i> and <i>paribhoga</i>   | Going round and round as human being, animals, or falling into hell  |

Table 8: The fifty *pratyayas* (or *vṛttis*) according to the *Dharma Pāṭanjala*

| 5 <i>viparyaya</i>   | 9 <i>tuṣṭi</i>   | 8 <i>siddhi</i>   | 28 <i>śakti</i>  |
|--|--|---|--|
| (1) <i>tamas</i><br>to strive after worldly<br>objects of pleasure   |  |   | (1–10) deficient<br><i>daśendriya</i>  |
| (2) <i>moha</i><br>to pursue the <i>siddhi</i><br>of invisibility in order<br>to be able to steal                  | (1) <i>pradhānaka</i><br>one sees the ugliness<br>of one's body due to<br>bad karma and starts<br>to perform meritori-<br>ous acts in order to<br>have a better reincar-<br>nation | (1) <i>dāna</i><br>to offer help, in the form of<br>body, speech and heart, to<br>whose who suffer  | (11) <i>apradhānaka</i><br>doing bad because of<br>the misfortune of one's<br>body                                     |
|  | (2) <i>upādānaka</i><br>one does not suffer if<br>one has a debt due<br>to having given away<br>wealth for offerings   | (2) <i>adhyayana</i><br>being able to read the sa-<br>cred texts  | (20) <i>adāna</i><br>not giving alms and not<br>practicing righteousness   |
| (3) <i>mahāmoha</i><br>to pursue the <i>aṣṭaiś-<br/>varya</i> in order to en-<br>joy in heaven and in<br>the world | (3) <i>(a-)kāla</i><br>one feels good when<br>one's beloved girl con-<br>sents to the request of<br>marriage   | (3) <i>śabda</i><br>having mastered the sa-<br>cred texts, whatever one<br>says is accomplished, and<br>one is able to hear inaudi-<br>ble sounds | (21) <i>anadhyayana</i><br>not studying the texts, so<br>that one's knowledge of<br>them is not based on evi-<br>dence |
| (4) <i>tāmisra</i><br>matching the objects<br>of dislike with the<br><i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i> (?)                        | (4) <i>(a-)bhāgya</i><br>ill-fated men seek<br>refuge in religious<br>instruction  | (4) <i>tarka</i><br>knowledge of past, present<br>and future  | (22) <i>an-a-śabda</i><br>not practicing regularly<br>the means of realization   |
| (5) <i>andhatāmisra</i><br>being worried about<br>the end of pleasures   |  |   | (23) <i>an-a-tarka</i><br>inability to know past,<br>present and future  |
|  |  |   | (14) one's mind is deluded<br>since one is not able to<br>cure the deficiencies of<br>one's body                       |

| 5 <i>vīparyaya</i> | 9 <i>tuṣṭi</i>  | 8 <i>siddhi</i>   | 28 <i>śakti</i>  |
|--------------------|---|---|--|
| <i>vāhya</i> {     | (5) when one obtains the worldly objects of enjoyment that one desires  | (5) <i>svādhyāya</i> to study with teachers   | (15) one who is attached to the worldly objects of the senses and is not satisfied once they are obtained  |
|                    | (6) when a man finds his beloved one  | (6) <i>trayo duḥkhaṅghāta</i> I to become a leader among yogins, able to extinguish the three pains | (24) <i>asvādhyāya</i> to study with bad teachers chosen at random   |
|                    | (7) when, having strived after wealth and supernatural abilities, one obtains them [and anything that is striven after is obtained] | (7) <i>trayo duḥkhaṅghāta</i> II  | (16) one who is lazy to act  |
|                    | (8) when one suffers, and one's suffering then diminishes   | (8) <i>trayo duḥkhaṅghāta</i> III   | (17) one who is handsome and enjoys women forbidden to him and gambles away his money  |
|                    | (9) when a man slaughters animals to eat them   |   | (18) one who loses passion; one who suffers without cure because he is afraid of the men of medicine   |
|                    |   |   | (19) one who is not able to obtain what he desires and, because of that, is not able to enjoy his wealth   |
|                    |   |   | (25) <i>duḥkhatrayaṅghāta</i> I not being able to eliminate the three sufferings due to one's disbelief in the efficacy of yoga and lack of practice |
|                    |   |   | (26) <i>duḥkhatrayaṅghāta</i> II   |
|                    |   |   | (27) <i>duḥkhatrayaṅghāta</i> III  |
|                    |   |   | (28) <i>manas viparīta</i> being insane  |

Table 9: The thirty *vṛttis* of the intellect according to the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (32–33)

| 5 <i>viparyaya</i>  | 9 <i>tuṣṭi</i>  | 8 <i>siddhi</i>   |
|---|---|---|
| (1) <i>tamas</i><br>to strive after all kinds of pleasures  | (1) <i>arjana</i><br>one who hoards and protects wealth   | } <i>vāhya</i> { (1) <i>dāna</i><br>one who is able to give alms  |
| (2) <i>moha</i><br>to strive after the <i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i>   | (2) <i>rakṣaṇa</i><br>having hoarded wealth, one guards it  | (2) <i>adhyayana</i><br>one who is able to study the scriptures   |
| (3) <i>mahāmoha</i><br>to strive after pleasures in the unmanifest world and the <i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i> | (3) <i>kṣaya</i><br>one who suffers, then his suffering decreases and he is again healthy   | (3) <i>śabda</i><br>a <i>sādhaka</i> who is able to hear inaudible sounds   |
| (4) <i>tāmisra</i><br>to dream about future pleasures   | (4) <i>saṅga</i><br>one who meets his beloved one   | (4) <i>tarka</i><br>one who is able to know visible and invisible things by reasoning   |
| (5) <i>andhatāmisra</i><br>to weep for things that have already vanished                            | (5) <i>hiṁsā</i><br>one who kills [animals] in order to eat them  | (5) <i>sauhṛda</i><br>†   |
|   | (6) <i>bhāgya</i><br>one who does not suffer even though he does not obtain pleasures, doing good in order to have a better reincarnation           | <i>ādhya-</i><br>} <i>ātmika</i> { <i>trayo duḥkhavighāta</i> I<br>to be able to extinguish the three pains, becoming a lord among yogins with the highest supernatural powers  |
|   | (7) <i>kāla</i><br>one who, being impatient to obtain what he longs for, decides to wait a bit until he will eventually gets it                     | <i>trayo duḥkhavighāta</i> II   |
|   | (8) <i>ātmā</i><br>a mind that investigates the Soul by only adhering to the teachings of a master, without adding his own or practicing absorption | <i>trayoduḥkhavighāta</i> III   |
|   | (9) †   | <i>ādhyaivikaduḥkha</i><br>(6) arising from the mind: <i>rāga</i> , <i>dveṣa</i> , <i>moha</i> , various bodily diseases, <i>vāta</i> , <i>pitta</i> , <i>śleṣma</i> .<br><br><i>ādhidaivikaduḥkha</i><br>(7) being struck by a thunderclap, madness, possession, bad planetary influences<br><br><i>ādhibhautikaduḥkha</i><br>(8) being hit by weapons, poisoned, bewitched, bitten by a snake or stinging animals, tormented by evil beings |

An intriguing fact is that in presenting the eight items forming the *bhāvas* and the fifty forming the *pratyayas* the text refers to their sum-total being fifty instead of fifty-eight; perhaps, rather than a blatant inconsistency, it may be the case that the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* understood the fifty as arising from, or being included in, the eight, without feeling the need explicitly to mention that point.<sup>25</sup> Further, in 242.2–3, the Lord states that from the fifty conditions arise such a great number of conditions that they cannot be counted.<sup>26</sup> These conditions account for the great number of different rebirths of the incarnated beings, for their desires, and for the pleasures and pains they experience. The various outcomes are caused by the predominance of either *sattva*, *rajas* or *tamas* in the intellect. From an intellect dominated by *sattva* arise the first four *bhāvas*, i.e. the four sovereign powers, whereas an intellect dominated by *tamas* produces their opposites.<sup>27</sup>

A closely related, albeit nowhere as systematic and detailed, account of the doctrine of the *bhāvas* and *pratyayas* is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. While devoting ślokas 25 to 33 with commentary to the treatment of the eight forms of *buddhi* (*prakāra niṣ buddhi*) that amount to the eight *bhāvas*, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* describes only thirty *vṛttis*, failing to mention the twenty-eight inabilities. As can be appreciated from tables 7–10, the descriptions of many of the items in the two texts are clearly similar, but in all likelihood not based on direct influence the one upon the other. Their similarities might be due to their drawing upon a common earlier tradition or rather to analogous local exegetical practices.

25. No explicit reference of the derivation of the *pratyayas* from the *bhāvas* is found in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* either. In order to explain that fact, LARSON (1979:194) pointed out that the eight *bhāvas* and the fifty *pratyayas* represent two aspects of the same phenomenon, and so it would be improper to describe the two series in terms of an addition for in fact they represent an encompassing reality.

26. Compare *Tattvajñāna* 15.26–28, which maintains that ‘The three types of *ahaṅkāra* are placed in the *buddhi*; the three conditions (*vṛtti*) give rise to fifty; fifty conditions give rise to one-hundred; one-hundred conditions give rise to a number that cannot be known. That is what causes the Soul to transform again and again’ *ikaṅ ahaṅkāra tiga prabhedanya maparanti rikaṅ buddhi / ya tiga vṛtti mānak limaṅ puluh / limaṅ puluh vṛtti mānak sātus / sātus vṛtti mānak sevu / sevu vṛtti mānak tan kinavruhan vilaṅnya / yeka nimitta niṣ ātmā patamahtamahan // • vṛtti ] (4×) em. ; vṛddhi Ed. (all mss.)*.

27. Thus, as in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23. But there were other traditions, such as that documented in *Mṛgendra* VP 10.24, which derive the item *vairāgya* of the sovereign powers from *rajas* instead of *sattva*.



Table 10: The nine contentments (*tuṣṭi*) in DhPāt, Vṛh and Sāṅkhya sources

| DhPāt      | Vṛh     | SK        | YD, GauḍBh |
|------------|---------|-----------|------------|
| pradhānaka | †       | prakṛti   | prakṛti    |
| upādānaka  | ātmā    | upādānaka | upādānaka  |
| (a)kāla    | kāla    | kāla      | kāla       |
| (a)bhāgya  | bhāgya  | bhāgya    | bhāgya     |
| -          | arjana  | -         | arjana     |
| -          | rakṣaṇa | -         | rakṣaṇa    |
| -          | kṣaya   | -         | kṣaya      |
| -          | saṅga   | -         | saṅga      |
| -          | hiṁsā   | -         | hiṁsā      |

Both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* do not precisely conform to any of the Sanskrit sources, but display random similarities. It is interesting to note that the *Dharma Pātañjala*, like the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, does not specify the names of the second series of five contentments.

Like Sāṅkhya and Śaiva sources, the *Dharma Pātañjala* defines all predispositions except Knowledge (*jñāna*) as the ‘seven fetters’ (*saptabandhana*), which keep the Soul entrapped in the cycle of existence.<sup>28</sup> Only Knowledge, which is homologized with right knowledge (*samyajjñāna/samyagjñāna*), leads to the obtainment of liberation.<sup>29</sup> So *jñāna* is not an ordinary kind of knowledge of the external world but a salvific gnosis.

Both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* are closer to Sāṅkhya than Śaiva sources in that they do not explain the item Righteousness (*dhar-*

28. Compare, e.g., *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 63 (*rūpaiḥ saptabhir eva tu badhnāty ātmānam ātmanā prakṛtiḥ / saiva ca puruṣārtham prati vimocayaty ekarūpeṇa*); *Niśvāsanaya* 2.62–63ab (*dharmaṃ jñānaṃ ca vairāgyam aiśvaryaṃ ca caturthakam / adharmas ca tathājñānam avairāgyam anaiśvaram // bandhate saptadhā sā tu jñānabhāvena mokṣate*); *Svacchandatantra* 10.1095ab (*dehapāśāḥ samākhyātāḥ ato buddhiguṇān viduḥ*), 12.42 (*adharmas ca tathājñānam avairāgyam anaiśvaram / badhnāti saptadhā sā tu jñānabhāvena mohayet*), 11.141ab (*badhnāti saptadhā sā tu puṃsaḥ saṃsāravartmani*). The *Vṛhaspatitattva* (28.4) does not mention this point but mentions the four sovereign powers in a positive light, i.e. as being the cause of the Lord’s love for the Soul (*nimitta niḥ asiḥ bhaṭāra riṇ ātmā*).

29. This identification is found in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 26, which defines the three *pramāṇas* (that in *Dharma Pātañjala* are also included in the description of the item *jñāna*) as right knowledge. An analogous homologization of *jñāna* with *samyajjñāna* is found in the *Tātparyadīpikā* on *Tattvaparakāśa* 52, commenting on the list of *buddhibhāvas* of *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23; *samyajjñāna* is then further subdivided into *pramāṇa* (valid means of knowledge) and *smṛti* (memory).

ma) by referring to the doublet of five rules of conducts known as *yamas* and *niyamas*, but rather understand it generally as good behaviour including meritorious acts, donation, rituals and observances.<sup>30</sup> This is perhaps due to the fact that the *yamas* and *niyamas* are detailed in the section on Yoga, being listed among the eight ancillaries of Yoga in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and mentioned before the six ancillaries in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*.

*Ahaṅkara,  
Manas and  
the Lower  
Constituents*

The principle of intellect produces self-awareness (*a-haṅkāra*). Both Tuturs and Tattvas agree in attributing to it the function of relating things, like the sensory objects and the body, to one's own I (*maṇaku*).<sup>31</sup> Further, the *ahaṅkāra* is held to cause the functioning of the body and the preservation of life, pervading the ten winds that, in connecting the body with the Soul, keep it alive.<sup>32</sup> Whereas the former function is found in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 24, which explains *ahaṅkāra* as *abhimāna* 'conception about the self', the latter seems to be an idiosyncrasy of Old Javanese Tattvas.<sup>33</sup>

30. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 242.10 and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 25. Among Sanskrit sources, the *Nīśvāsanaya* (2.64–65ab) gives a list of ten items that do not entirely correspond to the standard *yamas* and *niyamas*, whereas the *Svacchandatantra* (10.1091 and 11.144–145) mentions a 'tenfold' *dharma*, whose items coincide with the *yamas* and *niyamas*; thus also Aghoraśiva's *Mṛgendravṛttidīpikā* on VP 10.25.

31. Cf. *Bhuvanaśa* 3.59 (glossing the Skt *abhimāna*); *Tattvajñāna* 11.7, 15.6, 40.20; *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 37 lines 15–16 (according to which the *ahaṅkāra* 'causes the Soul and the mind-stuff to be connected' *magave ātmā manah samyoga*).

32. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 234.5–234.15, 236.7–12; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 35.20–23: 'The Power of Action of the Lord enters the *ahaṅkāra*, the *ahaṅkāra* enters the breaths, the breaths connect the Soul with the body' *ikaṅ kriyāśakti bhaṭāra / yekomāveśa rikaṅ ahaṅkāra / ikaṅ ahaṅkāromāveśa ikaṅ vāyu / ikaṅ vāyu ya ta sumambandhekiṅ ātmā lavan śarīra*; śloka 36d, defining the vessels as 'coming forth from what is called *ahaṅkāra*' *ahaṅkāraḥkhyanirgatāḥ*; *Tattvajñāna* 24.3–5: 'The Power of Action of the Lord enters the *ahaṅkāra*, the *ahaṅkāra* enters the breaths, the breaths penetrate into the vessels' *kriyāśakti bhaṭāra / umāveśa ikaṅ ahaṅkāra / ikaṅ ahaṅkāra umāveśa ikaṅ vāyu / ikaṅ vāyu ya ta sumusukiṅ nādī*; 11.2–5: 'The *citta* uses as sentience the *ahaṅkāra*; that is entered by the Power of Action of the Lord Almighty. That, the Power of Action of the Lord Almighty, is designated as the life of life, and causes the life of the *ahaṅkāra* as well as the life of the intellect' *ika citta makacetana ikaṅ ahaṅkāra / ya ta inaveśa de niṅ kriyāśakti bhaṭāra mapramāṇa / ya ta sinaṅguh hurip ni hurip ṇaranya kriyāśakti bhaṭāra pramāṇa mvaṅ pinakahurip niṅ ahaṅkāra pinakahurip niṅ buddhi* /.

33. Among the Tattvas themselves, the most idiosyncratic treatment of *ahaṅkāra* is found in the *Tattvajñāna*. The text differs from the other Old Javanese sources in that it attributes to that principle a more important function, characterizing it as an aspect of *buddhi*. Ac-

The *ahaṅkāra* also holds the important function of giving rise to the constitutive elements of the human body, namely the organs of action and sense, the mind-stuff (*manas*) that governs them, and the five subtle elements—from which the gross elements making up material reality come forth. Like Sanskrit Śaiva texts, Old Javanese Tattvas have inherited the Sāṅkhya characterization of *ahaṅkāra* as divided into three types, known as the ‘modified’ (*vaikṛta*), the one ‘consisting of passion’ (*taijasa*), and the one that is the ‘origin of the gross elements’ (*bhūtādi*), each one of which is associated respectively with *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*.

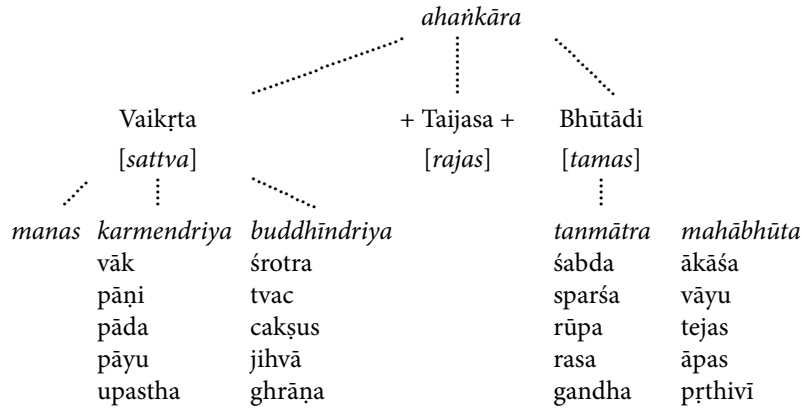
Unlike several early Siddhāntatantras, which do not make explicit which type of *ahaṅkāra* the different evolutes come from, the *Dharma Pātañjala* treats the matter with some degree of analysis, thus being in harmony with Śāstric Śaiva scriptures, such as the *Mṛgendra* (VP 12.3–5). But it differs from Sanskrit sources in one important respect. The latter consider *taijasa* as *sāttvika* and *vaikārika* (= *vaikṛta*) as *rājasa*, and have the faculties of perception evolve from the former aspect of *ahaṅkāra* while the faculties of action evolve from the latter,<sup>34</sup> whereas, according to the *Dharma Pātañjala*,

cording to chapter 10.21, the *ahaṅkāra* is the coarse part of *citta* (*ahaṅkāra ṇaranya gaṇal niṇ citta*; cf. above, p. 438, where *citta* was defined as the coarse part of the Spirit); the *ahaṅkāra*—and not *buddhi*—is responsible for carrying out good and bad actions (*palākasakən kriyā halahayu*, cf. 11.6 and 40.20–21), and it also has the capacity to perceive what exists and what does not exist (*mamastuni riṇ hana lavan tan hana*, 11.5–6). Together with *buddhi*, it is defined as *pramāṇa viśeṣa* (11.8–10), standing still without moving, being consciousness only (*sthiti humiḍaṇ tan polah / tuhun tuturmātra*); in chapter 15, the threefold *ahaṅkāra*—again called *pramāṇa*—is said to be placed within *buddhi* (*maparanti rikaṇ buddhi*) and held to be responsible for transferring to the *buddhi* its threefold quality: ‘What is the reason why the *ahaṅkāra* is designated as *pramāṇa*? Because it is the only means to relate [things] to the I and perceive. And further, it is the reason why the *buddhi* is as if being divided into three’ *mapa kari dumeh ikaṇ ahaṅkāra sinaṅgah pramāṇa / ri denyan pinakasādhana riṇ maṇaku mamastvani juga sira / kumaṇ nimitta niṇ kadi sapatiga arakva lvir nikaṇ buddhi* (15.13–15).

34. A discussion of this doctrine in Saiddhāntika sources may be found in HULIN (1980:267 fn. 2), BHATT’s introduction to the edition of the *Mataṅga* (1977, pp. xxxi) and GOODALL (2004:259–260 fn. 399). Note, however, that GOODALL is incorrect in attributing to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* the view that *taijasa* constitutes the *sāttvika* aspect of *ahaṅkāra*, which gives rise to the eleven faculties, and that both the faculties and the subtle elements originate from the *rājasa* aspect *vaikṛta*: the eleven faculties indeed do originate from *vaikṛta*, but the latter is intended as *sāttvika*, for in 25a it is defined as the origin of the faculties, which themselves are *sāttvika* (*sāttvika ekādaśakaḥ pravartate vaikṛtād ahaṅkārāt*). Similarly, GOODALL refers to Tryambakaśambhu’s position (in commenting upon *Kiraṇa* 4.23)

the faculties evolve from *vaikṛta* and the subtle elements from *bhūtādi*, both impelled by *taijasa*—a treatment that exactly conforms to the teaching of *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 25.<sup>35</sup> Both the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (33.21–28) and the *Tattvajñāna* (11.10–14; 12.1–5) agree with the *Dharma Pātañjala* on this point, suggesting that the Old Javanese accounts go back to a common tradition that conforms to the Sāṅkhya rather than the Śaiva perspective.

Figure 5: Evolution of the faculties and elements from the *ahaṅkāra*



with respect to Sāṅkhya as deviant, for the early Śaiva author regarded *taijasa* as *rājasa* and *vaikṛta* as *sāttvika*; in actual facts, Tryambakaśambhu's account conforms exactly to *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 25, also in deriving the eleven faculties from *vaikṛta* (*sāttvika*) when impelled by *taijasa* (*rājasa*); the same holds true for *Tattvapraśa* 54 (following Kumāradeva's reading *vaikārikataijasa*<sup>o</sup> defining *sāttvikarājasa*<sup>o</sup>, against Aghoraśiva's *taijasavaikārika*<sup>o</sup>), *Mr-gendra* VP 12.2–5 and *Mataṅga* VP 18.44–45b, which, however, deviate from the SKār (and from each other) in tracing the faculties and *manas* from different aspects of *ahaṅkāra*.

35. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 25b actually claims that both derive from *taijasa* (*taijasād ubhayam*), whereas the *Dharma Pātañjala* (220.7–8) puts the matter slightly differently, namely that the *taijasa* self-identity 'helps' or 'assist' (*tumuluṅ*) the *vaikṛta* and the *bhūtādi* when they perform their task. Compare *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.26–27: 'The *taijasa* self-identity joins in bringing forth the work of the *vaikṛta* and of the *bhūtādi* self-identity, for its own nature is to be active' *ikaṅ ahaṅkāra si taijasa / yeka umilu mamətvakən kārya nikaṅ ahaṅkāra si vaikṛta lavan si bhūtādi / apan makasvabhāva maṇulahakən*; *Tattvajñāna* 15.1–2: 'The characteristic of the *taijasa* self-identity is like wind (or: 'breath'); it helps the *vaikṛta* and the *bhūtādi*, joining in creating the eleven faculties and the five subtle elements' *kunaṅ lakṣaṇa nikaṅ ahaṅkāra si taijasa / yeka kadi vāyuh lakṣaṇanya / tumuluṅ si vaikṛta lavan si bhūtādi / milu magave ekādaśendriya / lavan pañcatanmātra* /. This reflects the explanations given in Sāṅkhya commentaries, such as the one by Gauḍapāda and the *Suvarṇasaptati* (cf. TAKAKUSU 1904:1011), according to which *taijasa* is the only active element among the three and thus necessarily accompanies the other two, considered to be passive.

The lowest and coarsest of the intellectual faculties constituting the internal organ (*antaḥkaraṇa*) is the mind-stuff (*manas*), which is usually accounted for as the ‘eleventh’ of the faculties, i.e. the one that directs them to their objects and synthesizes the results, transmitting them to the Soul.<sup>36</sup> The *manas*, a term that is difficult to render in translation,<sup>37</sup> represents the ‘organ’ aspect of perceptive knowledge, whose principal function is to produce *saṅkalpa* ‘conceptions, notions, volitions’,<sup>38</sup> or *vikalpa* ‘ideation, imagination’, which represents an uncertain kind of knowledge.<sup>39</sup>

An interesting aspect of the theory of origination of the faculties from the *ahāṅkāra* presented by the *Dharma Pātañjala* is that, besides deriving the faculties of perception and action from the *vaikṛta* aspect, and the gross elements (*mahābhūta*) from the subtle elements (*tanmātra*), the latter are also held to be the origin of the organs of perception, which serve as the seats of the faculties (*pinakoṅgvan in indriya*).

Table 11: Origination of the organs of sense and the gross elements

| Organs               |   | Tanmātra              |   | Mahābhūta                 |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Ear / <i>taliṇa</i>  | ← | Sound / <i>śabda</i>  | → | Atmosphere / <i>ākāśa</i> |
| Skin / <i>kulit</i>  | ← | Touch / <i>sparsa</i> | → | Wind / <i>vāyu</i>        |
| Eye / <i>mata</i>    | ← | Form / <i>rūpa</i>    | → | Fire / <i>tejas</i>       |
| Tongue / <i>ilat</i> | ← | Taste / <i>rasa</i>   | → | Water / <i>āpas</i>       |
| Nose / <i>iruṇ</i>   | ← | Smell / <i>gandha</i> | → | Earth / <i>prthivī</i>    |

36. Cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 27.

37. I translate *manah/manas* as ‘mind-stuff’ whenever the term retains its technical (i.e. Sāṅkhya-derived) meaning, and as ‘mind’ whenever it is used in a more general, non-technical manner (i.e. to indicate a certain attitude or the locus of somebody’s thoughts).

38. Cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 27ab and Gauḍapāda thereon; *Mrgendra* KP 1.12.7bc; *Īśvara-pratyabhijñāvimarśinī* 3.1.11; *Svacchandatantra* 4.394b; *Parāṅkhyatantra* 5.149 (as may be inferred from the fact that it puts a Rudra named Saṅkalpa in the cosmic level of the principle of *manas*). Among the Old Javanese sources, cf. *Bhuvanakośa* 3.58 and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.99–100: ‘The mind-stuff is the king of the faculties, processing the objects of the senses, for it is the stem of the faculties. Processing means to form a definite picture of the objects of the senses’ *manah yeka ratu niṇ indriya sumāṅkalpa ikaṇ viṣaya / apan vit nikaṇ indriya / manāṅkalpa nāranya umastv ikaṇ viṣaya /*.

39. This results explicitly from the example of *vikalpa* given in *Dharma Pātañjala* 218.4–7, referring to a man who fantasizes about his lover. A Sanskrit source understanding *manas* as the origin of both *saṅkalpa* and *vikalpa* is the *Pauṣkara* (cf. VASUDEVA 2005:427, fn. 166–167).

This view is shared by a number of Old Javanese sources, namely the *Tattvajñāna*,<sup>40</sup> the *Bhuvanakośa*,<sup>41</sup> the *Navaruci*,<sup>42</sup> Kakavin *Dharma Śūnya*<sup>43</sup> and an unidentified fragment quoted in KBNW.<sup>44</sup> To my knowledge, the only Sanskrit parallel for this doctrine that has been documented so far is available in Paramārtha's Chinese translation, the *Suvarṇasaptati* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 3 and 26 (cf. TAKAKUSU 1904:983, 1012). Whereas for the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* the five subtle elements are only generative of the five gross elements, the *Suvarṇasaptati* has each subtle element generate a respective gross element and sense organ as well.

Now, some degree of ambiguity exists in the interpretation of the exact nature of the *buddhīndriyas* mentioned in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 26. TAKAKUSU (1904:1012) interprets the series of *buddhīndriyas*, in harmony with the Chinese rendition, as denoting 'organs', viz. ears, skin, eyes, tongue, nose, instead of 'faculties', viz. hearing, grasping, seeing, tasting, smelling.<sup>45</sup> The Sanskrit commentaries do not clearly problematize this point and probably implicitly consider the *indriyas* as material and yet capable of reaching their

40. Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 37.17–19: 'The outcomes of the five subtle elements are: the subtle element of sound becomes the ear, the subtle element of touch becomes the skin, the subtle element of form becomes the eye, the subtle element of taste becomes the tongue, the subtle element of smell becomes the nose. These are designated as the five *golakas* *ikaṇ pañcatanmātra* / *tāmahanya* / *śabdatanmātra* *dadi taliṇa* / *sparsātanmātra* *maṇḍadi kulit* / *rūpatanmātra* *maṇḍadi mata* / *rasatanmātra* *maṇḍadi liḍah* / *gandhatanmātra* *maṇḍadi iruṇ* / *yeka sinaṅguḥ pañcagolaka* *ñaranya*.

41. Cf. *Bhuvanakośa* 3.36–41. The Sanskrit verses are heavily corrupt, but from the exegesis it emerges that the subtle elements are identified as the origin of the organs, and linked to a particular deity. Cf. *pāda* 37a and commentary: 'Mouth is the subtle element of sound [...] The mouth is the outcome of the subtle element of sound' *vacanaṃ śabdatanmātra* [...] *ikaṇ vacana* / *śabdatanmātra* *ikā* / *pinakatāmahanya* /.

42. Cf. *Navaruci* p. 42.4–7, which, apart from the order of the items, is virtually identical to *Tattvajñāna* 37.17–19 (cf. fn. 40).

43. Canto 9.1 (i.e. verse 58); cf. below, fn. 50.

44. Cf. KBNW (IV.783) s.v. *golaka*: *nihan kaṇ pañcendriya haneṇ śarīra, pañcatanmantra, dadi hiruṇ, tutuk, karṇa, taṇan, suku, silit, bhāga, purus, nihan pratyekanya, ikaṇ pañcatanmantra haneṇ śarīra, golaka, mulih mariṇ rūpatanmantra, iruṇ, mulih mariṇ gandhatanmantra, taliṇan mulih riṇ karṇatanmantra, tutuk mulih mariṇ rasatanmantra, kulit mulih mariṇ sparsātanmantra, pañcatanmantra, mulih mariṇ saṇ hyaṇ anantaviśeṣa, sira vastu niṇ pañcendriya*.

45. Note that the order and exact names of the *indriyas* vary in the versions of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* preserved in the different commentaries; a summary of the variations attested in the early commentaries may be found in SOLOMON (1974:75).

objects on a subtle level.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the *Yuktidīpikā* is explicit in distinguishing the faculties from the organs.<sup>47</sup> The intrinsic ambiguity of the words and their appearance in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 26 alongside the *karmendriya*, viz. the series of five that may be understood prima facie to be the organs of action voice (*vāk*), hand (*pāṇi*), foot (*pāda*), anus (*pāyu*) and genitals (*upastha*), has given rise to different traditions.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* agrees with the *Yuktidīpikā* in that it clearly states that each of these faculties reside in (*hana in*) their respective seats, i.e. ears (*talina*), skin (*kulit*), eye (*mata*), tongue (*ilat*) and nose (*hiruṇ*). The same view is shared by the *Tattvajñāna* (40.12–17) and by the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which in 33.73–80 connects the faculties with their respective organs, specifying that they abide or are placed in (*muṅgu in*) the organs. The three texts extend this view also to the *karmendriya*, which are equally understood as faculties rather than organs: thus *vākindriya* ‘speech’ resides in the mouth (*tutuk*), *pāṇindriya* ‘grasping’ resides in the hands (*taṇan*), *pā-dendriya* ‘walking’ resides in the feet (*suku*), *pāyu* ‘excreting’ resides in the anus (*lāt*), ‘procreating’ (*upasthendriya*) resides in the female and male genitals (*bhaga puruṣa*). On the other hand, the *Navaruci* (44.18–23) explains the *pañcendriya*, corresponding to the series of *caḥsvindriya*, *ghrāṇendriya*, *karmendriya*, *jihvendriya* and *tvakindriya*, as being respectively eye, nose, ears, tongue and skin; and the same view is shared by certain Tutors of Balinese provenance.<sup>48</sup>

That confusion was common is apparent from the fact that both Sanskrit and Old Javanese Śaiva sources are keen to illustrate the interpretation they adhere to and to refute the opposing view. Tattvas make the point that the subtle faculties of sense-perception are different from the actual faculties, i.e. organs. In *Dharma Pātañjala* 228.15–17, the right view is expounded by

46. As may be gathered from *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 28, describing the operation (*vṛtti*) of the five faculties of sense as the ‘bare awareness’ (*ālōcanamātra*) of their objects, i.e. sound and so forth, and the operations of the five faculties of action as speaking (*vacana*), grasping (*ādāna*), walking (*viharāṇa*), excreting (*utsarga*) and making love (*ānanda*).

47. Cf., e.g., *Yuktidīpikā* ad *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 1.26cd. This distinction is in fact attested also outside of the Sāṅkhya system, for it already appears in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (1.44ab). Another (late) Sāṅkhya commentary that problematizes the issue is *Sāṅkhyasūtra* 2.23: ‘The faculties are themselves beyond the senses; for the people who are confused they are the seats [of the senses].’

48. Cf. WECK (1976:94–95), referring to *Śevaka Darma* (sic) 1.103 and *Buvana Mabah* 1.81.

the Lord in reply to a question of Kumāra as to whether the organs of sense-perception (*golaka*) are the same as the (subtle) faculties (*indriya*). The term *golaka*, which in Sanskrit means ‘ball; globe; circle; sphere’, is translated in OJED (534, 1) as ‘the faculties of sense-perception in their *tanmātra*-form’.<sup>49</sup> The OJED translation is, however, incorrect, for from the contexts where the word occurs it is apparent that it denotes the organ rather than the subtle faculty: as *Dharma Pātañjala* 228.15–16 puts it, ‘the *golakas* are gross, the *indriyas* are subtle’ *aganal ikaṅ golaka, ikaṅ indriya sūkṣma ika*.<sup>50</sup> SUNDARSHANA DEVI (1957:203), commenting on the occurrences of *golaka* in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 33.73, 89 and 92, suggested that *golaka* ‘organ’ may be a semantic extension of *netragolaka* ‘the eye’s pupil’.<sup>51</sup> This explanation is plausible, as in Sanskrit Śaiva sources one often comes across the mention of the eye’s pupil ([*caḥsur*]*golaka*) in passages illustrating the doctrine of perception, which presupposes a difference between the locus of the sense and the sense itself, which is immaterial. As in *Parākhyantra*:

The faculty of sight (*caḥsuḥ*) is that which makes forms known; it resides in the [eye]balls (*golaka*) of the knower.<sup>52</sup>

49. Cf. OJED (1265), quoting KBNW (IV.783) and *Navaruci* 42.3–7; cf. also *pañcagolaka*.

50. A less clear characterization of the *golakas* is found in Kakavin *Dharma Śūnya* Canto 9.1 (i.e. stanza 58, in Sragdharā metre), mentioning *pañcagolakamārga* (*pañcagolāka* in the edition, m.c.): ‘Then what is the preceding state of the gross objects of perception (i.e. the *tanmātras*) is [also] the origin of the ‘orbs’ of the five subtle elements; that is why they grow and turn into the means that are the five *golakas*: the means of hearing and seeing and tasting and speaking. Desire is what causes the bondage of the Soul, the origin of evil’ *ndan nūnin pūrvakānyaṅ viśaya vātu nikaṅ pañcatanmātravimbha / hetunyan vṛddhivṛddhi ndan ika matamahan pañcagolākamārga / mārgā niṅ maṅrāṇā len umulata nūniveh paṅrasa lyan magoṣṭi / tṛṣṇa pvekaṅ dadī maṅrakatakāṇ irikāṅ ātma mūlanya pāpa //* (note the compound *pañcatanmātravimbha*, where *vimbha*/*bimba* seems to be synonym of *golaka*). Another passage mentioning the *golakas*, in a context of meditation rather than philosophy, is in *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 38 lines 17–18: ‘the *golakas* of the body are smell, taste and form; the *golakas* of the faculties are eye, ears, nose and tongue; the *golakas* of *pramāṇa* are wind, speech, mind. This is the triad of the *golakas*’ *śarīragolaka ṇa gandha / rasa / rūpa / ikaṅ indriyagolaka ṇa caḥsu / śrotra / ghrāṇa / jihvā / pramāṇagolaka ṇaranya bāyu / śabda / hiḍḍap / trayagolaka / ṇa //*.

51. The only Sanskrit source she referred to to support her statement is a commentary on the *Vedāntakārikāvalī*, where the compound *netragolaka* is attested. Her alternative suggestion, namely ‘a round mass’ came to denote ‘the body’ and hence its parts (i.e. the organs) is unlikely.

52. Trans. GOODALL (2004:261); *Parākhyantra* 4.99ab: *rūpānuvedakaṃ caḥsur jñātur golakasamśrayam /*.



Similarly several other Śaiva sources.<sup>53</sup> The point that the seats of the senses are not themselves the perceivers of their objects is made in a more general way in the *Mṛgendra*:

The activities of speech, seizing, sexual pleasure, evacuation, locomotion are different from their supports, i.e. mouth and so on, because [there are cases when,] even if the supports exist, they do not possess those capabilities [of perception].<sup>54</sup>

The verse is clearly an attempt to offer a solution to the problem on the basis of the (ambiguous) *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 26 and 28, using the definition of the functions of the senses found in the latter *kārikā* to justify the subtle nature of the faculties mentioned in the former.<sup>55</sup> The second half-verse refers to persons whose faculties of perceptions are impaired, and yet still dispose of organs of perception, such as blind men, etc. The argument that the objects are not perceived even though the supports (organs) are present is found in Sanskrit Śaiva sources.<sup>56</sup> The same argument is found in *Tattvas* as well. In the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the Lord justifies the difference between the *golakas* and the *indriyas* by pointing out that to maintain the contrary would be an absurdity, given the existence of the organs in a person who sleeps even though his senses do not carry out their functions (228.17–2). A similar point is made in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which, having defined the *golakas* as the five faculties of actions as what serves as the organ of the faculties of sense (*ya tika pañcabuddhīndriya nāranya / apan yeka pinakagolaka niṇ indriyeka*), has Vṛhaspati ask:

53. Cf., e.g., Jayaratha ad *Tantrāloka* 3.40 (*cakṣurgolakādivat*); *Pauṣkarāgama* (Pums-tattvapaṭala 173–191, quoted in *Śaivaparibhāṣā* 79), arguing that the eye-ball itself (*golaka*) is not the sense of sight (*cakṣuḥ*) but only its support, for it does not pervade the object of perception; *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* 5.23–24, mentioning the contact of the pupil of the eye with the object of perception. The example is often employed to prove the existence of distinct faculties, as opposed to the idea that one unique faculty is responsible for the perception of different sensory objects (e.g. in *Śaivaparibhāṣā* 75).

54. *Mṛgendra* VP 12.8: *vacanādānasamhlādavisargavihrtikriyāḥ / vāgādīnāṃ padānyatvaṃ pade saty apy atadguṇāḥ* //.

55. That the issue appeared problematic is also suggested by the fact that an early, and non-philosophical, Śaiva source like the *Niśvāsanaya* (2.53–56) already makes a distinction among the *indriyas*, intended as faculties, and their respective organs.

56. Cf., e.g., *Śivajñānabodhasaṅgrahabhāṣya* (II.4.18, cf. JAYAMMAL 1993).

Why have the faculties been taught by the Lord as being twofold, the contained and the container?<sup>57</sup> As to the existence of the organs (*golaka*), they are the cause for the Soul to grasp the objects of senses.

The Lord replied: O Vṛhaspati, it is proper that you ask. How could the organs of the Soul be proved? Here it is: the ears are not able to hear sounds if there is not the faculty of hearing. The proof of this is a deaf person. He has ears with their openings, yet they do not hear any sound, if there is no faculty of hearing. Similarly are the eyes, the locus of sight. If they are covered by white cataract,<sup>58</sup> or—all the more so—because they are devoid of their filling (the pupils?), how could it be otherwise that they do not see? In the same way are lame persons, impotent persons and so on. If they do not have their faculties, they are not able to reach the objects of the senses. All of this is seen by you, o Vṛhaspati, that is the reason why the faculties are different from the organs.<sup>59</sup>

It thus appears that the word *golaka* in Old Javanese sources has come to indicate, by way of semantic shift (or rather misunderstanding?), the organs of sense in general instead of the organ that is the eye, whose faculty of sight is located in the eyeball.

After the discussion of the faculties, the *Dharma Pātañjala* presents its account of subtle and gross physiology, thus following the usual order of the topics treated in Siddhāntatantras. The account opens with the statement that the Soul is caused to take a body by the Lord in order that it may know about its true nature. This reflects the typically Śaiva conception of the body as having both

57. I accept the translation of SUDARSHANA DEVI (1957:90), which has the merit of making sense of the combination of the active *umuṅguh* (OJED 2125: ‘to be positioned, to dwell’) with the passive *inuṅgvan* (‘to be in, be situated in, occupy’).

58. The reduplicated form *putihputih*, translated thus by SUDARSHANA DEVI, is not attested with this meaning in OJED (1465), which s.v. *putih* gives only ‘white’ (cf. *puputih* ‘the white of the eye’).

59. Vṛhaspatitattva 33.88–99: *mapa teki rva de bhaṭāra majarakən indriya / umuṅguh lavan inuṅgvan / apan ri hana nikaṅ golaka ya ta nimitta niṅ ātmān paṅgrhītaṅ viṣaya // sumahur bhaṭāra / liṇnira / yogya ika denta matakvan kamuṅ vṛhaspati / kadi pramāṇātekaṅ golaka niṅ ātmā / yaṅ taliṇa tan vānaṅ maṅrəṅṅ śabda yan tan hanaṅ śrotrendriya / vyaktinyan atuli / hana taliṇanya lavan lyaṅnya / kathamapi tar paṅrəṅṅ śabda / yan tan hanaṅ śrotrendriya / maṅkanaṅ mata kasahanaṅ cakṣuh / yan kasaputan putihputih / nuni-veh ri tan pesyanya / mapeka tar panon / maṅkanaṅ lumpuh kəḍi prakāranya tan vānaṅ ika ri viṣayanya / yan tan hanaṅ indriyanya / katon pveka kabeh denta kamuṅ vṛhaspati / ya ta mataṅnyan lyan taṅ indriya lavan golaka /*.

a binding and salvific role. The text then outlines the generation of the human being. Without going into many details of embryology,<sup>60</sup> the *Dharma Pātañjala* presents in a synthetic manner the common doctrine of procreation through the union of the male semen and female blood, which, according to their combinations, give rise to a male, female or asexual human being. The sperm becomes bones, muscles and marrow, while the female (menstrual) blood constitutes the blood, flesh and body hair; these six parts making up the gross part of the human body are collectively called the six sheaths (*ṣaṭkośa*).<sup>61</sup>

Next comes the description of the ‘vessels’ or ‘tubes’ (*nāḍī*) spreading through the human body, largely agreeing with similar accounts given in Śaiva sources. The three principal vessels, namely *iḍā*, *piṅgalā* and *suṣumnā*, are regarded as residing in the throat, located respectively to the right, left and centre, and serving as the way to convey, respectively, food (lit. ‘cooked rice’, *sakul*), water and air.<sup>62</sup> This view, mixing up gross and subtle physiology,<sup>63</sup> represents an innovation of Old Javanese texts, for it does not entirely conform to the accounts of Sanskrit Śaiva sources. Whereas the three correspond to the standard list, the vessels are usually located in the region of the heart and their positions differ from those which the Old Javanese sources agree upon: *iḍā* in the Sanskrit sources normally is located on the left, *piṅgalā* on the right and *suṣumnā* in the centre.<sup>64</sup> The remain-

60. For a discussion of ideas on procreation in Balinese texts, cf. WECK (1976:99–125).

61. This enumeration is commonplace in both tantric and non-tantric sources: cf. GOODALL (2007:154), commenting upon *Śatikakālajñāna* 76, who points at the following passages, with slight variants as to the order and names of the sheaths: *Guhyasūtra* 7.161c–163b (folio 65v), *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 4.22–3, *Svacchandatantra* 4.159 and 7.5, *Suprabhedha* YP 1.21–22c.

62. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 230.11–13; *Tattvajñāna* 38.21–23; *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 43 line 1, p. 70 line 12–p. 71 line 1; KBNW II.702; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 37–38.1–4 (which, however, does not mention their functions, closely following Sanskrit sources: cf. below, fn. 65).

63. Sanskrit sources often describe the tubes as ‘subtle’ channels involved in yogic processes; thus also *Tattvajñāna* 24.5: ‘the tubes are subtle within the body’ *ikaṅ nāḍī ya ta sūkṣma riṇ śarīra*.

64. Cf. *Sārdhatrīśatikālottarāgama* 11.6–7 (where 8ab = *Uttarasūtra* 5.17cd), *Sarvajñānottara* 4.31–32, *Suprabhedha* YP 1.145, *Svacchandatantra* 2.250 and 7.149, *Vīṇāśikhatantra* 146. Variations in the positioning of the tubes exist also among Śaiva sources: cf., e.g., *Dikṣottara* 15 (T150, p. 149 vv. 994–999), where the order is *suṣumnā* (right), *piṅgalā* (centre), *iḍā* (left); the *Niśvāsanaya* (5.37–38b) mentions only *suṣumnā* (left) and *iḍā* (right), associated respectively with exhalation and inhalation (cf. GOODALL 2007:160).

ing unnamed vessels are said to be innumerable, stemming from the navel and going both upwards and downwards to the rest of the limbs.<sup>65</sup> GORIS (1926:59) already noted this idiosyncrasy and connected it with an old doctrine, attested already in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (6.6), that the body consists of breath (*prāṇa*), water (*āpas*), speech (*śabda*) and cooked rice (*anna*, lit. 'food'); those elements, except speech, in the Tuturs have become connected with the three principal vessels.<sup>66</sup>

The tubes constitute the means through which the winds or breaths (*bāyu*) circulate within the body. The winds are ten (*daśabāyu*), divided into two series of five main breaths (*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, *byāna*)<sup>67</sup> and five subsidiary breaths (*nāga*, *kūrmara*, *kṛkara*, *devadatta*, *dhanañjaya*).<sup>68</sup> The breaths are thought to number ten because of their different functions, thus implying that, strictly speaking, the breath is only one, i.e. *prāṇa*.<sup>69</sup> The ac-

65. According to the *Tattvajñāna* (38.12–13), the total number of the tubes is 1072 (*sevu pituṇ puluḥ ro*); the same chapter (lines 13–26) describes the three main tubes as being included within a set of ten, those other items being *gandhārī*, *hastijihvā*, *pūṣā*, *yaśā*, *alam-buṣā*, *kūhu*, *saṅkhinī*, and describes their respective functions. The same list, but without explanation of the seven minor tubes, is found in *Vṛhaspatitattva*, śloka 37–38ab (≈ *Sār-dhatrīśatikālottarāgama* 10.3cd–4 and *Agnipurāṇa* 214.3cd–4.); compare *Svacchandatantra* 7.13–16 and *Suprabhedha* 1.146–147.

66. Cf. also GORIS (1926:149) summarizing the contents of ms. LOr 4673 (*Wedabundels*), which refers to the 'three ways' *marga tiga* of *tanavāha* (i.e. *annavāha* = *iḍā*, right), *rasavāha* (= *piṅgalā*, left), *prāṇavāha* (= *suṣumnā*, centre).

67. These are the only breaths known to the Sāṅkhya tradition.

68. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 230.19–20 and 232.15–16, *Vṛhaspatitattva* 39–40, *Tattvajñāna* 39, *Navaruci* 44.7–17, *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 12, *Mahājñāna* 3, *Tutur Saptati* ff. 15v–16v; cf. also WECK (1976:92–93). On the different names of the second breath (i.e. *kūrmā/kūrmāra*) attested in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese sources, cf. p. 78.

69. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 46.5–7: 'All the breaths are indeed one; since their respective functions are many, many are their kinds. This is why the individual names of the breaths are numerous' *ikaṇ vāyu kabeh tuṅgal pva ya / ṇhiṇ tapvan makveh gavenya sovaṇsovaṇ / akveh bhedanya / ya ta mataṇnyan akveh ṇaranya i patuṅgaltuṅgalan ikaṇ vāyu /*; a similar point seems to be adumbrated in *Dharma Pātañjala* 230.18–2, which considers the main breaths to be five because of their five different activities (*ri dadinyan lima gavenya, mataṇnyan lima kveh niṇ bāyu*), for it is the *prāṇa* that allow all of them perform their activities (*ikaṇ bāyu si prāṇa, ya ta mataṇnyan umadagi ikaṇ pañcabāyu kabeh prayatna rumagap gavenya*). A perspective similar to that of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* is implied in the *Sātikakālajñāna* (74ab): 'Further, there is the *prāṇa*, appearing as tenfold' *ataḥ param bhavet prāṇo daśadhā samvyavasthitaḥ*; in śloka 81b, the same breath is characterized as the lord of the nines (*navānām api sa prabhuḥ*). Contrast *Tattvajñāna* 39.14–15: 'But the number of the breaths is eleven; only their functions are ten—that is why they are called the ten breaths'

count of the *Dharma Pātañjala* describing the activities of the ten breaths presents significant similarities with that of the *Tattvajñāna* (39) and of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (37–46), whose ślokas are parallel to *Sārdhatrisatikālottarā-gama* 10.3cd–13ef, *Śatikakālajñāna* 81–89 and *Agnipurāṇa* 214.3cd–14ab.<sup>70</sup>

The breaths not only preside over the various bodily activities but they are also what, through the Soul's conscious awareness of them, keeps the body alive, even when it is unconscious (e.g. during sleep); any damage to the breaths, which cuts the connection between them and the Soul, means certain death. The breaths are thought to leave the body when death comes, except the last of the series, *dhanañjaya*, which remains in the corpse and causes its reflexive contractions.<sup>71</sup>

*kintu savlas kveh nikañ vāyu / gavenya juga sapuluh / yeka nimittanya sinañguh daśavāyu //* (as the eleventh breath is mentioned nowhere in the text and we rather expect the breaths to be one, this view might be due either to a misunderstanding or to a conception implying that all the ten together constitute one single 'super-breath', which is not included within the ten).

70. A more synthetic account, probably derived from that of the *Tattvajñāna*, is found in *Navaruci* 44.8–17. For an overview of descriptions of the breaths in Balinese Tutors, cf. WECK (1976:92–94).

71. In fact, the *dhanañjaya* wind is described as pervading all the limbs of the body. The view that the *dhanañjaya* remains within the dead body is found in both the *Dharma Pātañjala* (234.3–4) and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (46.4, *ri kāla niñ pati tan molah ri vañkay ikañ vāyu si dhanañjaya*) and is in harmony with most Śaiva scriptures: cf., e.g., *Śatikakālajñāna* 89b (*mṛtasyāpi na muñcati*), *Suprabhedha* YP 1.139cd (*dhanañjayasthito deha-m amṛtasyāpi muñcati*), *Goraṣasataka* (2) 36ab (*na jahāti mṛtaṃ cāpi sarvavyāpi dhanañjayaḥ*). On the other hand, the *Ur-Skandapurāṇa* (182.34) and the *Niśvāsa* attribute that feature to *kūrmāra/kūrma*; *Niśvāsanaya* 4.128bc–129 mentions the wind in the context of *utkrānti*, i.e. yogic suicide by way of the expulsion of the breath, stating that whereas the five breaths beginning with *nāga* are held to be responsible of the movements of the body, *kūrma* is the only one to stay within the corpse (*nāgādīnāṃ tu pañcānāṃ mṛtyukālaviceṣṭitam / † ... †otkrāntyā kūrmaś caikas tu tiṣṭhati*). *Svacchandatantra* 7.313cd–14, apparently based on the former passage of the *Niśvāsa*, merges both views in that it describes both breaths as remaining in the corpse: '[The *dhanañjaya* wind], among the five winds beginning with *nāga*, is what causes the movement [of the body] at the time of death. The *dhanañjaya*, when [the other] have left the body during *utkrānti*, does not go away. The *kūrma* causes the corpse to contract and dry up' *nāgādīnāṃ tu pañcānāṃ mṛtyukāle viceṣṭitam // na caiva yāti cotkrāntau tanuṃ tyaktvā dhanañjayaḥ / ākuñcayati vai kūrmaḥ śoṣayec ca kalevaram //* (most of these observations on *dhanañjaya* in Sanskrit sources were made by ALEXIS SANDERSON during a reading session of the 2nd International Workshop on Early Tantra, Pondicherry, July 2009).

*Subtle body* Sanskrit Brahmanical sources generally attribute to the human being a subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*, *sūkṣmadeha*), which constitutes the invisible aggregate of fine elements that transmigrates with the Soul from body to body in the cycle of rebirths.<sup>72</sup> Schools differ, however, with respect to what exactly the subtle body consists in. Early Śaiva sources are either silent about the exact elements of the subtle body or subscribe to the Sāṅkhya view that the subtle body is made up of a series of eight elements comprising the pentad of the *tanmātras* and the threefold internal organ (i.e. *buddhi*, *ahaṅkāra* and *manas*).<sup>73</sup> In later sources the constitutive elements of the subtle body start to multiply, including a higher number of cosmic principles.<sup>74</sup>

Speculations about the subtle body are conspicuously absent from the *Dharma Pāṭanjala*, which in 294.18 only mentions en passant a subtle body when describing the types of souls called *disembodied* (*videha*) and *dissolved into unevolved matter* (*prakṛtilina*); the former cease to have as body something coarse, having only the subtle body, whereas the latter do not have even a subtle body, being dissolved in the principle of unevolved matter. A more detailed treatment of the subtle body is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. The text (52.59–60) defines the term as follows: ‘Since the five subtle elements serving as the body of the Soul are fine, that is called subtle body’ *apan alit ikaṅ pañcatanmātra pinakaśarīra niṅ ātmā / mataṅyan sūkṣmaśarīra nara-nya*. A complete definition is given a few lines before:

At the time of what is called death, it is actually the separation of the Soul within the body from the five gross elements. Only what is coarse disappears; the Soul lasts, unmoving, for the whole universe is pervaded by the Soul. That is why the Soul travels [as it were]: the five subtle elements form

72. Except the Nyāya, for which it is the Soul itself that transmigrates.

73. Cf. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 40, defining the transmigrating entity called *liṅga* as ‘beginning with intellect and ending with the subtle [elements]’ (*mahadādisūkṣmaparyantam*). The Śaiva locus classicus, much quoted by commentators, is *Sārdhatrisatikālottarāgama* 17.4c–5b: ‘The pentad of [the subtle elements of] sound, touch, form, taste and smell, [plus] intellect, mind-stuff and self-awareness is called *puryaṣṭaka*’ *śabdaḥ sparśaś ca rūpaṃ ca raso gandhaś ca pañcakam // buddhir manas tv ahaṅkāraṃ puryaṣṭakam udāhṛtam*.

74. Cf., e.g., *Tattvaparakāśa* 12, adding to the threefold *antaḥkaraṇa* the ten faculties of sense and action; and *Parākhyatantra* 4.44–45, including the three shrouds (*kañcuka*) as well as time (*kāla*). The apex is reached by Rāmakaṇṭha (and following commentators), according to whom they are thirty, i.e. all the principles from Mahāmāyā to the Earth (cf. GOODALL 1998:322 fn. 473).

its body, along with the ten faculties, the intellect, the self-awareness, the mind stuff, *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, and also attachment, hatred and delusion together with the latent karmic impressions. All of them, they firmly adhere to the Soul, as it uses the five subtle elements as its body. Thus is the body of the Soul at the time of death.<sup>75</sup>

This definition of subtle body, which extends the Sāṅkhya view to include also the ten faculties, the three constituents, the three *kleśas* (*rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha*) and the latent impressions, has no exact counterparts in the Sanskrit sources known to me. On the other hand, the motif of the pervasiveness and immobility of the Soul is a cliché in Śaiva scriptures.

A definition that is in line with the Sāṅkhya one is found in the *Bhuvanakośa*, which mentions the subtle body in the context of cosmic resorption (*laya*) of the principles:

Mind-stuff is absorbed into the five subtle elements, the five subtle elements are absorbed into the self-awareness, self-awareness is absorbed into the intellect. Thus are the principles of the subtle body.<sup>76</sup>

Another definition is found in the *Mahājñāna*:

*Mind-stuff, intellect, self-awareness along with the five breaths: the eight vital breaths of all living beings are said to be the subtle body.*

There is mind-stuff, intellect, self-awareness; there are what are also called 'the five breaths' (OJ *pañcavāyu* = Skt *vāyubhiḥ pañcabhiḥ*). Their kinds are: *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, *byāna*. Five are their distinctions. *The eight breaths of all living beings*—All of those are eight in total, they serve as the breaths of all living beings. *Are said to be the subtle body*—they are designated also as 'the subtle body' (OJ *sūkṣmaśarīra* = Skt *śarīraṃ sūkṣmaṃ*).<sup>77</sup>

75. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.42–50: *kāla nikaṇ pati naranya viḥ / tuhun mapasah lavan pañca-mahābhūta juga tekaṇ ātmā ri śarīra / ikaṇ aganal juga hilaṇ / ikaṇ ātmā laṅgəṇ tan molah / apan hibək ikaṇ rāt kabeh de niṇ ātmā / ya ta mataṇyan paparan ikaṇ ātmā / ikaṇ pañcatan-mātra pinakāvaknya lavan ikaṇ daśendriya / buddhi manah ahaṅkāra sattva rajah tamah / huvus rumuhun ikaṇ rāga dveṣa moha lavan ikaṇ karmavāsanā ika kabeh / kapva rumakət iṇ ātmā / an pakaśarīra ikaṇ pañcatanmātra / nahan śarīra niṇ ātmā ri kāla niṇ pati /*

76. *Bhuvanakośa* 4, Old Javanese exegesis on śloka 3: *ikaṇ manah lina riṇ pañcatanmātra / pañcatanmātra lina riṇ ahaṅkāra / ahaṅkāra lina riṇ buddhi / nahan taṇ tattva sūkṣmāvaknya //*

77. *Mahājñāna* 14:

Curiously, the *Mahājñāna* substitutes the five subtle elements for the five winds, and defines those five plus the threefold *antaḥkaraṇa* as ‘the eight breaths’. The inclusion of the breaths in the subtle body recalls the ancient Upaniṣadic view that the *jīvātman*, which is the transmigrating part of the Soul, is made of *prāṇa* together with *manas*, *ahaṅkāra* and *buddhi* (cf. JOHNSTON 1937:58–59).

*mano buddhir ahaṅkāro vāyubhiḥ pañcabhiḥ saha /  
prāṇāṣṭau sarvabhūtānāṃ śarīraṃ sūkṣmam ucyate //*  
*hana ta manah / buddhi / ahaṅkāra / hana ta pañcavāyu nāranya vaneh / lvirnya / prāṇa /  
apāna / samāna / udāna / vyāna / lima bhedanya // prāṇāṣṭau sarvabhūtānām // ika ta kabeh  
vvalu piṇḍanya / pinakaprāṇa niṅ bhūta kabeh / śarīraṃ sūkṣmam ucyate // ya sinaṅguh  
sūkṣmaśarīra nāranya vaneh //.*



## *Karma*

A GROSS BODY INEVITABLY MEETS DEATH, and a subtle body inevitably experiences transmigration in the cycle of existence (*saṁsāra*) or, in Old Javanese, ‘becoming’ (*maṇḍadi*). The cycle of rebirths is caused by karma, action or the retributive force thereof. In the earliest Śaiva scriptures, karma is characterized as a negative factor, which is responsible—along with maculation—for the Soul’s bondage and falling into the misery and suffering of the cycle of existence. Karma and maculation, especially in early Śaivism, are but different aspects of the same problem.<sup>1</sup> With the development of the philosophical Śaivasiddhānta, karma came, paradoxically enough, to be regarded as the only means by which the bound souls can achieve release. It is in fact only through the complete experiencing of previous karma that one’s karmic burden ripens and becomes capable of being annihilated during initiation (*dīkṣā*). To have a body and karma, therefore, is not entirely a negative fact but a necessary requirement along the path to liberation.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from minor technicalities, the Śaiva theory of karma is substantially in line with the conception shared by most Brahmanical philosophical and religious traditions. This is also the case for the theories of karma exposed in Old Javanese Tattvas, which, as do all Sanskrit Śaiva scriptures, include a discussion of karma.<sup>3</sup>

1. Whereas a clear standpoint is detectable nowhere in the text, the *Dharma Pātañjala* seems to adhere to this view.

2. To be precise, not just a body, but a human body; as the *Dharma Pātañjala* explains in 272.9–14, to be reborn as an inferior kind of being, such as an animal, means to have no opportunity for release since animals have no access to masters who can introduce them to salvific doctrines.

3. Two Siddhāntatantras devoting above average attention to karma are the *Kiraṇa* (VP 3, 5, 6) and the *Mṛgendra* (VP 8).

The *Dharma Pātañjala* expounds its doctrine of karma in a clear and detailed fashion, presenting motifs that are paralleled in other Tattvas and adding others that are not attested there. The Lord's explanation of the mechanism of karma is prompted by Kumāra's question regarding the cause of the death of the human body. Death, as previously explained by the Lord, amounts to the Soul's ceasing to be aware of the vital breaths. But why does that happen?

DHPāt  
234.14–20

The cause of the Soul's ceasing to be aware of the breaths is as follows: there is *right-and-wrong*. *Right* means doing good, *wrong* means doing bad. Right-and-wrong, that is what is done by the human beings. That is what bears fruit. If their bad deeds are greater than the good deeds, that is the cause of experiencing pain. If the good deeds are greater than the bad deeds, that is the cause of experiencing pleasure. If their good and bad deeds are equal, that is the cause for pleasure and pain to be met by the human beings.

The moral aspect of the karmic retributive force called right-and-wrong (*dharma*) is a Śaiva cliché.<sup>4</sup> Action is deemed to shape one's incarnation, causing it to be pleasant or painful or both, according to the prevalence of good over bad action, or vice-versa, or their being in balance. This karmic lot, which does not bear further fruits but merely establishes one's birth, corresponds to the type of karma described in Sanskrit Śaiva sources as *prārabdha*, i.e. the past karma whose fruits become manifest during one's current

4. Cf., e.g., *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 2.17ab: 'Thus karma is of two kinds, to be experienced in the form of right-and-wrong by the bound soul' *karma tad dvividhaṃ bhogyam dharmādharmaत्मकम् paśoḥ* (FILLIOZAT 1994:55 oddly translates, against the edited text, the first quarter as 'Thus *karman* is of many kinds', i.e. as if it were *karma tad vividhaṃ*); 2.18 (trans. FILLIOZAT 1994:57): 'Knowers call *dharma* that which bears all these lights and the highest happiness in the soul, *adharma* the contrary' *dhatte lokānimān sarvān prītiṃ ca puruṣe parām / dharman tenocyate tajjñair adharman tadviparyayāt*; *Parākhyatantra* 1.79 (trans. GOODALL 2004:159): 'That cause is labelled "past action" and exists in the form of meritorious and bad action. Through past action the [soul achieves] connection with a body; through past action the bound soul experiences the fruits [of his deeds]; and imbued by past action he wanders about here [in this material universe] deluded by nescience' *karmanā dehasaṃyogaḥ karmanā phalabhuk paśuḥ / karmanā vāsitāś ceto bhramaty ajñānamohitaḥ*; 4.41ab (trans. id. p. 241): 'And [the retributive force of] past action that the bound soul has to experience is of two kinds: *dharma* and *adharma*' *karmāpi dvividhaṃ bhogyam dharmādharmaत्मकम् paśoḥ*; and several other instances in the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* (Upodghāta 12ab, 1.7–8, 10.83ab), *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* (VP 7.63ab, 8.98ab), etc. The same concept is attested also in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (e.g. ad *Pāśupatasūtra* 2.21, 5.36), and in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* (44).

life. According to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, it is because of the complete exhaustion of the fruits of this type of karma that death occurs, just as a fire dies as soon as the fuel runs out. The Lord's exposition continues and he individuates two more types of karma:

It is while one experiences the fruits of karma that one accumulates at the same time karmic fruits again, for always doing good and bad takes the form of the fruits of karma. There is the karma whose realization is effected in the present: its fruits are experienced in the present. There are the fruits of karma whose realization is effected in the present, [but] it is in the future, in another birth, that its fruits are experienced. What is the evidence of this? As follows: like in the case of cultivating a rice-field, [being a] troop, being engaged in trade. Paddy is the fruit of cultivating a rice field; an apanage is the fruit of the troop; a gain is the fruit of the trade. Thus is the evidence of the fruits of karma in the present. What are the fruits of karma whose fruits are in the future? There is karma which is effected in the present, but it is not able to produce fruits in the present. For what reason is this so? It is not able to produce fruits in the present, for a great number [of fruits] has to be taken into account by it. That is the cause of another birth. Those that are experienced now, they are the fruits of the past karma, [produced] in another human birth. The fruits which are experienced now, those are experienced now in a complete manner; whether bad or good, all their fruits are equally used up. This is why the Soul ceases to be aware of the breaths in the body. For example: like the fire burning wood. If the wood is consumed, the concurrent occasion of the fire is dead. The Soul is likewise. The fruits of right-and-wrong shape body and life. The fruits of karma being finished, that is the cause of the death, for there is nothing that is experienced by the Soul.

DHPĀT  
234.20–236.12

At the same time the Soul experiences the fruits of past karma it also produces new, 'short-lived' karma, whose fruits ripen so fast that an incarnated being is able to experience them during his lifetime. In order to illustrate this, the example is adduced of categories of workers performing specific actions in view of obtaining specific fruits in the short term. In order that the eternal cycle not be broken, a third type of karma had to be posited in addition to the karma experienced in the past or during one's lifetime, i.e. the karma whose fruits are so numerous that they cannot possibly be experienced during one's present lifetime, but are remitted to another. That karmic lot transmigrates with the Soul to another womb, determining once again its basic condition.

It is precisely karma that accounts for the variety of the incarnated beings and the differences among their conditions, pleasant or unpleasant:

DHPAT  
238.18–240.3

These fruits of karma, extreme is their subtleness; this is the reason why the valid means of knowledge of inference is the means to definitively ascertain their existence, for the evidence that they exist is as follows: pleasure and pain are met by the incarnated beings, and their forms are not the same. There are kings; there are householders; there are wealthy ones; there are miserable ones; there are healthy ones; there are ones afflicted by pain. The animals are as follows: big and small; low, middle and superior. The fruits of karma are the cause of them all.

According to the preceding passage, even though the karma is subtle, hence invisible, its existence may be established through the apprehension of its effects by means of inference (*anumāna*).<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the very fact that the conditions of living beings are manifold is by itself evidence of the existence of karma and its fruits.<sup>6</sup> The same standpoint is generally found in Śaiva Sanskrit sources.<sup>7</sup> An analogous exposition of karma and its effects is given in the section describing the fruits of the four positive conditions of the intellect (*caturaiśvarya*) and of their opposites:

DHPAT  
246.1–6

What is the evidence of their fruits? Here it is, as follows are their fruits: It is a human being, when he constantly practices Righteousness, that is the reason of his being carried to heaven. All manner of pleasures are experienced

5. This is done through the example of the course of the sun, a cliché that in Sanskrit sources illustrates the inference of the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* type: cf. below, pp. 564–570. Elsewhere (272.2), the Lord adduces as proof of the existence of the cycle of reincarnations—and hence of karma—the fact that the number of the deaths is equal to the number of the births (*kveḥ niñ hilañ kveḥ ni mātu*), which amounts to say that any sentient being cannot arise out of nothing but is the result of the incarnation of an individual soul existing *ab aeterno* (and hence part of a cycle). A further proof is the existence of men endowed with the ability of remembering previous lives (*jātismara*).

6. For otherwise everything would originate without a cause, just randomly, as the opponent will adduce further down in the text: cf. below, pp. 592–593.

7. Cf., e.g., *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* 2.12ab (trans. FILLIOZAT 1994:47): ‘From *karman* derive the transformation into this universe and the transformation of the three *guṇas*, the nature of which is peaceful, dreadful or deluded, and which is very unequal’ *karmataḥ pariṇāmo ’sya jagatas triguṇātmakaḥ / śāntaghoravimūḍhātmā nitāntaviśamas tataḥ*; 2.14 (trans. id. p. 49): ‘And from *karman* derive bodies of different species for the souls. From *karma* [sic] derives all this, which is its fruit made of pleasure and pain’ *karmataś ca śarīrāṇi vīdhāni śarīrīṇām / karmataḥ sarvaṃ evedaṃ sukhaduḥkhātmakam phalam*.

by him. The fruits of doing good disappear and he is reborn as a god. A long time after becoming a god, he is reborn as a human being. He becomes a king, or he becomes a rich man who has accomplished meritorious acts, for the leftovers of the pleasures in heaven go along with the human being.

Having described the outcome in the afterlife of a human being with an intellect characterized by Righteousness (*dharma*), the *Dharma Pātañjala* (246.14–15) characterizes the fruits of Sovereignty as leading to rebirth as a sovereign of heaven, whereas its opposite (Non-Sovereignty) leads to rebirth in hell and, once the fruits of bad karma are expired, rebirth on earth as an ant (248.12–250.2).<sup>8</sup> The possibility of incarnation as either a god, human or animal is reiterated elsewhere in the text, in a passage that stresses the idea of karma as a vicious circle:

The karma, it is impossible that its fruits are not experienced. Numerous are the karmas, that is why the kinds of incarnated beings are numerous, for the fruits of karma shape the body. If the karma is bad, the body is bad. If the karma will be good, the body will be good. The karma being produced by an individual being is good or bad; that is the reason why the incarnations succeed one another through it. Becoming a god is the fruit of one's good actions. As soon as the fruits of one's doing bad arrive, one becomes an animal. Once the fruits of the animal are finished, the fruits of a human being arrive. Again, the fruits of the past karma, they are experienced by him as he produces karma again. Thus is the nature of all the incarnations.

DHPĀT  
274.1–8

A closely related description of the outcomes of karma is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. The text presents the first account of its doctrine of karma right after its incipit, in the shape of an important doctrinal excursus inserted between Vṛhaspati's enquiry as to what is the best among the Śaiva teachings (paragraph 2) and the Lord's justification of the multifarious nature of the supreme truth called *viśeṣa* (paragraph 4). Having praised Vṛhaspati for the fittingness of his question, the Lord explains that he has made many teachings and scriptures on account of the variety of births (*yonī*, literally 'wombs'), i.e. the innumerable modes of becoming. Having discussed the latent impressions connected with karma (cf. below, p. 470), the Lord continues:

8. The idea that the individual soul, having spent a long period in hell, reincarnates as an ant is found also in the *Agastyaparva* (27.10–17) and the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (p. 36, lines 23–30). For reincarnation as animals in general, cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 34.15–18, *Tattvajñāna* 19.21–26.

Whatever his mind obtained during his former birth, that is what he desires. His desire brings the karma into existence. That is effected by him in the future. If the karma that is effected is bad, that is the cause of his falling into hell. All kinds of sufferings are experienced by him. When the fruits of his doing bad are finished, he is caused to become an animal. If the karma that is effected is good, that is the cause of his incarnation in heaven. All kinds of pleasures are experienced by him. When the fruits of his doing good are finished, he is caused to be born as a king, a high court official or a rich man; he combines knowledge and morality, and he sees the real state of everything.<sup>9</sup>

The *Vrhaspatitattva* recognizes in desire (*rāga*) the principle triggering the mechanism of karma.<sup>10</sup> This view is intimately connected with another important aspect of the doctrine of karma, i.e. that of the latent impressions (*vāsanā*), discussed in the passage immediately preceding the one quoted above:

What is the reason why [the varieties of rebirths] are numerous? It is because the latent impressions are numerous. The latent impressions are the actions that are done by human beings in this world. They experience their fruits in the other world [or] in their next incarnation. Whether good or bad, no matter what kinds of actions have been done by them, they eventually stop bearing fruits. Like a pot containing perfumed resin (i.e. asafoetida): its perfumed resin being already used up, the pot is washed to make it clean. Its smell is left behind, its smell adheres to the pot. Those are the latent impressions. In the same way are the 'karmic latent impressions' (*karmavāsanā*) that are in the Soul. The karmic latent impressions directly adhere [to the Soul]. They taint the Soul. The Soul is tainted: that is called desire (*rāga*). It

9. *Vrhaspatitattva* 3.18–25: *asiṅ kāptinya manah niṅ yoninya ṇūni ya kahyunya / hyunya ya ta dumadyakən ikaṅ karma / ya ta ginavenya hələmhələm / yan ahala ikaṅ karma ginavenya / ya dumehnya tibeṅ naraka / salvir niṅ saṅsāra bhinuktinya / hənti pva ya phala niṅ gavenya hala / vineh pva ya maṇḍadya tiryak / yapvan ahayu ikaṅ karma ginavenya / ya dumehnya dumadya riṅ svarga / salvir niṅ bhoga bhinuktinya / hənti pva phala niṅ gavenya hayu / vineh pva ya dumadya ratu paməgət sugih / kasambi tekaṅ jñāna hayu denya / katon taṅ vastu kabeh denya /*

10. Further speculations on this point are found in 52.50–57, where the text specifies that even when the grip of the mind on the Soul is finished, men are so attached to the pleasures of the senses that they end up incarnating again due to the latent impressions. Discussions on the exact connection between desire, karma and maculation (*mala*) are found in certain Siddhāntatantras: cf., e.g., *Kiraṇatantra* VP 3.1–4 and *Parākhyatantra* 4.41 (more on *rāga* in Śaiva scriptures may be found in GOODALL 2004:241, fn. 341).

is the latent impressions that produce the desire. That is the reason why [the Soul] craves for action, being joyful toward all kinds of karmic latent impressions. The very moment the latent impressions taint the Soul, that will cause the karmic latent impressions and the karma to come into being. They cause the human beings to differ from one another. There are divine births, there are births as Gandharvas, there are births as Rākṣasas, there are births as Daityas, there are births as Nāgas. The types of births that are the source of incarnation are many. That is why their appearances are different.<sup>11</sup>

The illustration of the persistence of the latent impressions in the mind as the smell in a pot that has been used to contain the perfumed resin asafoetida (*hiṅgu*), echoes *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 40, defining the *liṅga* or subtle transmigrating body as ‘perfumed’ (*adhivāsita*) by the conditions of the intellect.<sup>12</sup> A similar account explaining the latent impressions, also featuring the example of the pot, is found in the *Dharma Pātañjala*:

The karma which has already been experienced produces as left-overs impressions in the mind, one by one. That is the reason why as if being written the karma adheres firmly to it, like tightly [attached] to the body. That causes the remembering in the mind. What has already been experienced in the past, either as a god, a human being or an animal, the fruits of karma which go along with it, those are experienced by him. Those all together leave behind impressions in the mind. For example like an earthen pot, as it was used to contain perfumes or *asafoetida*. The content of the pot is already finished. It is thoroughly washed and purified, but its fragrance is still there, not yet finished; it sticks to the pot. Likewise are the *latent impressions* as

DHPĀT  
274.8–18

11. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 3.3–18: *apa dumeḥ ya makveha / apan akveh ṇaran iṅ vāsanā / vāsanā ṇaranya ikaṅ karma ginave niṅ janma ihatra / ya ta bhinukti phalanya riṅ paratra / ri janmanya muvaḥ / yan ahala / yan ahayu / asiṅ atah sakalviran iṅ karma ginavenya / hanti mara phalanya / kady aṅgān iṅ dyun vavaḍah niṅ hiṅgu / huvus hilaṅ hiṅgunya / ikaṅ dyun inasahan pinahalilaṅ / kavakas ta ya ambānya / gandhanya rumakət irikaṅ dyun / ndah ya tika vāsanā ṇaranya / samaṅkana tekaṅ karmavāsanā ṇaranya / hana riṅ ātmā / rumakət juga ikaṅ karmavāsanā ṇaranya / ya tika umuparəṅga irikaṅ ātmā / koparəṅga tekaṅ ātmā / ya ta rāga ṇaranya / ikaṅ vāsanā pva dumadyakən ikaṅ rāga / ya ta mataṅyan mahyun iṅ karma / harṣa salvira nikaṅ karmavāsanā / ikaṅ vāsanā pva ya duvəg umuparəṅga irikaṅ ātmā / ya ta dumadyakən ikaṅ karmavāsanā lavan karma / ya ta dumadyakən ikaṅ janma mapalenan / hana devayoni / hana vidyādharaṇi / hana rākṣasayoni / hana daityayoni / hana nāgayoni / akveh prakāra niṅ yoni saṅkanyan paṅjanma / ya ta mataṅyan kapva dudū veṣanya /*

12. As a matter of fact, the word *vāsanā* literally means ‘perfume’ (*√vās* = ‘to perfume, make fragrant, scent’). In the *Bhāṣya* to *Yogasūtra* 2.11, the illustration of the effect of the latent impressions on the mind is that of a stained white cloth.

they leave behind impressions in the mind. However great are the impressions in the mind, they constitute the form of the human being, for whatever is imagined by the mind-stuff, that is followed by its karma in shaping the next human birth.

According to the passage, karma goes together with the latent karmic impressions that stick to the mind and determine one's next reincarnation. How tightly the latent impressions cling to the mind and the subtle body is illustrated through the statement that karma is 'written' on the human mind or body, which is also attested in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and is itself a common Indic idea.<sup>13</sup> Unlike the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, the root-problem of reincarnation is not identified with desire but rather with the activity of imagination (*kalpanā*) of the mind-stuff.

Of the Old Javanese Tattvas, the *Tattvajñāna* is the only one that lacks a really systematic exposition of the mechanism of karma. However, the text devotes great importance to the categorization of the different types of incarnations of human beings whose intellects are dominated respectively by *sattva* (ch. 16), *rajas* (ch. 17) and *tamas* (ch. 18), to varying degrees; it describes the incarnations as beings such as Bhūtas, Gandharvas, Ṛṣis, etc. (ch. 19); and it mentions three kinds of bad karma, viz. low (*kaniṣṭha*, ch. 20), middle (*madhya*, ch. 21) and superior (*uttama*, ch. 22). Near its end, in par. 46, the text equates the latent impressions with the obstacles or 'epiphenomena' (*upasarga*), a technical term of Pātañjala Yoga (cf. below, p. 536). In doing so, it also resorts to the metaphor of the pot:

The 'hindrances' are the latent impressions of the three qualities, which stick to the body that the Soul inhabits. The example is as follows: like a pot containing asafoetida. The asafoetida will enter in contact with the pot. The pot will be washed in order to make it clean. Nevertheless, the asafoetida still gives off smell inside the pot. In this way are the latent impressions of the three qualities sticking to the body that the Soul inhabits: they do not vanish at once through [the practice of] absorption (*samādhi*).<sup>14</sup>

13. Cf. p. 275, fn. 143.

14. *Tattvajñāna* 46.24–28: *upasarga nāranya / vāsanā nikaṇ triguṇa / rumakət in śarīra niṇ ātmā / nihan dṛṣṭopama / kady aṅgān ikaṇ dyun vavaḍah hiṅgu / alavana hiṅgunya saṅkerikaṇ dyun / vasəhanekaṇ dyun pahalilaṇən / yayātah mambə juga kaṇ hiṅgu irikaṇ dyun // iva maṅkana ta vāsanā niṇ triguṇa / rumakət in śarīra niṇ ātmā / an tar vavaṇ hilaṇ de niṇ samādhi / • vavaḍah ] conj. ; vavan Ed., vava Gha (cf. *Ślokāntara* 66.29 and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 3.7) • yayātah ] em. ; ya yataḥ Ed.*



The ‘body that the Soul inhabits’ (lit. the ‘body of the Soul’, *śarīra niṅ ātmā*) mentioned in the passage may be either the mind (*citta*), as per the definition given in paragraph 6.7–8 (cf. above, p. 438) or the subtle body (*sūkṣmaśarīra*), as per *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52. The latter text is the only source describing the soul’s transmigration in connection with a subtle body:

Since the five subtle elements serving as the body that the Soul inhabits are fine, therefore it is called *subtle body*. That is the body that the Soul inhabits when it is embodied in hell. It takes a body there, it experiences suffering. If its former actions, as a human being, were bad, that is the cause of its falling down to hell. If its former actions, as a human being, were good, that is the cause of its being embodied in heaven. There it experiences pleasure. If its former actions, as a human being, were neither bad nor good, that is the reason why it again takes birth as a human being. Free from its good and bad actions in former human lives, it obtains the state of a man of religion, and it is able to perform the observances dedicated to the Lord. But that [man of religion] does not know his state of leader among yogins (*yogīśvara*) during his lifetime. He dies and again becomes a human being. In that [birth] he will obtain the state of a leader among yogins.<sup>15</sup>

The explanation of the incarnation as a man of religion as resulting from karma that was neither bad nor good is interesting. As in Old Javanese sources one never comes across definitions of karma as being in itself neutral, i.e. neither good nor bad, what the text intends to say might be that the neutrality of karma is caused by an equal amount of good and bad karma. That karma is self-neutralizing, for it is said that the man of religion is free from his good and bad actions in former human lives. This situation of karmic impasse eventually leading to release finds a counterpart in the early Saiddhāntika formulations of the doctrine of *karmasāmya* or ‘balance of karma’. The balance of karma, caused by the equiponderance of two actions of different

15. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.58–69: *kunaṅ apan alit ikaṅ pañcatanmātra pinakaśarīra niṅ ātmā / mataṅyan sūkṣmaśarīra ṅaranya / yatika śarīra niṅ ātmā / an paśarīra riṅ narakaloka / māvak ta ya ṅkāna / pinakapaṅhiḍapnya saṅsāra / yan ahala gavenya ṅūni riṅ mānuṣa / ya ta hetunyan tibeṅ naraka / yan ahayu gavenya ṅūni riṅ mānuṣa / ya ta mataṅyan paśarīra riṅ svarga / pinakapaṅhiḍapnya sukha / tan ahala tan ahayu pagavenya ṅūni riṅ mānuṣa / ya ta mataṅyan paṅjanma mānuṣa muvah / luput sakeṅ halahayu pagavenya ṅūni riṅ mānuṣa / kapaṅgiḥ taṅ kavikun denya / vanaṅ gumavayakṅ brata bhaṭāra / nda tar vruh ta ya riṅ kayogīśvaran ri kāla niṅ huripnya / pəjah ta ya / maṅjanma ta ya muvah / irika ta yan pamaṅgihakṅ kayogīśvaran denya /*

polarity has the power of blocking the soul's capacity to experience and necessarily precedes the descent of the Lord's salvific power (*śaktipāta*) before initiation.<sup>16</sup> Early Siddhāntatantras offer differing and often vague accounts of this view,<sup>17</sup> except in the case of the *Kiraṇa*, which devotes the whole chapter five to its discussion and came to be regarded as the locus classicus for this doctrine. According to verse 1.20cd–21,

Then it (i.e. the soul) experiences its entire experience, being either happy or otherwise, according to his karman. When [good and bad] actions have become equal, by virtue of the power of an interval of time, at that time, through an intense descent of power, the soul is initiated by his guru and becomes omniscient like Śiva, devoid of any limitation of knowledge.<sup>18</sup>

16. On this doctrine, cf. GOODALL (1998:xxxiii, 215–216 fn. 171).

17. Cf., e.g., *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 13.15–19 (tentatively translated by GOODALL 1998:339 fn. 325): 'When good and bad actions mature [simultaneously] and are seen to be [as though balanced] on the fulcrum of a pair of scales, [and] when [thereupon] the principle responsible for binding the soul to the accumulated fruits of his past actions (*niyatiḥ*) because it draws [the soul] out from that [bondage of past action] sees [the fruits of] the two actions of an experiencer to be equal, and because they cannot then both arise [to give experience] simultaneously, *niyati* is seen to stand [inactive], as if non-existent, since she has nothing [which could cause her to bind the soul to the fruit of one actions rather than the other] (*nirapekṣā*). This extremely difficult impasse, in which the activities [of the two opposing past actions] are the same (*samānadharma*) must result, for how can the soul simultaneously be linked to happiness and unhappiness? At this time, that power of the creator whose nature is to 'draw out' (*uddhāraśilīnī*) pushes *niyati* aside by force with her great strength and leaves her traces in the soul, after first rendering him dispassionate towards [all worldly] experience, towards this terrible ocean of worldly existence with its manifold troubles' *dharmādharmavipāke 'smiṃs tulākoṭyupalakṣite / niyatis tatsamudhārād yadā paśyati karmaṇi // same bhoktus tadā tasya yugapac cāpy asaṃbhavāt / śūnyavat saṃsthitā yasmān nirapekṣaiva lakṣyate // samānadharmavyāpārah kaṣṭo 'yam syāt suduṣkaraḥ / yugapat sukhaduḥkhābhyāṃ yoktum puṃ śakyate katham // etasminn antare kartur yāsāv uddhāraśilīnī / protsārya niyatim vegāt svavīryeṇātibhūriṇā // kṣetrajñam vāsayet paścāt kṛtvā bhogaparāṇmukham / nānāyāsān mahāghorād asmāt saṃsārasāgarāt //*. More ambiguous is a passage of the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* (VP 2.21), where a reference to *karmasāmya* seems to be adumbrated: '[The sequence of *karman*] is without beginning; it ends in liberation from the blocking of two *karmans*' (trans. GOODALL 1998:xxxiii, fn. 73) *asaṃsthā muktiparyantā dvikarmapratirodhataḥ / procyate 'sāv aṇor bandhaḥ sukaivalyanirodhikā //*. Sadyojyotis interprets the verse as referring to the blocking of the *karmas* towards the soul rather than to two *karmas* mutually blocking each other.

18. *Kiraṇatantra* 1.20cd–21: *tataḥ sukhādikaṃ kṛtsnam bhogaṃ bhuṅkte svakarmataḥ / same karmaṇi sañjāte kālāntaravaśāt tataḥ // tīvraśaktinipātena guruṇā dīkṣito yadā / sarvajñaḥ sa śivo yadvat kiñcijjñatvavivarjitaḥ //*. For the translation of this sequence in har-

Compare 5.8cd–9ab (trans. GOODALL 1998:333–335):

The time of the descent of this [power] is also [that of] the equal balance of [simultaneously maturing] actions. The time is [that of] a balance of past action. [The two blocking actions are] either destroyed or [rendered] unequal.<sup>19</sup>

What the Sanskrit texts appear to agree upon is the fact that the condition of equivalence of karma instils in the human being a feeling of dispassion towards worldly experiences, which they attribute to the salvific descent of the Lord's grace, thereupon seeking initiation by a guru.<sup>20</sup> The account of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, while omitting any reference to the descent of power and to initiation,<sup>21</sup> puts it in a similar way by stating that a man is prompted to enter the career of man of religion (*vikū*) that eventually will lead him to *yogīśvara*-hood (and thus liberation) in his next life.<sup>22</sup> A somewhat different

mony with the interpretation of Rāmakaṇṭha, cf. GOODALL (1998:215–216). Rāmakaṇṭha does not adhere to the view that the karmic impasse alone causes the descent of grace, but believes that it must be accompanied by the ripening of maculation (*malaparipāka*), and therefore provides a forced interpretation of the relevant passages of the *Kiraṇa* and other Siddhāntatantras; contrast Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha on *Mrgendra* VP 3.5c–6b, according to whom *śaktipāta* does occur after the karmic impasse created by balance between good and bad actions (cf. GOODALL 1998:216). Yet another view of *karmasāmya* is expounded by Kṣemarāja in his commentary to *Svacchandatantra* 5.88 (p. 93): 'When one has two [opposite] karmas, waiting to be experienced, that are blocked because of [their] equal force, in that instant he dies' *yasya ca tulyabale karmaṇī bhogonmukhe ruddhe tasya tatkālaṃ dehapātaḥ syāt*.

19. *Kiraṇatantra* 5.8cd–9ab: *tannipātasya saḥ kālaḥ karmaṇām tulyataiva ca // tulyatvaṃ karmaṇaḥ kālaḥ kṣīṇaṃ vā yadi vāsamaṃ /*.

20. Cf. the passage of the *Mataṅga* quoted in fn. 17 and also *Kiraṇa* VP 5.5–6b, according to which the descent of power instils fear of worldly existence (*bhavabhaya-prada*) and causes one to seek a teacher; compare *Kiraṇa* VP 2.29cd, *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 1.17 and *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 10.25cd. A remarkably similar view, which does echo the doctrine of *karmasāmya*, is found in a non-Śaiva source, namely al-Bīrūnī's Arabic rendition of the *Yogasūtra* (with a commentary): 'Thus if both (i.e. merit and demerit) are not simultaneously annulled detachment does not come about and the cycle (of birth and death) is not cut off. However, the ascetic referred to above has annulled the effects of the two as far as the future is concerned, both of them being annihilated or nearly (annihilated)' (trans. PINES and GELBLUM 1989:269).

21. On the unimportance of (or silence over) of initiation in *Tattvas*, cf. Part I, p. 13, and below, pp. 526–527.

22. The career of man of religion is only a step in the gradual ascension to *yogīśvara*-hood, the highest state that a human being may attain, which is the same as the state of being lib-

position is maintained in the first account of karma given by that text (3.23–25), where the Lord states that it is when a soul has reincarnated as a human being after having spent his good karma in heaven that the career of man of religion begins. The Lord then explains:

Then the desire for emancipation (*sambega*) comes into being, as well as love, meritorious acts and devotion. He brings all of them into being. That is the cause of the love of the Lord towards him. The Lord loves him. [Therefore] he is able to see the latent impressions connected with his human birth, as well as hunger, hot and cold, the sinfulness and dirtiness of being incarnated. As soon as he sees them, he says: ‘Ah! Extreme is the pain connected with the human state, and whenever one has a body it is inevitably experienced. Ah! What is the true course of my existence?’ He then goes to a master, in order to enquire about the meaning of existence. He is instructed by the sage.<sup>23</sup>

Here the reference to the Lord’s love (*sih bhaṭāra*) towards a particular human being adumbrates the concept of the Lord’s grace. According to the *Dharma Pātañjala* too, it is only through the love of the Lord towards him that a yogin can attain the state of *yogīśvara* and become the visible manifestation of the Lord’s powers.<sup>24</sup>

erated in life (*jīvanmukta*) described in Sanskrit sources. The *Dharma Pātañjala* (246.6–9), under the description of the fruit of right knowledge (*samyajñāna*), corresponding to the item Knowledge of the *caturaiśvarya*, states: ‘The fruit of right Knowledge is as follows: if his absorption toward the Lord comes into being, and he uses as means of realization the three valid means of knowledge, he is the place where the Lord incarnates. His supernatural prowess is like the supernatural prowess of the Lord, and [like] the eightfold sovereign prowess of the Lord. So he is reborn once again, for [it] is as he wishes, everything becomes according to his desire; whatever he hopes for, (indeed) comes about.’

23. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 3.25–31: *kadadi pvekañ kasambegan lavan sih puṇya bhakti / kadadi pvekañ kabeh denya / ya ta sambandhanya sih bhaṭāra iriya / masih bhaṭāra iriya / katon tañ janmavāsana denya / lavan lapa panas tis / pāpa kleśa niñ maṇḍadi / yāvat tinonya liṇnya / i harah atyanta lara niñ janma karih / sabarinyan pāvak juga hana bhinuktinya / apa ta lari hambana ri dadiñku harah / mara ta ya ri sañ paṇḍita / tumakvanakna kaliṇan iñ dadi / vinarah ta ya de sañ ṛṣi /*

24. Cf. the similar passages in *Dharma Pātañjala* (286.5–286.7, 286.19–288.2 and 288.6–288.8), where the Lord’s love causes the destruction of *mala*—a view that is a cliché in *Siddhāntatantras* (cf., e.g., *Kiraṇatantra* 2.29cd).

## Yoga

THE AUTHOR OF THE *Dharma Pātañjala* devotes almost one-third of the text<sup>1</sup> to the exposition of yoga. This long section of the text is twice referred to by the Lord as Yogapāda.<sup>2</sup>

As already noted by ENSINK (1974:198), the importance and uniqueness of the *Dharma Pātañjala* lies in the fact that it constitutes the only Old Javanese source that describes the yoga of the eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*), characterizing the Pātañjala variety of yoga, instead of the yoga of the six ancillaries (*ṣaḍāṅga*), which characterizes the variety of Tantric yoga described in the majority of Śaiva and Buddhist sources from both the Indonesian Archipelago and the Indian Subcontinent.<sup>3</sup> The text in fact attempts to combine a Pātañjala philosophical perspective with a Śaiva theistic perspective.

The classical formulation of Pātañjala yoga, whose seminal text is the *Yogasūtra*, forming one inseparable whole—called *Yogaśāstra*—with the commentary (*Bhāṣya*),<sup>4</sup> in the course of time came to be recognized as the ulti-

1. Approximately thirty folios, from leaf 55v to 84v.

2. For a discussion of the Vidyāpāda/Jñānapāda and Yogapāda division of Siddhāntatantras and Old Javanese texts, cf. Introduction, p. 18.

3. More on this below, p. 510. To Śaiva and Buddhist Sanskrit sources must be added also the *Jayākhyasamhitā*, an early source of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra—a school that does not seem to have left any written traces in Old Javanese. In the 14th century Buddhist Kakavin *Sutasoma*, the yoga of the six ancillaries is explicitly linked to the Śaiva path as opposed to the Buddhist *advayayoga* or *advayajñāna*; cf. ENSINK (1974:198–200, 1978:184–186).

4. The ‘original’ denomination of the treatise as *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* has become amply clear thanks to the philological work by MAAS (2006). I concur with BRONKHORST (1985) and MAAS (2006, 2009) that the *Bhāṣya* was written by the same author who brought the sūtras together. BRONKHORST (1985:208) attributes its authorship to Vindhyavāsin (who defines himself as a ‘Pātañjala’) or to different hands from his same school, whereas MAAS attributes it to Patañjali. Here I will use the title *Yogaśāstra* whenever I refer to the sūtra-cum-*Bhāṣya* treatise.

mate authority on yoga in the mainstream Brahmanical tradition. It figured among the classical systems (*darśana*) of Brahmanical philosophy, closely related—and yet distinct—from Sāṅkhya, with which it shared its basic philosophical tenets. However, insofar as its focus is not on philosophy but rather on practice, the Pātañjala yoga as formulated in the *Yogaśāstra* lent itself to the integration into the scriptures of rival systems.<sup>5</sup> Transcending the boundaries of distinct philosophical schools, it exerted a significant appeal also on certain Śaiva authors, who tended to refer to Patañjali as an authority in matters of yoga and sometimes even programmatically attempted to absorb elements of the *Yogaśāstra* toward a higher synthesis.<sup>6</sup>

Such syncretistic attempts are especially evident in the Purāṇas, where syntheses of Pātañjala yoga—which is often referred to simply as *aṣṭāṅgayoga*—and ‘sectarian’ or ‘Tantrified’ yogic traditions abound.<sup>7</sup> The account presented in the *Dharma Pātañjala* differs from the Purāṇic ones, however, in that it is philosophical in nature and closely follows the Sanskrit text, down to the details. It is clear that none of the Purāṇas can be regarded as containing a possible prototype for the Yogapāda of the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The operation carried out by our author is indeed different from a ‘Puranicization’ or vulgarization of Pātañjala yoga and rather amounts to a reworking of a version of the Sanskrit *Yogaśāstra* and its absorption into a Śaiva framework. This operation consists in reinterpreting crucial points of the *Yogaśāstra* in order to bring them in line with the theistic standpoint of the Old Javanese text, which reflects priorities and themes that were important issues for the Śaivas.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* also distinguishes itself from the Pātañjala-influenced Sanskrit Śaiva accounts in that it closely relies upon the original model of the *Yogaśāstra*, incorporating what may be described as an independent

5. The *Yogaśāstra* was described by LARSON (1999) as a ‘tradition text’ of ‘non-sectarian’ nature, which, conflating Sāṅkhya and Buddhist formulations, was itself characterized by a markedly hybrid character.

6. The attitude of Śaiva exegetes toward Pātañjala yoga is somewhat ambivalent. The majority of the historical authors as well as the ‘divinely transmitted’ scriptures, such as the Siddhāntatantras, adhere to their own form of Śaivayoga and sometimes explicitly contrast it to Pātañjala views; yet, commentators such as Śrī Kumāra or Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha often quote Patañjali with approval, not to speak of the syncretistic attempts characterizing scriptures such as the *Mrgendra* and the *Suprabheda* (on which, cf. below, p. 512).

7. Cf., e.g., *Agnipurāṇa* 370–375, *Garuḍapurāṇa* 1.218, *Śivapurāṇa* 7.2.37–39, *Līṅgapurāṇa* 1.8–9.

exegetical treatise on selected sections of the Sanskrit prototype. This incorporation displays skillful editorial interventions that make it consistent with the rest of the text and its profoundly Śaiva persuasion. The sūtras are followed in their original sequence, opportunely re-arranged and shaped, like the rest of the text, as a commentary in the form of questions and answers between the Lord and Kumāra. Motifs found in the Sanskrit text are occasionally omitted presumably in order to avoid the repetition of topics already treated elsewhere in the *Dharma Pātañjala*.<sup>8</sup> The Old Javanese prose is by no means a direct translation of the *Yogasūtra* but a paraphrase alternating with more original exegetical passages. The author's priority was apparently to present a synthetic account of the most important doctrinal points of Pātañjala yoga.

An analogous transcultural operation can be discerned in the rendering into Arabic of a version of the *Yogasūtra* with an unidentified commentary by al-Bīrūnī (ca. 973–1050 AD). The *Kitāb Pātañjala* 'Book of Patañjali' undeniably presents close similarities on a structural level, so that it is interesting to compare the two works as independent, and perhaps even roughly contemporary, cultural products. Apart from being seemingly based on related versions of the Sanskrit text, they reflect exegetical practices influenced by the theistic persuasion of their respective authors, if not already by the South Asian theistic and philosophical milieu from which those versions originated.<sup>9</sup> DASGUPTA (1922:233) characterized the *Kitāb Pātañjala* as 'a new modification of the Yoga doctrine on the basis of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* in the

8. For instance, the text follows the sequence of sūtras 1.21–28 characterizing the Lord (*īśvara*) while omitting sūtra 1.26, where the Lord is said to have been incarnated in a primal sage (Kapila)—the status of the Lord as an incarnated being and universal teacher having been treated already in the section 276.2–280.4; it omits references to the three kinds of pain as described in the *Bhāṣya* ad sūtra 1.31—those having been already defined earlier, in 256.10–260.7; it omits definition and justification of the mechanism of karma and latent impressions in *Bhāṣya* 2.13, this having been treated in 272.17–274.18; while following closely large portions of 3.16–51, it omits the long and elaborate cosmographical excursus found in the *Bhāṣya* on 3.26—cosmography having been treated already in 224.1–226.11.

9. PINES and GELBLUM (1966:305) argued that the commentary that was at the base of al-Bīrūnī's rendition could be related to the theistic developments in Sanskrit commentators (prior or posterior to that author) such as Vācaspatimiśra (9th century AD), Vijñānabhikṣu (16th century AD), influenced by Vedānta or devotional currents. They also noted, however, that 'al-Bīrūnī was a Muslim, so that in this major characteristic of his translation as well as in its minor characteristics, which likewise exhibit a good deal of islamization, his own interpretation, conditioned by his own cultural orientation, might have been at work'.

direction of Vedānta and Tantra’, and ‘the transition link through which the Yoga doctrine of the *sūtras* entered into a new channel in such a way that it could be easily assimilated from there by later developments of Vedānta, Tantra and Śaiva doctrines’. The same considerations would equally apply to the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

Both texts are based on a commentary that unmistakably betrays the influence of the *Bhāṣya* but cannot be identified only with that source as it presents motifs that are not found there but figure in other commentaries.<sup>10</sup> Both might have been based on a versified version of the *sūtra*.<sup>11</sup>

Table 12: Sanskrit verses of the DhPāt and their probable prototypes in the YS[Bh]

|                    | Dharma Pātañjala<br>(codex)   | Dharma Pātañjala<br>(tentative reconstr.)  |      | Yogasūtra<br>[Yogasūtrabhāṣya]   |
|--------------------|---|--|------|--|
| 2                  | <i>cittavṛttinirodakyaḥ<br/>yogaḥ paramadurlabhaḥ<br/>tasmā yoga samarābde<br/>svayamñ ātmā prakāśate</i> | <i>cittavṛttinirodhākhyāḥ<br/>=<br/>tasmin yoge samarābdhe<br/>svayam ātmā prakāśate</i> | 1.2  | <i>yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ</i><br><br>[1.28] [para ātmā prakāśate (?)] <sup>12</sup>                                |
| 3b/d <sup>13</sup> | <i>ātmāna cetana stitāḥ</i>   | <i>ātmani cetanaḥ sthitāḥ</i>  | 1.3  | <i>tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe ’vasthānam (?)</i>   |
| 4ab <sup>14</sup>  | <i>kleśakārmamāvipakāśayaḥ<br/>aparamraṣṭa sadeve-<br/>svaraḥ</i>   | <i>kleśakarmavipākāśayaḥ<br/>aparāmṛṣṭaḥ sadaive-<br/>śvaraḥ</i>                         | 1.24 | <i>kleśakarmavipākāśayair<br/>aparāmṛṣṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣa<br/>īśvaraḥ [+ sa tu sadaiva muktaḥ<br/>sadaiveśvara iti]</i> |

10. PINES and GELBLUM (1966:304) convincingly argued that al-Bīrūnī might have used a Sanskrit commentary that has not survived to us, and which may represent a hitherto unknown line of interpretation.

11. The testimony of al-Bīrūnī in this respect is ambiguous and self-contradictory: whereas in the introduction to the *Kitāb Pātañjala* he states that the incorporation of the *sūtra* within the commentary and the dialogic arrangement were his own making, in his conclusion he refers to an original source ‘consisting of one thousand and a hundred questions in the form of a verse’ (PINES and GELBLUM 1966:303). As to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the question is whether the versification of *sūtras* occurred already in the original Sanskrit prototype or in Java. Although the corrupt state of the ślokas may lead one to favour the latter possibility, my reading of Sanskrit-Old Javanese texts suggests that corruption, especially in the case of Javanese manuscript, is not a reliable criterion to establish the extra-Indian origin of the Sanskrit verses.

12. This śloka-quarter (d) is part of a verse quoted in the *Bhāṣya*, which has a parallel in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (6.6.2); I quote the full śloka below, p. 504.

13. The metrical pattern is compatible with either the second or fourth quarter of a śloka.

14. The half-śloka is affected by grave metrical flaws, having one superordinate syllable in each quarter.



|                 | Dharma Pātañjala<br>(codex)     | Dharma Pātañjala<br>(tentative reconstr.) |      | Yogasūtra<br>[Yogasūtrabhāṣya]         |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|---|------|--|
| 5 <sup>15</sup> | <i>bhyadēḥ pramādalasya</i>     | <i>byādhiḥ pramādālasyaś</i>              | 1.30 | <i>vyādhistyānasarīśaya-</i>           |
|                 | <i>sandeha styanam eva ca</i>   | <i>sandehaḥ styāna-m eva</i>              |      | <i>pramādālasya-</i>                   |
|                 | <i>bhrantijñānavratatajñāna</i> | <i>bhrāntijñānāviraś ca</i>               |      | <i>viratibhrāntidarśanā-</i>           |
|                 | <i>bhumyalābhās camacali</i>    | <i>bhūmyalābhaś ca cañca-</i>             |      | <i>labdhabhūmikatvānavasthitatvāni</i> |
|                 |                                 | <i>laḥ</i>                                |      | <i>cittavikṣepā antarāyāḥ</i>          |

The section of the Yogapāda from 290.1 to 306.10 generally follows the sequence of the topics treated in the *Yogasāstra* until sūtra 1.30, thus covering more than a half of the fifty-one sūtras making up the first chapter of the *Yogasūtra*, the Samādhipāda. The Yogapāda is opened by a critical remark by Kumāra on the Lord's explanation that His love towards the yogin leads to the disappearance of maculation and to the acquisition by the yogin of His powers.

*Samādhi and the Stages of Yoga* Kumāra's objection is that, if this is really the case, the Lord is liable to exist in the cycle of rebirths, a position that contradicts what had been previously expounded by the Lord. The Lord's reply is that the Lord exists in the cycle of existence only through the manifestation of His divine powers in a yogin whose absorption (*samādhi*) is perfect (286.6–7), and who knows about, and puts into practice, the *prayogasandhi* (288.11–13).<sup>16</sup> Having briefly defined *prayogasandhi*, the Lord introduces yoga by means of a śloka (2) based on *Yogasūtra* 1.2. But it is at its very outset, therefore much earlier than the Yoga section, that the *Dharma Pātañjala* provides a definition of *samādhi*—a crucial term in Pātañjala yoga:

Right knowledge is not within reach if there is no absorption. The absorption not coming into being, the *Summum Bonum* is not known, for the attainment of the *Summum Bonum* is the result of performing absorption.

DHPĀT  
194.11–13

The passage stresses the soteriological importance of *samādhi* and charges the term with a theistic connotation: the goal of absorption, the *Summum Bonum*, is indeed explained in śloka 1 and its Old Javanese exegesis (194.19–196.7) as the supreme aspect of the Lord Śiva. The text continues:

15. Even though the first quarter is deficient by one syllable and the third has one too many, the original śloka pattern is still discernible; thus, I have emended the Sanskrit to make it comply with the metre.

16. I shall discuss *prayogasandhi* below, pp. 544–550.

Table 13: Synoptic comparison between the YP of the DhPāt and related sections of the YS[Bh]

| DhPāt        | YS Blocks | Themes               | YS / [YSBh]   | Contents  |
|--------------|-----------|----------------------|---|---|
| 290.1–292.12 | 1.2–11    | yoga<br>&<br>samādhi | 1.2–1.3   | Yoga is <i>cittavṛttinirodha</i> ; the Soul abides in itself<br><i>vṛtti</i> , <i>pramāṇa</i> , <i>viparyaya</i> , <i>vikalpa</i> , <i>nidrā</i> , <i>smṛti</i><br><i>samprajñātasamādhi</i> ( <i>vitarka</i> , <i>vicāra</i> , <i>vicāra</i> , <i>ānanda</i> , <i>asmitā</i> )<br><i>asamprajñātasamādhi</i>   |
|              | 1.17–30   |                      | 1.4–11<br>1.17<br>1.18<br>[1.1]<br>1.19–20<br>[1.33]<br>1.21–28<br>1.30<br>1.50 |   |
| 292.13–304.8 | 1.17–30   | īśvara               | 1.21–28   | <i>kṣipta</i> , <i>mūḍha</i> , <i>vikṣipta</i> , <i>ekāgra</i> , <i>niruddha</i><br><i>videhas</i> and <i>prakṛtīlīnas</i> ; <i>śraddhā</i> , <i>vīrya</i> , <i>smṛti</i> , <i>samādhi</i> , <i>prajñā</i><br><i>maītrī</i> , <i>karuṇā</i> , <i>muditā</i> , <i>upekṣā</i><br><i>īśvara</i><br><i>vighnas</i><br><i>japa</i> , <i>saṁskāras</i><br><i>kleśas</i> ( <i>avidyā</i> , <i>asmitā</i> , <i>rāga</i> , <i>dveṣa</i> , <i>abhiniveśa</i> )<br>embodiment as suffering, the cycle of existence determined by karma<br>sensibility of the yogin to pain; future pain is to be avoided |
|              |           | yogin                | 2.3–9 [1.8]<br>2.12–13<br>2.15–16   |   |
| 304.8–308.12 | 1.50–2.16 | yogin                | 1.30<br>1.50  | <i>aṣṭāṅgayoga</i><br><i>yama</i> and <i>niyama</i><br>fruits of <i>yamas</i> and <i>niyamas</i><br><i>āśana</i><br><i>prāṇāyāma</i> and <i>pratyāhāra</i><br><i>dhāraṇā</i> , <i>dhyāna</i> , <i>samādhi</i><br>definition of <i>saṁyama</i><br>application of <i>saṁyama</i> and the various <i>siddhis</i> resulting therefrom<br><i>aṣṭāṅga</i> , <i>upāsarga</i>   |
|              |           |                      | 2.29<br>2.30–32<br>2.35–45<br>2.46<br>2.49 (cf. 2.54)<br>3.1–3                  |   |
| 308.13–320.2 | 2.29–3.3  | aṣṭāṅgayoga          | 2.29<br>2.30–32<br>2.35–45<br>2.46<br>2.49 (cf. 2.54)<br>3.1–3                  |   |
| 322.1–332.15 | 3.4–47    | siddhi               | 3.4–8<br>3.16–47<br>[3.45]; 3.37  |   |

Chapters of the YS: Samādhipāda (1.1–51); Sadhanapāda (2.1–55); Vībhūtipāda (3.1–55); Kaivalyapāda (4.1–34).

Your thought about the *Summum Bonum*, that is what you [should] reflect upon during day and night. One who has wisdom is one who has knowledge, his characteristics are of one level with the *Summum Bonum*. This is the reason why *absorption* is what is constantly practiced by him who desires the supreme pleasure, for that is what is designated as *release*. Furthermore, there is the absorption toward the *Summum Bonum*: that leaves behind the latent impressions in the mind. That is called *right knowledge*, as distinct from the *wrong knowledge*.

DHPĀT  
196.8–14

Here *samādhi* is equated with a salvific kind of knowledge (*samyajjñāna* / *samyagjñāna*) and regarded as essential for attaining supreme pleasure (*suka viśeṣa*), i.e. release. The statement that ‘the characteristics of the yogin are of one level (*samapāda*) with the *Summum Bonum*’ seemingly refers to the Lord’s qualities of omniscience and omnipotence.<sup>17</sup>

The prominence of absorption is reflected in the fact that the *Bhāṣya* too defines it for the first time at its outset, i.e. when commenting on sūtra 1.1: ‘Now the teaching of yoga [is going to begin]’ *atha yogānuśāsanam*, understanding it to be synonym with *yoga* (*yogaḥ samādhiḥ*).<sup>18</sup> Thus, for the *Yogaśāstra*, *samādhi* constitutes not only one—and the highest—among

17. For two similar Śaiva definitions of yoga, in which both knowledge and unity with the Lord play a role, cf. Lakṣmaṇadeśika’s *Śāradātilaka* 25.2 (trans. VASUDEVA 2004:243): ‘Others understand it to be the ascertainment of Śiva and the Soul as non-different. The scholars of the Āgamas say that it is a Knowledge which is of the nature of Śiva’s power’ *śivātmanor abhedena pratipattiḥ pare viduḥ / śivaśaktyātmakaṃ jñānaṃ jagur āgamavedi-  
naḥ* //. As argued by VASUDEVA (2004:243–244), the first definition might be derived from the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* or another non-dualist Śaiva source, whereas the second, simply referring to Śaiva scriptures in general, reflects the fact that ‘the importance of this knowledge is undeniable in its insistence on the soteriological value of knowing the thing with which oneness is sought’. Another relevant set of Śaiva definitions of yoga is enumerated in *Parākhyanatantra* 14.98–101ab (trans. VASUDEVA 2004:240–241): ‘[Yoga is] conjunction with the [eight] Perfections [beginning with] miniaturization. Or, yoga arises from the influence of [Śiva’s] Power. Or, yoga [arises] from the attainment of *samādhi* or resides in the practice of yoga. Or, yoga is the immersion into Him (Śiva) arising from the contemplation of His nature’ *aṇimādiguṇair yogo yogo vā śaktiyogataḥ / samādhiyogato yogo yogābhyāsagato  
’thavā* // *yogo vā tatsamāveśas tatsvarūpavibhāvanāt* /.

18. Cf. also Bhoja’s *Rājamārtanḍa* on *Yogasūtra* 1.1: ‘Yoga, from the root *yuj*, is fixing the mind in absorption; *yuj* has the sense of absorption [as in *Dhātupāṭha* 4.68]’ *yuktir yogaḥ samādhānam / yuja samādhau*. This interpretation is openly criticized by Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, in his *Vṛtti* to *Mrgendratāntra* YP 2a, who rather defines yoga as union with Śiva (cf. VASUDEVA 2004:236, referring to SANDERSON’s unpublished edition and translation of the YP of the *Mṛgendra*).

the ancillaries of yoga,<sup>19</sup> but the very essence of yoga, leading to the state of isolation (*kaivalya*) that amounts to release.

The author of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, probably conscious of having defined *samādhi* earlier in the text, formally introduces the Yogapāda with a śloka obviously based on *Yogasūtra* 1.2, which presents another famous definition of yoga according to the Pātañjala understanding, i.e. ‘yoga is the cessation of the functions of the mind’ *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*:

DHPĀT  
290.1–8

*What is called the cessation of the functions of the mind is the yoga, extremely difficult to achieve. Having undertaken that yoga, the Soul itself [alone] shines forth.*

What is taught about the [cessation of the] functions of the mind, that is designated as *yoga*, and its difficulty in being practiced is extreme, for not to want it is the nature of the man toward hard work. But the one who is passionless, who is already full of the suffering of birth, he desires the yoga, for he wishes the *supreme pleasure*. The obtainment of the true nature of the Soul, that is designated as the *supreme pleasure*. In what case is the true nature of the Soul met? Only when yoga is performed.

The true nature of the Soul, which in the Sanskrit verse amounts to the Soul shining forth alone (*svayam*), i.e. untainted by the mind’s functions, in the Old Javanese exegesis is defined as supreme pleasure (*suka viśeṣa*, cf. p. 483) and declared to be obtained through the performance of *yoga*; earlier it was stated that ‘*absorption* is what is constantly practiced by him who desires the supreme pleasure’. Besides being synonyms, *yoga* and *samādhi* thus amount to the same goal, which here—in harmony with the Pātañjala understanding—is characterized as the attainment of the true nature of the Soul, whereas in 196.8–14 it was explicitly defined as the acquisition of Śiva-like powers.

The text then focuses on the mind (*citta*), whose characterization is introduced by an objection raised by Kumāra:

DHPĀT  
290.10–11

*Whether yoga be performed or not, the Soul is still experienced by us. That, according to your words, is by no means the Soul: that is the mind.*

19. It has been argued by various authors (whose views are summarized in LARSON 2008:62–64) that the doctrine of the eight ancillaries originally belonged to a different—and possibly older—system and was merged into the *Yogaśāstra* by the editor and commentator of the sūtras. For a discussion of *samādhi* intended as a specific ancillary, cf. below, pp. 525–526.

The Lord replies:

The reason why it is designated as *mind* is because of its having the same object (*ekaviṣayanya*) [of perception as the Soul]. That is the reason why only the mind is experienced by him.

DHPĀT  
290.12–13

That the issue was regarded in Java as one worthy of being problematized is suggested by the presence of a similar theme in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (35.18–19), where Vṛhaspati asks the Lord about the characteristic of the Soul in the body, ‘for it is difficult to understand the difference between the mind and the Soul’ *apan ivāḥ ikaṁ citta lavan ātmā bhedanya*.<sup>20</sup> In the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the point implied in Kumāra’s statement seems to echo the fundamental Pātañjala yoga tenet that the perception of reality by the mind is mirrored in the Soul’s perception of reality, which mistakenly identifies itself with the mind. Thus, what appears to be the experience of the Soul (i.e. of one’s own awareness) during everyday life should not be confused with the experience of one’s own mind.<sup>21</sup> The Soul’s self perception as devoid of any identification with the mind<sup>22</sup> amounts to liberation.

Prompted by the question of an opponent as to the functions of the mind,<sup>23</sup> the Lord enumerates right perception (*pramāṇa*), error (*viparyaya*), imagination (*vikalpa*),<sup>24</sup> sleep (*nidrā*) and remembering (*smṛti*). These are enu-

20. To this question the Lord replies by explaining that the Power of Action pervades the self-identity, which in its turn pervades the breaths, which join the Soul to the body; cf. above, p. 450.

21. Note that al-Birūnī in the *Kitāb Pātañjala* describes the functions of the mind (*cittavṛtti*) as ‘faculties of the Soul’ (cf. PINES and GELBLUM 1966:315–316). If the variance is not simply due to al-Birūnī’s rendering of the term ‘mind’ into Arabic, then it may reflect an alternative interpretation presented by his Sanskrit source. Compare the similar Śaiva perspective as described by Aghoraśiva when commenting on *Sarvajñānottara* YP 1.1: ‘This [yoga] purifies the Soul, not the mind, as the followers of Patañjali maintain, because the yoga of Śiva causes the manifestation of omniscience and so forth’ *pu-ruṣasyaivāyaṁ saṁskārakaḥ, na tu pātañjalānām iva cittasyety arthaḥ, śivayogasya sarvajñātvādiprakāśakatvāt*.

22. Literally ‘abiding in its own self’: cf. sūtra 1.3 and *Dharma Pātañjala* śloka 3b/d.

23. Literally ‘What are its functions, the reason that it is called mind?’ *ndya vṛttinya, matañnyan citta naranya*. The question, as it is phrased, implies that the very existence of the functions causes the mind to be what it is.

24. Because of its intrinsic polysemy, the term *vikalpa* is a difficult one to render into English. It may denote either ‘imagination’, ‘ideation’ or ‘discriminative (i.e. language-based) thought’.

merated in *Yogasūtra* 1.5–6 and defined in 1.7–11.<sup>25</sup> The *Dharma Pātañjala*, closely following sūtra 1.7, provides a synthetic definition of right perception as the three valid means of knowledge, without additional commentary—unlike the *Bhāṣya*. A definition of misconception is lacking.<sup>26</sup> The detailed explanation of imagination deserves to be quoted in full:

DHPĀT  
290.17–292.4

*Imagination* is as follows: the cognition explained by the teaching of the sūtra *yaḥ puruṣa*—thus are the words of the treatise. Its meaning is as follows: the Holy Soul does not move, thus is the content of the teaching. That is what is said. Its explanation is as follows. The meaning of ‘not moving’ is: like an arrow that is in its quiver. It is quiet. It is taken from its quiver. It is shot with the string of a bow. It penetrates into that which has been hit by it. It (the arrow) becomes quiet [again]. In this way is the quietness of the Soul. Thus is the meaning of *imagination*, according to the interpretation of the teaching. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga.

The passage constitutes an exegesis of *Yogasūtra* 1.9: ‘Imagination is without a real object and follows as a result of language-based knowledge’ *śabdajñānānupātī vastuśūnyo vikalpaḥ*. An element of interest is the reference to the Sanskrit clause *yaḥ puruṣa* as if it appeared in the source, qualified as a sūtra,<sup>27</sup> used by the Javanese author. Now, the word *puruṣa* ‘spirit, soul’ appears four times in the respective section of the *Bhāṣya*, but it is never preceded by the relative pronoun *yaḥ*.<sup>28</sup> The fact that both words do not occur in the *Yogasūtra* either may suggest that the author was using a hitherto unidentified (versified?) version, which he called ‘sūtra’ and also, more generally, ‘teaching’ (*varaḥ*).

The explanation of *vikalpa* through the example of the statement ‘the Holy Soul does not move’<sup>29</sup> is not found in any of the Sanskrit commentaries I have consulted. The *Bhāṣya* rather refers to the problem of thinking that the

25. Unlike sūtra 1.5, the *Dharma Pātañjala* does not divide those functions into afflicting (*kliṣṭa*) and non-afflicting (*akliṣṭa*) ones.

26. Note, however, that sūtra 1.8 recalls the definition of ignorance (*avidyā*) given elsewhere in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, as well as that found in al-Bīrūnī’s *Kitāb Pātañjala* (cf. below, p. 558).

27. Emended from *strī* in the codex, a reading which, despite occurring twice (cf. 292.10), is manifestly a corruption.

28. The sequence *yaḥ puruṣaḥ* is attested in *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 1.29, which however does not have any connection with the present passage.

29. The view that the Soul, by virtue of its pervasiveness, does not move is a cliché in Sāṅkhya, Yoga and Śaiva sources: cf. VASUDEVA (2004:385, fn. 31), WATSON (2006:81, fn.

Spirit or Soul (*puruṣa*) has only intelligence (*caitanya*) as its property, while in reality it does not have any property at all because it is just intelligence. Another view expressed by the *Bhāṣya* is that the Spirit is without action (*niṣkriya*), which stands closer to the point made by the *Dharma Pātañjala*. What both sources have in common is the example of the arrow:

Thus [another example]: The Spirit is one whose fundamental properties have been denied, it is without action. In [the sentence] ‘The arrow<sup>30</sup> comes to a standstill, will come to a standstill, has come to a standstill’, the meaning of the verbal root (*sthā*, ‘to stand still’) is to be understood as the cessation of movement.<sup>31</sup>

Unlike the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the *Bhāṣya* includes the example in a terse and nondescriptive manner. Its explanation revolves around the grammatical argument, following Patañjali’s *Mahābhāṣya* to *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.3.1 (7, pp. 246–247),<sup>32</sup> that verbal roots express actions (*bhāva*), while the root *sthā* expresses *gatinivṛtti*, i.e. either the cessation of a movement, the absence of movement, or immobility, but discloses nothing about the agent of a ‘non-movement’, which is therefore non-existent or impossible to express.<sup>33</sup>

Next comes the explanation of sleep (*nidrā*):

*Sleep* is as follows: the form of the mind when it thinks is like vanished, and thereupon it becomes unconscious—*viparīta*, its consciousness is not there. Don’t let it be in this way during the time of yoga. Let the mind be fully conscious in the heart. It should be fixed, do not let it be quivering, do not

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292.4–9

111). The attribution of movement to the Soul is valid only in the realm of discriminative language-based thought, and thus must be intended as being purely metaphorical.

30. Although ANGOT (2008:212, fn. 442) claims that *bāṇa* here is more likely to denote a personal name, akin to the Chatra used in the example immediately preceding it, the present account of the *Dharma Pātañjala* leaves no doubt on this point.

31. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.9:5–6: *tathā: pratiśiddhavastudharmā, niṣkriyaḥ puruṣaḥ. tiṣṭhati bāṇaḥ, sthāsyati, sthitaḥ, iti gatinivṛttau dhātvarthaḥ.*

32. Itself referring to a passage of the *Dhātupāṭha* (*sthā gatinivṛttau*), which was patently in the mind of the author of the *Bhāṣya* too. Curiously, the apparent similarity between the two sources with regard to the treatment of this grammatical point has not been included among the arguments in favour of the identification of the grammarian Patañjali with Patañjali the author of the *Yogaśāstra*.

33. A circumstantial discussion of the example given by the *Bhāṣya* is found in the *Vivaraṇa*: cf. LEGGETT (1990:90). A critique of the concepts of movement and displacement in relation to an agent is included in chapter 2 of Nāgārjuna’s *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*.

let it imagine, for there is the *perception in a dream*: the object being thought of is another; the mind remembers experiencing it. That is *perception in a dream*. Do not let it be in this way during the time of yoga.

Let us compare this passage with *Yogasūtra* 1.10: 'Sleep is a mode [of knowledge] which does not rest upon a factual ground', or 'Sleep is that mode of functioning of the mind which has as its object the absence of conception' *abhāvapratyayālambanā vṛttir nidrā*.<sup>34</sup> The *Bhāṣya* defines sleep as a special kind of mental experience (*pratyayaviśeṣa*) because there is the recollection (*pratyavamarśa*) of one's own sleep when one wakes up. The account of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is interesting in that it adds dream (i.e. perception in a dream, *svapnājñāna*) to the discussion, and considers it detrimental to yoga as much as the state of insentience caused by deep sleep (*nidrā*)<sup>35</sup> and 'thinking' or 'imagining' (*mañāṇanāṇ*). Perception in dream is when the object of what is thought of is other (*paran inañanāṇ vaneh*), for it has a recollection of something. One may argue that the Old Javanese idiosyncratic exegesis is due to the misunderstanding of the point made by the *Bhāṣya*; however, that idea is rendered less likely by the fact that a similar characterization of *nidrā* is found in another source, i.e. the *Kitāb Pātañjala*. In his rendering of sūtra 1.10, al-Bīrūnī apparently superimposes the category of *svapna* onto it:

The fourth [faculty of the soul] is dream[ing], which is man's knowledge of things which are [in reality] other [than what he knows], which have no subsisting reality corresponding to the knowledge in question.

According to PINES and GELBLUM (1966:305–306), this treatment could be the result of a 'literal and uninitiated reading of the Sanskrit' of sūtra 1.10, but could also suggest that al-Bīrūnī's source did not include sūtra 1.38, which manifestly presents *nidrā* and *svapna* as distinct states: *svapnanidrājñānālambanaṃ vā*, 'Or [the mind-stuff reaches the stable state] by having as the supporting-object a perception in dream or sleep'. Since no reference to that

34. Yet another translation, based on the interpretation of Vācaspatimiśra, is that by WOODS (1914:29): 'Sleep is a fluctuation [of mind-stuff] supported by the cause (*pratyaya*, that is *tamas*) of the [transient] negation [of the waking and dreaming fluctuations]'; cf. also the rendering proposed by PINES and GELBLUM (1966:305–306): 'Sleep is that mode of functioning of the mind which has as its object the conception of nothing'.

35. As testified to by the usage of the word across many Sanskrit literary genres, *nidrā* denotes a state of deep, dreamless sleep, as opposed to *svapna*: cf. HARA (2008).



sūtra is found in the *Kitāb Pātañjala*, PINES and GELBLUM supposed that it was the result of a later interpolation, which not yet affected the Sanskrit text used by al-Bīrūnī, for his confusion of *nidrā* and *svapna* could hardly have occurred if his source included sūtra 1.38.<sup>36</sup> It is not found in the *Dharma Pātañjala* either, which does, however, show awareness of *svapnajñāna*. Given the strikingly similar definition of dream found in the Arabic and Old Javanese sources as respectively 'knowledge of things which are other' and 'the object of thought being (an)other', it could be suggested that both texts based their interpretations on a related alternative exegetical tradition.

The last of the functions of the mind, remembering (*smṛti*), is simply glossed by the *Dharma Pātañjala* in the following way: 'The sūtra remembering means: the mind that remembers about the objects that were enjoyed formerly', which in a way does reflect the terseness of *Yogasūtra* 1.11: 'Remembering is the non-loss of previously experienced objects' *anubhūta viśaya-sampramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ*.<sup>37</sup> Both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Bhāṣya* agree in remarking that all the five functions of the mind should not be present during the time of what they call, respectively, *yoga* and *samādhi*.

At the end of the exposition of the functions the Lord affirms that 'when all of them are covered, that is designated as absorption' *yapvan katutupan ikaṇ kabeh, ya tekā sinaṅguh samādhi naranya* (292.13). The *Dharma Pātañjala* then jumps to *Yogasūtra* 1.17, expounding the states of cognitive absorption (*samprajñātasamādhi*) as restrained by reflective absorption (*vitarka*), refined reflective absorption (*vicāra*), egoic absorption (*asmitā*) and blissful absorption (*ānanda*).<sup>38</sup>

36. The distinction between the cognition in sleep (*nidrājñāna*) and the cognition in dream (*svapnajñāna*) is explicitly made by the *Vivaraṇa* on *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.10 (trans. LEGGETT 1990:93): 'Objection: the dreaming state (*svapnāvasthā*) also must be included in sleep. Answer: it does not come under sleep as defined here, because the sūtra (1.38) will distinguish them: Or by meditation on the knowledge of dream (*svapna*) and sleep (*nidrā*)' *nanu ca svapnāvasthāpi nidraiva? naiṣa doṣaḥ / 'svapnanidrājñānālambanam ve 'ti sūtrakāreṇa bhedenopadiṣṭatvāt / iha suṣuptāvasthaiva nidrābhipretā //*.

37. Compare *Kitāb Pātañjala* (PINES and GELBLUM 1966:316): 'The fifth faculty (of the Soul) is memory, which is the retention of what has been known by the knower without being obstructed by forgetting'.

38. *Yogasūtra* 1.17: *vitarkavicārānandāsmitārūpānugamāt samprajñātaḥ*; cf. also *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* ad 1.1.

Table 14: The stages of *samprajñāta samādhi* according to the DhPāt and the YSBh

|                | DhPāt  | YSBh  |
|----------------|--|---|
| <i>vitarka</i> | † <sup>39</sup>  | The mind's experience, coarse, resting on the support of the mental |
| <i>vicāra</i>  | The mind that has the subtle as its only object of perception  | [The mind's full experience of] the subtle                          |
| <i>asmitā</i>  | The Soul is isolated; the external objects are carried by the mind, but they are not sentient. It knows about suffering only as long as it is aware of the content of the mind. Therefore the Soul is only still, experiencing its own consciousness | An awareness [of the mental] consisting in unity                    |
| <i>ānanda</i>  | The thinking of the Soul about its body alone is sharp, therefore the supreme bliss will be met  | Happiness   |

Apart from its peculiar exegesis, the *Dharma Pātañjala* is at variance with the *Yogasūtra* and the *Bhāṣya* in that it lists egoicity before joy. The position of the four is relevant for the *Bhāṣya*, which orders them in ascending hierarchy from the gross to the subtle absorption as comprising four, three, two and finally only one of them (*ānanda*) at the top of the scale.<sup>40</sup> Even though an ascending hierarchy might have been implied also in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the text simply states that ‘when either one, two, three or four [are present], [that state] is *cognitive*’. On the other hand, the state where none of them is present is designated as non-cognitive absorption, and follows cognitive absorption.

The text goes on to list the properties of the mind (*dharma ni citta*), viz. scattered (*kṣipta*), distracted (*vikṣipta*), infatuated (*vimūḍha*), restricted (*nīrodha*) and single-minded (*ekāgra*).<sup>41</sup> These are not found in the *Yogasūtra*

39. The explanation of the reflective absorption (*vitarkasamādhi*) was omitted from the list due to an error in transmission.

40. Compare *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* on 1.46.

41. Attestations of the five technical terms are found in other Old Javanese sources: cf. *Sevaka Dharma* (Bali) f. 1v: *kṣipta* / *mūḍha* / *vikṣipta* / *ekāgratā* / *nīrodha* /. In Old Javanese Tuturs from West Java the five items, whose forms have become corrupt, are decontextualized and mixed with other technical terms known in Pātañjala yoga; cf., e.g., *San Hyañ Hayu* 27.8–11, characterizing the many varieties of mind or thought (*hiḍep*) in the following manner: ‘It is thoughts, it is plans, it is stratagems, it is a concern, it is intellect, it is

but only in the *Bhāṣya*, at first simply enumerated, as properties of the mind (*cittasya dharma*), in the commentary on sūtra 1.1:

Yoga is concentration; and this is a property of the mind which belongs to all the stages. The stages of the mind are the scattered, the infatuated, the distracted, the single-minded and the restricted. When the mind is in the scattered state [or in the others before], absorption is subordinate to distraction and does not belong to yoga. But that [state] which, when the mind is focused on one object, fully illuminates a real object, destroys the hindrances, slackens the bonds of karma, and sets before it the restriction [of all fluctuations], is called a yoga that is cognitive.<sup>42</sup>

Whereas no exact definitions of *kṣipta* and *vikṣipta* are provided, more attention is dedicated to the ‘single-minded’ and ‘restricted’ in the course of the treatise. The *Bhāṣya* declares that when absorption is in any of the mental states but the ‘single-minded’ or the ‘restricted’, that is not considered to be part of the Pātañjala understanding of yoga (*yogapakṣe*). According to the *Dharma Pātañjala* (294.12–13), not necessarily both of them but either one or the other are sufficient condition of absorption.<sup>43</sup> In both the ‘single-

mind-stuff, it is scattered, it is distracted, it is assertion, it is single-minded, it is restricted, it is reflective, it is blissful, it is egoic, it is a faculty’ *ya añānañān, ya kirakira, ya upaya, ya cinta, ya budi, ya manah, ya ksitan* (→ *kṣipta*), *ya viksatan* (→ *vikṣipta*), *ya pratijñā, ya ekagraha, ya viroda* (→ *nirodha*), *ya vitarka, ya ananta, ya smita, ya indriya*; cf. also the version of the *Saṅ Hyañ Hayu* or *Sevaka Dharma* (West Java) preserved on Nipah Mal. Pol. 161, folios 34v–35r: ‘*śakṣitan* (→ *kṣipta*) means a mind that has departed, *vikṣitan* (→ *vikṣipta*) means a mind that comes back again and again, *pratijñā* means a mind that is frustrated, *ekagraha* (≈ *ekāgra*) means a mind † ... †, *viroddam* (→ *nirodham*) means a mind that is restricted, *vitarka* (= *vitarka*) means a mind that is not carried along †*ra*, *ananta* (→ *ānanda*) means a mind that is not happy, *asmita* means a mind that is not languishing’ *śakṣitan* *ñaranya citta matambhañan*, *vikṣitan* *ñaranya citta valuvaluy*, *pratijñā* (*em.*; *pratajñā* *cod.*) *ñaranya citta vuruñ*, *ekagraha* *ñaranya jñana* † ... † *nga* †, *viroddam* *ñaranya jñana kahrət*, *vitharka* *ñaranya manah tan katut*, †*ra ananta* *ñaranya manah tan harsa*, *asmita* *ñaranya manah tan lələh*. Since my purpose here is to show the high degree of ‘localization’ characterizing the two sources, I have refrained from emending or even standardizing the spelling of the words, which have been preserved in the same corrupted form in both texts.

42. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.1.3–7: *yogaḥ samādhiḥ. sa ca sārvaabhaumaś cittasya dharmah. kṣiptam, mūdham, vikṣiptam, ekāgram, niruddham iti cittabhūmayah. tatra vikṣipte cetasi vikṣepopasarjanībhūtaḥ samādhir na yogapakṣe vartate. yas tu ekāgre cetasi sadbhūtam artham dyotayati, kṣiṇoti kleśān, karmabandhanāni ślathayati, nirodham āmukhīkaroti, sa samprajñāto yoga ity ākhyāyate.*

43. Note that the *Bhāṣya* here speaks of cognitive yoga (*samprajñāta yoga*) instead of cognitive absorption (*samprajñāta samādhi*).

minded' and 'restricted' states of absorption there still is consciousness of an object.

While both texts agree that it is only when the climax of non-cognitive absorption is reached that a contentless state of awareness arises, the *Dharma Pātañjala* does not regard the scattered, the distracted and the infatuated as stages of absorption, thus going against the *Bhāṣya*'s characterization of absorption as a property that belongs to all the states (*sārvabhaumāś cittasya dharmah*). This may have to do with a misunderstanding of the *Bhāṣya*'s statement that the three stages do not belong to yoga: indeed, the *Dharma Pātañjala* consistently, and often indiscriminately, employs the word *yoga* as a synonym of *samādhi*.

Having hinted at non-cognitive absorption (*Yogasūtra* 1.18), the *Dharma Pātañjala* proceeds to treat the topic of sūtra 1.19, which describes the categories of divine beings (*deva*) called disembodied (*videha*) and dissolved into unevolved matter (*prakṛtilaya*)<sup>44</sup> as partaking of that kind of absorption: '[The non-cognitive absorption] caused by existence is the one attained by the disembodied ones and by those who are dissolved into unevolved matter' *bhavapratyayo videhaprakṛtilayānām*.<sup>45</sup> According to the *Bhāṣya*, those divine beings abide in a state of quasi-isolation insofar as they have their latent impressions ripen to be experienced, and their mind still has a duty to fulfill.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* does not explicitly connect the disembodied ones and those who are dissolved into unevolved matter with non-cognitive absorption but characterize them in a similar manner. The former have ceased to have a gross body and are made up of a subtle body only, whereas the latter have given up their subtle body too and have as body the principle of primal matter only. They think that their minds have ceased to exist and desire to obtain release, but are still contaminated by latent karmic impressions, for they have not ceased to experience the pleasures brought about by supernatural powers.<sup>46</sup> They therefore lack a mind (*citta*) that is *alilaṇ*—a

44. Or *prakṛtilīna*, as in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (294.19–20).

45. The interpretation of the word *bhava* in the compound *bhavapratyayo* in the sūtra is matter of disagreement. My translation differs from that of WOODS (1914:43), who renders *bhava* as '[worldly] means' (an interpretation patently in contrast with the *Bhāṣya*, which differentiates *bhava* from *upāya* 'means'); ANGOT (2008:234) translates it with 'naissance'.

46. The text mentions the fact that 'when they became addicted to the fruition of supernatural powers, they became troubled, experiencing again. That causes the so-called *cycle* [of existence]' (296.4–4). Unlike the *Bhāṣya*, the *Dharma Pātañjala* does not explicitly link

term glossed by OJED (1027) as ‘clear, pure, free from disturbance, or passion; finished, completely disappeared, swept away’. Each of these meaning entails slightly different conditions of the mind, spanning from clarity or dispassion to complete ‘mindlessness’. One clue about the appropriate meaning of *alilaṇ* in this particular passage may be provided by the definition of this condition, which is obtained when one performs yoga at all times, in 296.5–7 as being characterized by ‘faith and so on’ (*śraddhādi*)—faith being the first item of a list of five presented in *Yogasūtra* 1.20. Now, the *Bhāṣya* defines the term faith as follows: *śraddhā cetasaḥ samprasādaḥ* ‘faith is the perfect stillness of mind’. Another clue is the fact that the text introduces the disembodied ones and those who are dissolved into unevolved matter in reply to the following objection by an opponent: ‘We [in our system] also know that which is designated as Yoga, for whenever the mind is still (*hṇanā*), that is to be designated as *absorption*’.<sup>47</sup> The opponent’s view is countered by the Lord simply through the mention of the existence of the two categories of beings. This seems to be a point in support of the view of *Yogasūtra* 1.20, i.e. that *śraddhā* and the other means precede—thus lead to—non-cognitive absorption (mentioned two sūtras before): ‘For the others (i.e. non-gods, such as yogins) [this non-cognitive absorption] depends on faith, energy, remembrance, absorption, insight’ *śraddhāvīryasmṛtisamādhiprajñāpūrvakaitareṣāṃ*. Stillness of mind is thus a means and should not be confused with its end, as the opponent seems to do.

That stillness or dispassion of the mind alone, belonging to the realm of cognitive absorption, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the attainment of the final goal of yoga is proved by the existence of the categories of beings called ‘disembodied’ and ‘dissolved into unevolved matter’, for whom the cessation of the enjoyment of pleasure has not yet taken place.<sup>48</sup>

these categories of beings to gods, but rather to the leaders among yogins (294.16). The explanation provided, however, applies to both gods or yogins (the latter having obtained a divine status by virtue of good karma), whose lot of karmic merit eventually expires.

47. The opponent’s view seems to reflect the characterization of yoga given in *Bhagavadgītā* 2.53: ‘When your intellect that has been led to error by revelation will stand still and fixed, immovable in absorption, then you will attain yoga’ *śrutivipratipannā te yadā sthāsyati niścalā / samādhāv acalā buddhis tadā yogam avāpsyasi //*. The emphasis on a still or firm mind recurs in 2.55d (*sthitaprajñā*) and 2.56d (*sthitadhī*).

48. There is, however, a problem with the presentation of the *Dharma Pāṭanjala*. Since the two categories of beings are said to be devoid of even ‘faith and so on’, the argument

Right after the definition of *śraddhādi*, thus before the next item in the list (*vīrya*, energy), the *Dharma Pātañjala* enumerates and explains the marks connected with a yogin's purity of mind, following *Yogasūtra* 1.33: 'Cultivation of friendliness, compassion, joy and equanimity for [respectively] the happy, the unhappy, the meritorious and the sinner: therefrom the mind becomes completely quiet' *maitrīkaruṇāmuditopekṣāṇām sukhaduḥkhaṇyāpūṇyaviṣayāṇām bhāvanātaś cittaprasādanam*. The four items are described in a rather similar manner in both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Bhāṣya*.<sup>49</sup>

The reason why the *Dharma Pātañjala* makes a leap of twelve sūtras, as if to explain *śraddhā* by means of the list of four, probably has to do with the fact that both are similarly defined as being, or resulting in, '(complete) quietness of the mind'—*cittaprasādanam* in the sūtra (1.33) and *cetasah samprasādaḥ* in the *Bhāṣya* on 1.20.

The Lord goes on to state that the pure mind generates energy; energy generates awareness; awareness generates insight; insight generates absorption. This is different from the sequence outlined in *Yogasūtra* 1.20, which was interpreted in the *Bhāṣya* as a hierarchically ordered process of generation of each of the five items from the preceding one. Thus, for the Old Javanese source absorption, and not insight, is the highest of the five states. Furthermore, unlike the *Bhāṣya*, the *Dharma Pātañjala* (296.5–298.4) provides a brief explanation of each item, none of which reflects any of the Sanskrit commentaries.

that their very existence demonstrates that clarity/annihilation of mind is not absorption becomes ineffective. To avoid contradiction one may suppose that 'absorption' here actually denotes the non-cognitive variety. Cf. Bhoja's *Rājamārtanḍa* on *Yogasūtra* 1.17, which places the disembodied beings in the state of *ānandasamādhi* and those who are dissolved into unevolved matter in *asmitāsamādhi*—both of which belong to the cognitive variety—reasoning that they do not perceive the soul because their mind has merged into its own source (cf. VASUDEVA 2004:175).

49. Which again takes up a characterization of these items in 3.23. On the Buddhist parallels of this list, cf. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN (1936–37:232–233). The same list of items, collectively called *caturpārāmitā*, is attested in the Buddhist *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (p. 42 lines 12–22) and in its Śaiva version too (p. 35 line 2).

Table 15: The states preceding *asamprajñātasamādhi* according to the DhPāt

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>śraddhā</i>             | Clarity or dispassion of mind ( <i>alilaṅ ni citta</i> ) obtained through constant practice of yoga.   |
| <i>vīrya</i>               | Finding constant pleasure in performing yoga and its means of realization.   |
| <i>tutur</i> <sup>50</sup> | Knowledge about the state of <i>yogīśvara</i> , which is the cure for <i>saṁsāra</i> and the path leading to the meeting with the Lord.  |
| <i>prajñā</i>              | Steadfastness of the yogin with regard to the possession of the true knowledge guiding to the Lord; this insight is simple, going straight to the Lord like an arrow whose course is straight thanks to its wings. <sup>51</sup> |
| <i>samādhi</i>             | Consciousness abiding within the Soul (or: within it-self).  |

The śloka-quarter *ātmani cetanaḥ sthitaḥ*, defining *samādhi*, is commented upon as follows:

The mind is conscious. The mind is left behind by the Holy Soul. It closely adheres to the Lord. This kind of absorption will be met by the yogin endlessly. That is the reason why the state of supernatural prowess is met by him.

DHPĀT  
298.2-4

The portion of the Sanskrit verse and its gloss reflect sūtra 1.3: ‘Then the Seer is established in his own form’ *tadā draṣṭuḥ svarūpe ’vasthānam*.<sup>52</sup> The Seer (*draṣṭṛ*) is the Spirit or Self. The *Dharma Pātañjala* merges the Pātañjala understanding of the final state of contentless consciousness, brought about by absorption,<sup>53</sup> as isolation (*kaivalya*, which corresponds to the Old Javanese *kavākas*),<sup>54</sup> with the Śaiva view of liberation as union with the Lord and obtainment of His supernatural powers.

50. This is the Old Javanese word equivalent to the Sanskrit *smṛti*, ‘remembering or recollection’, but also ‘awareness, sentience’ (OJED 1800).

51. The simile of the arrow going straight to its target used in the context of yogic practice is also found in the *Tattvajñāna* (cf. below, p. 552).

52. Or, with WOODS (1914:13): ‘Then the Seer [that is, the Self,] abides in himself’.

53. It is evident, in view of the *Bhāṣya* (on sūtra 1.20), that the *Dharma Pātañjala* too intends this absorption to be non-cognitive, for it leads to the supreme state.

54. To say that the mind ‘has been left behind’ amounts to say that it is no more conjoined with the Holy Soul, which thus remains in its pure state of awareness.

In 298.5–12, the text then describes three categories of supernatural prowess (*kasiddhyan*),<sup>55</sup> namely low, middle and superior, which in turn are attributed to the three categories of yogin who practice respectively with gentle intensity (*mṛdusambega*), with moderate intensity (*madhyasambega*) and with keen intensity (*tībrasambega*). This topic coincides with that expounded by *Yogasūtra* 1.21 and 22: ‘For those whose practice is keenly intense, the [absorption] is near’ *tīvrasaṃvegānām āsannaḥ*, and ‘There is a superiority even to that, on account of [the method] being gentle, moderate or vehement’ *mṛdumadhyādhimātrāt tato ’pi viśeṣaḥ*.

As BRONKHORST (1985:191–194) has argued, these two sūtras are tentatively interpreted by the *Bhāṣya* so as to justify the existence of an eleven-fold classification of yogins. Each of the three main categories of yogins following a gentle, moderate or keen method (*upāya*) is further subdivided into three sub-categories, depending on the intensity (*saṃvega*) of their practice being gentle, moderate or keen.<sup>56</sup> In commenting upon sūtra 1.22, the *Bhāṣya* imposes a further threefold division on the category of yogin who follows the keen method with keen intensity. It is evident, however, that the two sūtras do not explicitly refer to this classification, at best identifying the category of yogin whose practice is keenly intense (*tīvrasaṃvega*), which is in turn qualified into three further subdivisions (keen-gentle, keen-moderate, keen-vehement). No explanation of what these terms exactly stand for is given in either the sūtra or the *Bhāṣya*.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* is at variance with the *Yogaśāstra* not only because it simply mentions three kinds of supernatural prowess as being the achievement of three categories of yogins, but also because it provides a definition of each category.

Table 16: The three categories of yogins according to the DhPāt

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>mṛdusambega</i>   | The yogin obtains the state of supernatural prowess in a long time (i.e. not before many births). |
| <i>madhyasambega</i> | The yogin obtains the state of supernatural prowess in another birth (i.e. in his next birth).    |

55. It is arguable that here *kasiddhyan* was intended as the Śaiva equivalent of the supreme state brought about by non-cognitive absorption; in the *Yogaśāstra*, the goal seems rather to be non-cognitive absorption itself.

56. Cf. the introduction to sūtra 1.21 (*Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.20.1–3).



*tībrasambega*      The yogin obtains the supernatural powers deriving from his intense practice in his present human birth.

It is difficult to determine whether this idiosyncratic treatment reflects the standpoint of the author or goes back to an untraced Sanskrit exegetical tradition.<sup>57</sup>

To Kumāra's question as to why the yogin who performs yoga with keen intensity meets the supernatural powers in his life, the Lord replies that it is by virtue of fixing one's mind upon the Lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*), which is simply glossed as the direct obtainment of the body of the Lord by the yogin (298.18). Apart from its synthetic definition that reveals Śaiva undertones, the *Dharma Pātañjala* is in disagreement with the *Bhāṣya* in that it explicitly links the quality of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* to the yogin belonging to the highest category.<sup>58</sup>

The exposition continues with Kumāra's question about the characteristics of the body of the Lord as it is obtained by the yogin, and to this the Lord replies by means of a half-śloka (4):

*The Lord is eternally untouched by afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits.*

DHPĀT  
300.1–3

57. It may be pointed out that the division of supernatural powers (*siddhi*) into three levels (e.g. *niṣṭha*, *madhya* and *uttama*) is found in the Śaiva *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* and in the *Brahmayāmala*, as well as some Tantric Buddhist texts like the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (cf. GOODALL and ISAACSON 2007:5). Abhinavagupta in *Tantrāloka* 13.129–130 uses a similar terminology to divide the fall of the Lord's grace (*śaktipāta*) into the categories of violent (*tīvra*), middle (*madhya*) and gentle (*manda*), each of which are further subdivided into the same three gradations—a ninefold systematization that reflects the one implemented by the *Bhāṣya* to explain sūtra 1.21–22.

58. A passage recalling the definition of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* given by the *Bhāṣya* is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (3.25–26), which characterizes the arising of *sambega* in the yogin as resulting in the Lord's love towards him: 'Then the desire for emancipation (*sambega*) comes into being, as well as love, meritorious acts and devotion. He brings all of them into being. That is the cause of the love of the Lord towards him. The Lord loves him' (I have quoted the passage in full above, p. 476). Compare the *Bhāṣya* (1.23.4–5): 'Because of the excellence of his devotion [the Lord] is inclined to him (i.e. the yogin) and favours him simply on account of his longing for [the Lord]. It is also by virtue of his longing that the attainment of absorption and the fruits of absorption are very close within the yogin's reach' *bhaktivīṣeṣād āvarjitas tam abhidhyānamātreṇānugrṇāti. tadabhidhyānād api yogina āsannataraḥ samādhilābhaḥ samādhiphalaṃ ceti.*

The yogin's awareness [of something] is not adhered to by *afflictions, karma, fruitions or latent deposits*. Thus are the characteristics of the Lord as they are obtained by the yogin.

The half-śloka is apparently based on *Yogasūtra* 1.24: 'Untouched by hindrances or karma or fruition or latent deposits, the Lord is a special kind of Spirit' *kleśakarmavipākāśayair aparāṃṣṭaḥ puruṣaviśeṣa īśvaraḥ*. In the *Bhāṣya* the sūtra is also introduced by a question, namely who is the Lord, who is distinct from the primal matter and the spirit (*atha pradhānapuruṣavyatiriktaḥ ko 'yam īśvara iti*). In the *Dharma Pātañjala* the attention is more on the yogin than on God, namely on the Śiva-like state obtained by him when his being aware of an object (*mañetanā*)<sup>59</sup> is untainted; no reference to *puruṣa* is made. The formulation of the half-śloka evidently reflects an awareness of the *Bhāṣya*'s emphasis on the fact that the Lord is *eternally* liberated (*sa tu sadā eva muktaḥ sadā eva īśvara iti*), so that it may be regarded as merging the motifs developed in the *Bhāṣya* with the ideas expressed in the sūtra. Whereas the Old Javanese paraphrase does not problematize the aspect of the Lord being liberated *ab æterno*, as if it were not an issue,<sup>60</sup> it refers to the Lord's sovereignty as being absolutely unsurpassed (*tātan kalāvihan kaiśvāryanira*, 300.12). This echoes a statement of the *Bhāṣya* that the Lord's sovereignty is altogether without anything equal or excelling it, and it cannot be excelled by another sovereignty (*tac ca tasyaiśvāryam sāmāyātisāyamuktam. na tāvad aiśvāryāntareṇātisāyyate*, 1.22:15–16).

The elaborate Old Javanese commentary to the half-śloka provides a definition of the hindrances, karma and the latent deposits. The first item is explained as a series of five, namely ignorance (*avidyā*), egoicity (*asmitā*), attachment (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*), strong desire (*abhiniveśa*); these terms

59. On the translation of the verb *mañetanā*, from the base *cetanā*, cf. below, fn. 66. Here the untainted Soul's faculty of being aware of something corresponds to the 'establishment of the [Soul's] power of sentience in its own form' (*svarūpapratīṣṭhā citīśaktir*) described in *Yogasūtra* 4.34, which defines isolation (*kaivalya*). Cf. also sūtra 2.20: 'The Seer is just vision, even though, pure, he sees in conformity with thought' *draṣṭā drśimātraḥ śuddho 'pi pratyayānupaśyaḥ*, and its paraphrase in *Kitāb Pātañjala* (PINES and GELBLUM 1977:525): 'In the abode of liberation, on the other hand, the veils are removed, the coverings are lifted, and the impediments eliminated. In it the [knower's] essence is cognizant only and nothing but that'.

60. In contrast to the perspective of the classical Śaivasiddhānta, according to which the Lord is different from the liberated individual souls in that His Śiva-ness is *ab æterno*, hence superior (cf. above, p. 391).

are left undefined. This seems to reflect the *Bhāṣya*, which simply mentions *avidyā* and the others (*avidyādayaḥ*), referring to sūtra 2.3 *avidyāsmītārā-gadveṣābhiniveśāḥ kleśāḥ*<sup>61</sup> (each item is then explained in sūtra 2.4 to 2.9). The next item, karma, is glossed as ‘doing bad, doing good’ (*gave hala, gave hayu*), which corresponds to the *kuśalākuśalāni* of the *Bhāṣya*. Fruition (*vipāka*) is defined as follows:

Its (i.e. the karma’s) fruits being experienced by the body are without power, for the body is the fruit of karma along with pleasure and pain. Those are not experienced during the time of yoga.

DHPāt  
300.5–7

The point seems to be that, for the yogin, the fruition of karma (and hence the experience of pleasure and pain) is no more active and what remains is simply the body, which was itself the fruit of previous karma. A comparison with this *Bhāṣya* does not help us to elucidate the point, as the commentary simply states that ‘fruition is the fruit of [karma, i.e. good and bad actions]’ (*tatphalaṃ vipākaḥ*).<sup>62</sup> The last item, the latent karmic deposits (*āśaya*), are explained as ‘the leftovers of the fruits of karma that have already been experienced’ *śeṣa nikaṇ karmaphalān huvus kabhukti*, which cause awareness of the mind (*magave tutur niṇ citta*)<sup>63</sup> and, whether bad or good, are not in the yogin. The *Bhāṣya* defines them as latent impressions (*vāsanā*), and concludes that afflictions, karma, fruitions and latent deposits pertain to the ‘mind’ (*manas*), but not to the Spirit (*puruṣa*). According to the *Dharma Pātañjala* (300.9–12), when those negative conditions do not adhere to the yogin, he acquires the characteristics of the Lord: he becomes omniscient and omnipotent; he creates the whole universe and possesses an unsurpassed sovereignty.<sup>64</sup>

61. The full series was already enumerated in the commentary to sūtra 1.8 on the five errors; both the sūtra and the commentary were not followed by the *Dharma Pātañjala* (cf. p. 486).

62. On the ripening of the fruits of afflictions, karma and latent deposits, cf. also *Yogaśāstra* 2.13.

63. I have translated the word *tutur* as ‘awareness’, which I understand as referring to the Soul’s awareness of mind (in its tainted state). If the other meaning of the word, i.e. ‘remembering’, is chosen, one has to assume that it refers to the karmic traces of pleasure and pain that were experienced by the Soul in former lives.

64. This characterization is echoed in a passage of the *Tattvajñāna*, which merges Śaiva and Pātañjala yoga views. Having described the process of purification and pacification of the mind enacted through absorption (*samādhi*) and reflection (*tarka*) in paragraph 47, the

The text proceeds with a debate not found in the *Yogaśāstra*.<sup>65</sup> An opponent puts forward the view that the Soul too (i.e. not the Lord-and-enlightened yogin) is untainted, omniscient, omnipotent and sovereign. The Lord replies that it is not so, adducing as evidence the existence of (the Soul's) awareness of something (*hananyaṁ mañetanā*). When the opponent calls that fact into question, the Lord replies that 'the whole universe does not exist, if the Soul does not exist'—a statement implying that the Soul's awareness of reality amounts to its very existence.<sup>66</sup> The opponent then remarks that,

text then (48.1–10) describes the state obtained by the yogin: 'The Holy Soul being in such a condition, will return to the supreme state. It will return to be united with the Lord that is the principle of Sadāśiva, and [it becomes] again omniscient and omnipotent, [endowed with] the power of Knowledge, Pervasion, Sovereignty, Action. The principle of Sadāśiva is free from karma, fruition and latent deposits. Karma, fruition and latent deposits means karma—the bad and good actions; fruition—their fruits, having ripened, are experienced in the body; latent deposits—their leftovers are experienced. They closely adhere to the Soul, creating further karma. That is considered as latent impressions. If the latent impressions of past karma are bad, the man inevitably desires to do bad due to that. If the latent impressions of past karma are good, the man inevitably desires to do good due to that. If none of them exists adhering to the Soul, it is free from karma, fruition and latent deposits' *valuya riṇ an-taviśeṣa / ika saṁ hyaṁ ātmā yan maṅkana / valuya sayodya lavan bhaṭāra sadāśivatattva / muvah sarvajña / sarvakāryakartā / jñānaśakti / vibhuśakti / prabhuśakti / kriyāśakti / luput saṅkeṇ karmavipākāśaya / ikaṁ sadāśivatattva / karmavipākāśaya nāranya / karma nāraniṇ gave halahayu / vipāka nāranya / ratāṇ phalanya bhinukti riṇ śarīra / āśaya nāranya / śeṣanya bhinukti / ya teka rumakāt in ātmā mamaṇun karma muvah / ya ta sinaṅguh vāsanā nāranya / yan ahala vāsanā nikaṁ karma nūni / mogha maharap magaveha hala ikaṁ vvaṇ denya / yan ahayu vāsanā nikaṁ karma nūni / mogha maharap magaveha hayu ikaṁ vvaṇ denya / tan hana pveka kabeh / rumakāt in ātmā / yeka luput saṅkeṇ karmavipākāśaya nāranya /*

65. Although it partly reflects, in a general way, the issue taken up by the *Bhāṣya* to 1.24 and 1.26 with regard to the difference between the individual souls in the isolated state vs. god, who has a superior kind of omniscience.

66. The verbal form of the base *cetanā*, namely *mañetanā* (active), *cinetanā* (passive), is difficult to translate (cf. also the next fn.). It probably means something to the effect of 'to consciously perceive, to be aware of' [something] (OJED). This usage might have derived from the Sanskrit *cetayati* 'to remember, have consciousness of'; cf., for instance, the definition of *citta* by the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.37 'The mind by itself' *saṁcittam* (p. 138 lines 6–7): 'Here the root *cit* means consciousness. It is called *citta* because through it one either perceives (*cetayati*) or collects (*cinoti*)' *atra citi saṁjñāne cetayati cinoti vā aneneti cittam* /. According to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, for something to be alive means to be 'sensed' by the Soul: e.g. the Soul being aware of the vital breaths is what make humans alive (234.5–7), and the Soul being aware of primal matter results in the creation of the universe (214.13–18). At the same time, when the Soul is conscious of something it loses its original 'immersion in its own state', without contents of perception with which it

still, the Soul is omniscient; that objection is countered by the Lord's observation that, if the Soul were omniscient, it would not be aware of anything,<sup>67</sup> and it would not cause the pain of its body (300.16–300.19).

A question now arises: does the above discussion of sovereignty and omniscience reflect the next sūtra 1.25: 'In Him (the Lord) is the unsurpassed germ of the omniscient one' *tatra niratiśayaṃ sarvajñabījam*—thus according to the interpretation of the *Bhāṣya*, which argues that there must be an omniscient one, and that the special kind of Self defined as Lord is an omniscient one. One may suspect that the Old Javanese author either misunderstood the point of the sūtra, or followed a different line of interpretation than the *Bhāṣya*. In this respect, it must be noted that, as argued by BRONKHORST (1985:194–197), in this case too the *Bhāṣya* seems to give a tendentious interpretation of the sūtra, which in its original context (i.e. prior to its compilation into the *Yogasūtra* known to us) would have referred to the incarnation of the Lord in 'an omniscient one' (*sarvajña*), i.e. a seer. As a quotation inserted in the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 1.25 suggests, the omniscient one may be identified with Kapila, the legendary sage who imparted the Sāṅkhya doctrine to Āsuri.<sup>68</sup> This fact suggests that the Javanese author would have known the 'original' line of interpretation and, like in other cases, refrained from treating sūtra 1.25 because its topic overlapped with another portion of the text, namely the long section in which the incarnation of the Lord—in His form of universal teacher Śrīkaṇṭha—into the seer (*ṛṣi*) Pātañjala, the Javanese alter-ego of Lakuliśa, the first promulgator of the Pāśupata doctrine (cf. above, pp. 365–378). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that also the topic of sūtra 1.26, 'He is a teacher of the primal sages also, for He is free from time' *sa pūrveṣāṃ api guruḥ kālenānavacchedāt*, is passed over in silence.

The following theme is introduced by Kumāra's praise of the Lord for

mistakenly identifies itself.

67. Thus, *mañetanā* is to be intended here as a limited, outer-directed kind of awareness that is different from the state of *sarvajñatva*.

68. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.25:8–11: '[Lord:] "Through the teaching of knowledge and dharma I will lift up the selves who transmigrate across the dissolutions at the end of the aeons and the great final dissolution". And thus it has been said: "The first knower, the exalted one, the supreme Seer, having assumed a created mind, out of compassion declared [the doctrine] to Āsuri, who desired to know"' *jñānadharmopadeśena kalpa-pralayamahāpralayeṣu saṃsāriṇaḥ puruṣān uddhariṣyāmīti. tathā cōktam: ādividvān nirmāṇacittam adhiṣṭhāya kārūnyād bhagavān parama ṛṣir āsuraye jijñāsamānāya provāca iti.*

teaching him a method easy to perform, which leads to the knowledge (*jñāna*) of the yogin—for indeed the obtainment of the Lord’s body is difficult given the man’s proneness to distraction. The method proposed by the Lord is the continuous murmuring of the syllable ॐ, which is taught to be the name of the Lord in all the scriptures.<sup>69</sup> This leads the yogin to the removal of all the hindrances (*sarvavighna*) and the obtainment of the Lord’s body. This section almost paraphrases the sequences of sūtras 1.27–29: ‘The word expressing Him (i.e. *īśvara*) is the syllable ॐ’ *tasya vācakaḥ praṇavaḥ*;<sup>70</sup> ‘The murmuring of it [brings about] the representation of its object (i.e. *īśvara*)’ *tajjapas tadarthabhāvanam*; ‘Thereafter comes the right awareness, and the removal of hindrances’ *tataḥ pratyakcetanādhigamo ’ntarāyābhāvaś ca*. The Old Javanese texts calls *vighna* what the sūtra calls *antarāya*, both meaning ‘hindrances, obstacles.’<sup>71</sup> The characteristics of the hindrances are outlined by the Lord by means of a śloka—the last one in the work:

DHPĀT  
302.13–14      *Illness, inattentiveness, idleness, doubt, apathy, erroneous perception, intemperance in knowledge, inability to attain any stage [of absorption] and lack of control.*

This paraphrases sūtra 1.30: ‘Sickness, apathy, doubt, inattentiveness, idleness, worldliness, erroneous perception, failure to attain any stage [of absorption], instability in the state [when attained]—these distractions of the mind are the obstacles’ *vyādhistyānasañśayapramādālasyāvīratibhrāntidārśanālabdhabhūmikātvānavasthitātvāni cittavikṣepā antarāyāḥ*.<sup>72</sup>

The Lord goes on to say that once the hindrances have been eliminated by murmuring (*japa*), the yogin is able constantly to perform yoga and thus to leave the (general and negative) impressions (*saṅskāra*) behind.

69. A similar statement is found in the Stuti of the Kakavin *Śivarātrikalpa* (Canto 33, stanza 2b): ‘In the sacred books you have a body in the mantra ॐ’ *yan riñ veda kitāvak iñ praṇavamantra*.

70. This idea is a cliché of theistic Brahmanical schools. Among the Śaiva scriptures, cf., e.g., *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.24 and 26: ‘He should meditate upon the sound ॐ [...] this is the Seer, the Sage, the Great’ *omkāram abhidhyāyīta* [...] *ṛṣir vipro mahān eṣaḥ*; *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* VP 4.7ab: ‘Śiva shines forth under the form of ॐ [...]’ *omkāratmatayā bhāti* [...] *śivaḥ*.

71. The same series of hindrances is referred to as *vighna* also in the *Śivapurāṇa* (7.2.38.9ab), whereas a similar passage of the *Līṅgapurāṇa* calls them *antarāyaka* (1.9.3b).

72. A series of verses that paraphrases this sūtra and, very patently, also the *Bhāṣya*, is found in *Līṅgapurāṇa* 1.9:1–7; a similar passage is *Śivapurāṇa* 7.2.38:1–8.

Table 17: The hindrances that impede yoga according to the DhPāt and the YSBh

|                     | <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i> (302.15–304.8)  | <i>Yogasūtrabhāṣya</i> (on 1.30)  |
|---------------------|---|---|
| <i>vyādhi</i>       | internal pain ( <i>lārādhyātmika</i> = <i>ādhyātmikaduḥkha</i> ) <sup>73</sup>  | disorder of the humors of the body  |
| <i>pramāda</i>      | not performing yoga and its means of realization, being unwilling to perform yoga   | absence of [performance of] the means leading to absorption   |
| <i>ālasya</i>       | <sup>†74</sup>  | absence of activity due to heaviness of body, speech and mind <sup>75</sup>   |
| <i>sandeha</i>      | when one thinks wrongly that the constant practice of yoga does not lead to release and there might exist another easier path | a knowledge touching both alternatives [of a dilemma, as when one thinks:] ‘this might be so, this might be not so’ |
| <i>styāna</i>       | not being able to perform yoga because of one’s weakness and indolence of character   | unfitness of the mind for activity  |
| <i>bhrāntijñāna</i> | one who is bewildered   | erroneous knowledge   |
| <i>aviratiñāna</i>  | failing to perform yoga   | desire characterized by connection with the mind (?)  |
| <i>bhūmyalābha</i>  | one does not desire anything and does not perform yoga  | not attaining absorption  |
| <i>cañcala</i>      | one who never finds time for performing yoga  | incapacity to keep the mind in any stage that has been attained   |

73. For a definition of internal pain, cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 258.12–2.74. The *Dharma Pātañjala* does not gloss *ālasya*, probably merging it with *styāna* (cf. the following footnote).75. The critical edition (MAAS 2006:48) reads *kāyavākcittagurutvād* instead of *kāyasya cittasya ca gurutvād* of the vulgate. The gloss of *styāna* of the *Dharma Pātañjala* appears to stand closer to the gloss of *ālasya* of the vulgate, where *vāc* (speech) is omitted.

The (specific and positive) impressions of the yoga are said to cause awareness (*tutur*) within the yogin, and the awareness to bring about yoga. The yoga in its turn causes impressions in the yogin's mind.

The distinction between unfavourable impressions produced by the mind and favourable impressions produced by yoga, besides being implicit in the passage, finds a counterpart in *Yogasūtra* 1.50: 'The impression produced by this [insight] is an obstacle for the other impressions' *tajjaḥ saṃskāro 'nyasaṃskārapratibandhī*. It is enticing to suppose that the term *tutur*, of unclear meaning in the context of the passage, was used as a synonym of *prajñā* 'insight'. First, because *prajñā* is described in the series of five elements culminating in *samādhi* given in *Dharma Pātañjala* 296.16–18, which corresponds to *Yogasūtra* 1.20;<sup>76</sup> second, because to *prajñā* is devoted sūtra 1.48, and it forms the subject of sūtra 1.50, which in the *Bhāṣya* is introduced with the following words: 'When the yogin has gained concentrated insight, the impression gained by the insight are reproduced again and again' *samādhiprajñāpratilambhe yoginaḥ prajñākṛtaḥ saṃskāro navo navo jāyate*.<sup>77</sup> It is evident that both texts, although differing slightly on details, describe the same continuous circular process involving the production of 'pure' and 'impure' impressions. The present passage of the Yogapāda of the *Dharma Pātañjala* appears to be informed by themes developed in the concluding section of the Samādhipāda of the *Yogaśāstra*.

In 304.11–15 the Lord, having stated that the impressions of yoga bring about awareness, characterizes them as either large (*gāṇ*) or restrained (*rāt-rāt*), never failing to cause pain to the yogin and being of five kinds. Kumāra's question (30) about the characteristics and *the number* of the afflictions (*kleśa*) gives reason to assume that the author regarded them as being the same as those of the impressions of yoga. This is further suggested by the fact

76. Where, unlike in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the series ends not with *samādhi* but *prajñā* (cf. above, p. 495).

77. An alternative hypothesis may be advanced. The circular process outlined in the *Dharma Pātañjala* reminds one of that illustrated in the śloka quoted at the end of the *Bhāṣya* ad 1.28 on *japa* 'murmuring' (= *Viṣṇupurāṇa* 6.6.2): 'Through recitation let one constantly practice yoga; through yoga let one effect recitation for a long time. By perfection in yoga and recitation, the supreme Soul shines forth' *svādhyāyād yogam āsita yogāt svādhyāyam āmanet / svādhyāyayogasampattiyā para ātmā prakāśate*. In this case the Old Javanese *tutur* in the passage might have denoted 'memory, recollection, thinking on or upon, calling to mind' (= *smṛti*: cf. above, p. 495), which would correspond to the *svādhyāya* 'reciting, rehearsing to one's self' in the śloka.



that the ‘large’ and ‘restrained’ impressions appear to correspond to respectively the ‘great’ (*udāra*)<sup>78</sup> and ‘minute’ (*tanu*)<sup>79</sup> afflictions distinguished in *Yogasūtra* 2.4.<sup>80</sup> This lack of distinction between the ‘pure’ impressions of yoga and the ‘impure’ impressions that are called afflictions is, however, at odds with the testimony of the *Yogaśāstra*. An elucidation of the matter is found in *Yogaśāstra* 1.5, which, equating the ‘impure’ impressions to the afflictions,<sup>81</sup> characterizes the conditions (*vṛtti*) of the mind as being either stained impressions (*kliṣṭa saṃskāra*), i.e. the impressions that are caused by the afflictions, and non-stained impressions (*akliṣṭa saṃskāra*), originating from (discriminative) knowledge (*khyāti*). The *Bhāṣya* specifies that the non-stained impressions remain so even though they are immersed in the stream of the stained impressions, and vice-versa, thus keeping their own identity in spite of being mixed together. Perhaps the variance in *Dharma Pātañjala* 304.11–15 might have been caused, rather than by a doctrinal variation, by a mistaken interpretation of a Sanskrit passage describing this concept.<sup>82</sup>

The five kinds of afflictions, already mentioned by the text in 300.3–4, are listed once again and explained one by one. This section of the *Dharma Pātañjala* follows the beginning of the Sādhana-pāda of the *Yogaśāstra*: sūtra 2.3, listing the five afflictions; 2.4, dividing them into four categories and defining ignorance as the basis of all the other hindrances;<sup>83</sup> sūtra 2.5–9, defining each of the afflictions.

The definition of the first item, ignorance (*avidyā*), closely reflects that of sūtra 2.5 and shares some elements with the *Bhāṣya* too. It is presented in the form of the statement of a (presumably materialist) opponent having false knowledge (*mithyājñāna*), expressing the ‘topsy-turvy’ view that the Soul does not last; that saying that its nature is vanished (i.e. confused

78. Also: ‘lofty, active, energetic, clear’.

79. Also: ‘fine, thin, slender’.

80. The sūtra details two more categories of afflictions, viz. the dormant (*prasupta*) and intercepted (*vicchinna*), thus presenting a total of four distinctions.

81. For indeed the conditions are said to be generated by the impressions, and vice-versa, as a wheel ceaselessly rolling (*vṛttisaṃskārakram anīṣam āvartate*).

82. No evident signs of corruption are found in the passage in question, apart from one oddity: Kumāra asks the Lord both the characteristics and number of the afflictions, in spite of the Lord’s having just pointed out that the impressions are five. One may thus not exclude that a portion of text was mistakenly left out.

83. On the latter point, cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 306.9–10 and below, p. 559.

with mind) is to no avail; and that yogins are impure, whereas the five elements and beautiful women are pure (*pavitra*).<sup>84</sup> This criticism reflects the points made by the *Bhāṣya*, citing examples illustrating that the body, made of impure substances, is impure (*aśuci*); that a woman, however beautiful, is impure; that the recognition of Self in not Self (such as in the mind, etc.) amounts to ignorance. The next item, egoicity (*asmitā*), is glossed as ‘The mind does not know about the difference between the mind and the Soul, for its experience of the two is not clearly distinguished’ (306.4–5). Compare sūtra 2.6: ‘Egoicity is like [supposing] an identity between the power of the perceiver and the power of perception’ *ḍṛgdarśanaśaktyor ekātmatevāsmi-tā*, and the *Bhāṣya ad loc.*, glossing ‘the power of the perceiver’ as the Spirit (*puruṣa*) and the power of perception as intellect (*buddhi*).<sup>85</sup> The items attachment (*rāga*) and aversion (*dveṣa*) are simply glossed as desire (*hyun*) and hate (*melik*), respectively.<sup>86</sup> More interesting is the explanation of obsession (*abhiniveśa*):

DHPAT  
306.6–9

Attachment and aversion arise at the same time. This is *obsession*. The master is occupied by a constant obsession. The evidence of this is as follows: he will hate the actions bringing about suffering and tribulation. He desires release, longing for the pleasure that does not turn into suffering. Thus is the state of obsession of the master.

Compare sūtra 2.9: ‘Persisting spontaneously, obsession springs up in this manner even in the wise’ *svarasavāhī viduṣo ’pi tathārūḍho ’bhiniveśaḥ*. The *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Yogasūtra* agree in that they attribute obsession to a yogin, indicated (here and elsewhere) respectively by the term *pañḍita* and *vidvat*. The *Dharma Pātañjala* is however at variance with all the known Sanskrit commentaries, including the *Bhāṣya*, in that it does not interpret it as fear of death and wish to live—‘will-to-live’ being the commonest translation of the term *abhiniveśa* used by scholars. However, the interpretation of the *Bhāṣya*, which has apparently influenced all the following com-

84. I quote the Old Javanese and Sanskrit passages, and discuss them, below, p. 613.

85. The following passage attributed to Pañcaśikha is quoted in the *Bhāṣya* to illustrate the matter: ‘He who should fail to see that the Spirit, without form, propensity and knowledge, etc., is other than the intellect, would consider, out of delusion, the intellect to be the same as Spirit’ *buddhitāḥ paraṃ puruṣaṃ ākāraśilavidyādibhir vibhaktam apaśyan kuryāt tatrātmabuddhiṃ mohena*.

86. Compare sūtra 2.7 ‘Attachment is that which is consequent upon pleasure’ *sukhānuśayī rāgaḥ* and 2.8 ‘Aversion is that which is consequent upon pain’ *duḥkhānuśayī dveṣaḥ*.

mentaries, seems tendentious and against a natural i.e. more general understanding of the term *abhiniveśa* in the sūtra.<sup>87</sup> The term is used in a wider sense in philosophical systems other than Yoga, e.g. ‘application, intentness, study, affection, devotion, determination (to effect a purpose or attain an object), tenacity, adherence to’. The present instance strongly suggests that the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* was following a different (and hitherto unattested) tradition of interpretation, not based on the *Bhāṣya*, that understood the term as a kind of ‘attachment’ by the yogin to his salvific agenda, comprising the wish for yoga and its aim (liberation) and the aversion towards suffering (rather than death). The sūtra in fact does not exactly define the term *abhiniveśa* but simply explains it is present in the wise ‘thus, in this manner, similarly’ (*tathā*). The exact import of *tathā* has, as far as I know, never been problematized; in the light of the Old Javanese gloss, which stresses the concomitant presence of attachment and aversion in the master, it may be supposed that the *tathā* originally referred to the two afflictions of attachment and aversion defined in the previous two sūtras, meaning something to the effect that ‘obsession exists spontaneously in this form (i.e. as attachment and aversion) even in the wise’.

The text proceeds with a question by Kumāra (31) about what is the cure for the afflictions. The Lord replies that the large and coarse ones can be eliminated through observances (*brata*) and the yoga of breath-control (*prāṇāyāmayoga*), and the subtle ones through cognitive absorption (306.13–17). This indication finds no counterpart in the *Yogaśāstra*, where sūtra 2.10 simply states that ‘those [afflictions] that are subtle are to be destroyed through decreation’ *te pratiprasavaheyāḥ sūkṣmāḥ*. To explain this, the *Bhāṣya* employs the metaphor of the burnt seed (*dagdhabīja*), which is no more capable of bearing fruit. Earlier, sūtra 2.1 defines *kriyāyoga* as penance (*tapas*), recitation (*svādhyāya*) and fixation upon the Lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*), which ‘aims at generating absorption and attenuating the afflictions’ *samādhībhāvanārthaḥ kleśatanūkaraṇārthaś ca* (2.2).

The Lord goes on to expound the following sequence of generation: non-cognitive absorption originates from cognitive absorption, which originates from withdrawal etc., which originates from observances, which originate

87. Relevant remarks on this point may be found in PINES and GELBLUM (1977:535–536, fn. 47), who propose to translate it as ‘congenital instinctive attachments’. As the authors point out, the term was rendered as ‘attachment(s)’ by al-Bīrūnī and already translated by FILLIOZAT (1974:147) as ‘obsessions’, which latter interpretation I have adopted.

from dispassion, which originates from being full with the suffering. The items withdrawal etc. and observances appear to stand, respectively, for the last five and the first two ancillaries of Pātañjala yoga. Although the mention of dispassion (*vairāgya*) as part of the process of elimination of the hindrances through yoga is found nowhere in the *Yogaśāstra*, a similar concept is detectable in sūtra 1.12: ‘The restriction of those [functions] is by means of practice and dispassion’ *abhyāsavairāgyābhyām tannirodhaḥ*. As we have seen above, the functions are largely caused by, and at the same time generate, the afflictions. Another echo of the idea that ‘being full with the suffering (of life)’ leads to dispassion is detectable in sūtra 1.15: ‘Dispassion is the consciousness<sup>88</sup> of the mastery [attained] by one who has rid himself of thirst for either seen or revealed objects’ *drṣṭānuśravikaviṣayavitrṣṇasya vaśīkāra-samjñā vairāgyam*.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* illustrates the painfulness of reincarnation and embodiment as follows:

DHPĀT  
306.19–22

The so-called suffering, that does not have an end, for the nature of having a body is only the fact that there is suffering. That which has a body, it will come back endlessly in heaven, hell or as a human being, incessantly revolving. The leader among yogins does know that the nature of having a body is thus.

Themes relating to this synthetic passage clearly recur in the long section of the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 2.12–13, identifying in the afflictions the root of karma resulting in life and death. It is arguable that the extreme synthetic treatment of karma and transmigration in the above passage, in contrast to the detailed excursus made by the *Bhāṣya*, is due to the fact that the mechanism of karma was already detailed earlier, in 234.13–240.12 and 272.17–274.18. The axiom that all experience as incarnated beings amounts to suffering, which the yogin must escape, is stressed in sūtra 2.15—which finds a clear echo in the above passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

The Lord goes on to state that, in order to escape from the cycle of existence and thus obtain release and the body of the Lord, the yogin should practice absorption and its means of realization (*sādhana*), arguably the eight ancillaries), not be inattentive (*pramāda*) but pay close attention to

88. I follow ANGOT’s (2008:221, fn. 490) hesitant translation of *saṃjñā* as ‘consciousness’ rather than ‘name’.

suffering. The difference in this respect between a yogin and a common human being is illustrated through the example of a spider's web touching the eye:

The stupid man is tolerant with suffering. For example: like a man who is touched by the web of a spider (*savaṇ ni garagatī*);<sup>89</sup> it is not painful if the body of the man [is touched], but if the eyes of the man are touched by it, it is painful. The yogin suffers from pain in the eyes, for the eyes of the man that have been touched by the web of a spider are not comfortable. To be afraid of suffering is the nature of the yogin. That is the reason why he performs absorption, along with its means of realization.

DHPĀT  
308.2–7

The same example is reported in the *Bhāṣya* ad sūtra 2.15:

Thus this stream of pain from time without beginning, spreading wider and wider, agitates even the yogin because its essence is counteractive. Why is this? It is because a wise man is like an eyeball. Just as a cobweb (*ūrṇā*) fallen upon the eyeball by its touch gives pain, but not so when it falls upon other parts of the body, so these pains [from impressions] hinder the yogin only, who is like an eyeball, but not any other perceiver.<sup>90</sup>

In both texts the example aims at showing that common human beings are not as sensible to pain as the yogin. The word *ūrṇā*, attested in the *Bhāṣya* as well as in most commentaries and sub-commentaries, is usually translated according to its common meaning of 'wool' or 'thread of wool'.<sup>91</sup> But the meaning of 'cobweb' is attested in MW (*Bhāgavatapurāṇa*),<sup>92</sup> which suggests that the rendering of the *Dharma Pāṭaṅjala* might be the most faithful to the 'original', or at least most widespread, interpretation of the word, for it

89. The word *savaṇ* is attested in OJED (1717) only in its verbal form *manavaṇ*, *panavaṇ* 'to catch in a net (web)?'; on the other hand, the Modern Javanese *savaṇ* means 'cobweb'. The Old Javanese *garagatī* is glossed in OJED (494) as 'spider?' (cf. KBNW s.v.); or: caterpillar?; the form *savaṇ garagatī* occurs in *Sumanasāntaka* 1.16.

90. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 2.15: *evam idam anādiduḥkhasroto viprasṛtaṃ yoginam eva pratikūlātmakatvād udvejayati / kasmāt? akṣipātrakalpo hi vidvān iti / yathorṇātantur akṣipātre nyastaḥ sparśena duḥkḥayati na cānyeṣu gātrāvayaveṣu evam etāni duḥkḥāny akṣipātrakalpaṃ yoginam eva kliśnanti netaraṃ pratipattāram*.

91. Cf. WOODS (1914:134), LEGGETT (1990:215–216), ANGOT (2008:353). The word also denotes the 'circle of hairs between the eyebrows'.

92. The PSW gives the meaning of 'spider, that which has wool at the navel, at the belly' ('Spinne (am Nabel, am Bauch Wolle habend)') under *ūrṇanābha*.

is hardly possible that the author opted for a relatively uncommon interpretation of *ūrṇā* if it were not already explicitly attested in his Sanskrit source, perhaps as a synonym.<sup>93</sup>

The statement in the *Dharma Pātañjala* that the nature of the yogin is to be afraid of suffering seems to adumbrate the point made in sūtra 2.16: ‘The future suffering should be avoided’ *heyaṃ duḥkham anāgatam*, which the *Bhāṣya* explains as follows: ‘It is future pain which afflicts the yogin, who is sensitive like the eyeball, not another perceiver. Only that [pain] has the property of being avoidable’ *anāgataṃ duḥkhaṃ tad evākṣipātrakalpaṃ yoginaṃ kliśnāti netaraṃ pratipattāraṃ tad eva heyatām āpadyate*.

In 308.7–11 the Lord goes on to say that the yogin performs observances (*brata*), which are capable of destroying maculation. To illustrate this He resorts to the following simile: if a man wants to produce a fire in wood by rubbing it, the wood must be dry; the observances are what makes the mind, the body and the senses dry, in order that they can be ‘rubbed’ by the ancillaries beginning with breath-control. This metaphor, not attested in the *Yogaśāstra*, might be an allusion to *prayogasandhi* (cf. below, pp. 546–550); but examples involving fire used to illustrate yogic practices are common in Sanskrit literature.<sup>94</sup>

*The Eight  
Ancillaries*

As we have seen above, a remarkable feature that distinguishes the Śaiva from the Pātañjala yoga is the treatment of the ancillaries (*aṅgas*) of yoga, and that what distinguished the *Dharma Pātañjala* from all other

known Old Javanese sources is its adherence to the latter system, numbering eight ancillaries, instead of the former, which numbers six. There exists a significant amount of literature on the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, some of which has taken into account not only Sanskrit but also Old Javanese sources.<sup>95</sup> Of

93. It is in fact not possible to arrive at the exact meaning of the word by studying the Sanskrit commentaries. A similar version of the example is paralleled in Buddhist sources, from which a different interpretation of the word emerges: cf. ANGOT (2008:353 fn. 1040), who, noting that ‘tout ce sūtra est pénétré des valeurs du yoga le plus ancien et donc du bouddhisme’, quotes two passages from respectively Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and Candrakīrti’s *Prasannapadā*, referring to the example of an *ūrṇāpakṣma* ‘eyelash’ (cil), which may be more correctly rendered as ‘a lash of the *ūrṇā*’, which is harmless if placed on the palm of a hand while painful if placed on the eye.

94. Cf., e.g., *Bhagavadgītā* 4.27: ‘Others offer up all works of sense, all works of vital breath, in the fire of yoga of self-restraint, kindled by wisdom’ *sarvāṇīndriyakarmāṇi prāṇakarmāṇi cāpare / ātmasaṃyamayogāgnau juhvati jñānadīpīte //*.

95. I refer the reader to the contributions by ENSINK (1974, 1978), GRÖNBOLD (1983),

particular interest are the tables comparing the treatment of the ancillaries in various sources that may be found in ENSINK (1974:211) and VASUDEVA (2004:379–380); the table below is intended to offer an updated presentation of the *aṅgas* as illustrated in Old Javanese texts.

Table 18: The *yogāṅgas* in Old Javanese texts

| VraSā 21      | AgPar<br>p. 375.20 | SHK (Śaiva)<br>p. 76–77 | JS 15.1 (= TK),<br>Vṛh 53, Gaṇ 3,<br>Sut 40.2–5 | TJ 44.1–2     | DhPāt<br>308.15–17      |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---|---------------|-------------------------|
|               |                    |                         |   |               | yama<br>niyama<br>āsana |
| prāṇāyāma     |                    | prāṇāyāma               | pratyāhāra                                      | prāṇāyāma     | pratyāhāra              |
| dhāraṇā       | <i>dhyāna</i>      | pratyāhāra              | <i>dhyāna</i>                                   | pratyāhāra    | prāṇāyāma               |
| pratyāhāra    | dhāraṇā            | <i>dhyāna</i>           | prāṇāyāma                                       | dhāraṇā       | dhāraṇā                 |
| <i>dhyāna</i> | <u>tarka</u>       | dhāraṇā                 | dhāraṇā   | <i>dhyāna</i> | <i>dhyāna</i>           |
|               | pratyāhāra         | <u>tarka</u>            | <u>tarka</u>                                    | <u>tarka</u>  |                         |
|               | samādhi            | samādhi                 | samādhi   | samādhi       | samādhi                 |

Besides the omission of *āsanas*, *yamas* and *niyamas*, the most salient features of *śaḍaṅgayoga* versus *aṣṭāṅgayoga* are the fundamentally theistic nature of the former and its inclusion of reflection (*tarka* or *ūha*) among the ancillaries.<sup>96</sup> Another interesting fact is the position of *dhyāna* in the two traditions: it usually appears as second member in early Śaiva sources,<sup>97</sup> whereas in Pātañjala yoga sources—or Śaiva sources influenced by that system—it appears as the penultimate one.<sup>98</sup> Indeed the *Dharma Pātañjala* is not the only Śaiva source giving a syncretic list, for similar instances of Pātañjala influence, es-

VASUDEVA (2004:367–436), and the notes by SUDARSHANA DEVI (1957:316–320) and GOODALL (2004:351–353); cf. also BRUNNER (1994).

96. Indeed GRÖNBOLD (1983) distinguished a '*tarka*-based' (*śaḍaṅga*) yoga from an '*āsana*-based' (*aṣṭāṅga*) yoga. I believe that VASUDEVA's (2004:373) claim that in the *śaḍaṅga* system *tarka* was regarded as the most important of the ancillaries is only true with respect to the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* and other non-dualist Kāśmirian scriptures of the Trika (including the works of the post-10th century exegetes); as BRUNNER (1994:440–441) has pointed out, in (early) Saiddhāntika literature (and, I add, in Old Javanese texts too) that *aṅga* plays a relatively unimportant role. On the other hand, it is true that *samādhi* plays a considerably less important role in the *śaḍaṅga* system than in the yoga of Pātañjali.

97. Cf. *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 7.5, *Kiraṇatantra* 58.2c–3b, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* YP 1.6, *Brhatkālotṭara* YP 1c–2b, *Śrīkaṇṭhīyasamhitā* 39–40, *Parākhyatantra* 14.10, *Vṛhaspatitattva* 53, *Gaṇapatitattva* 3 (sources cited in VASUDEVA 2004:376, fn. 19); cf. also GRÖNBOLD (1983:184–186).

98. Among the Śaiva sources, besides the *Dharma Pātañjala*, cf. *Netratantra* ch. 8, *Gorakṣasataka* (1) 4.

pecially with respect to the number and order of the *aṅgas*—are documented in Sanskrit sources too.<sup>99</sup>

In *Dharma Pātañjala* 308.14, Kumāra asks about the characteristics of the means of realization (*sādhana*) of yoga and of the observances (*brata*). As it is formulated, the question betrays Śaiva-Śaṅgayoga undertones, for it implies that the observances, i.e. *yamas* and *niyamas* (and possibly also *āsana*), are not regarded to be ancillaries or means but just preparatory stages to the performance of yoga proper. Nonetheless, the Lord explains the means as the eight ancillaries of yoga, namely: general commandments (*yama*), particular commandments (*niyama*), postures (*āsana*), withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*), fixation (*dhāraṇā*), visualization (*dhyāna*), absorption (*samādhi*).

The difference with the list of ancillaries listed in the *Yogasūtra* (2.29) lies in the position of withdrawal before breath-control. The Lord then introduces the five general and five particular commandments, whose items correspond, respectively, to those outlined in sūtra 2.30: non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truth (*satya*), non-theft (*astainya* DhPāt,<sup>100</sup> *asteya* YS), continence (*brahmacāri* DhPāt, *brahmacarya* YS), renunciation (*aparigraha*), and in 2.32: purity (*śauca*), contentedness (*santoṣa*), penance (*tapas*), recitation (*svādhyāya*), fixing one's mind upon the Lord (*īśvarapraṇidhāna*).

The definition of each items is in line with that found in the *Bhāṣya*, save

99. It is especially in the case of late (and often, South Indian) Saiddhāntika sources that the adherence to *aṣṭāṅgayoga* is remarkably faithful: cf. *Suprabheda* YP 3.53–56; *Īśānaśiva-gurudevapaddhati* 2; *Ajitāgama* 2.29; *Makutāgama* 11.1–21 and the Kāśmirian *Netratantra* 8.9, 21 (cf. BRUNNER 1994:439–440); to this list could be added the Devakōṭṭai edition of the *Kiraṇatantra* (58.2c–3), which substitutes *āsanas* in place of *tarka*, according to VASUDEVA (2004:377), ‘as an attempt (by a modern editor) to approximate the yoga of the *Kiraṇa* to the classical system of Patañjali’, for the Nepalese manuscripts retain *tarka* (but cf. GOODALL 2004:351–352 fn. 735, who has shown that all the South Indian manuscripts indeed read *āsana*). Other sources teaching a variety of *aṣṭāṅgayoga* are the *Mṛgendratāntra* YP and the *Sarvajñānottara*; the latter represents an intermediary position with six *aṅgas* without *tarka* (cf. VASUDEVA 2004:370, fn. 5). An interesting example documenting the appeal that Pātañjala yoga exerted on 20th-century Balinese intellectuals is provided by the *Adji Sangkya*, a Balinese Tutur composed in 1947 by Ida Ketoet Djlantik, a text which, while faithfully drawing upon the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and closely following the order of the topics expounded there, teaches *aṣṭāṅgayoga* instead of the *śaḍaṅgayoga* of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, using as a source the *Kitāb Joga Soetra Patandjali*, a Malay translation, through the intermediary of a Javanese and a Dutch translation, of WOODS’ translation of the *Yogasūtra* (cf. ENSINK 1974:198).

100. The form *astainya* instead of *asteya* is attested also in the śloka listing the *yamas* in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*; cf. below, p. 514.



for a few details. For instance, non-violence is interpreted in the *Dharma Pātañjala* not only as not killing but also as killing the fear of having a body and dying (*patyanta takut ni māvak pati*), an explanation that is not attested in any Sanskrit commentary. Further, the abstention from killing under all circumstances, even for the purpose of ritual or food, or during the period of change of the moon, gives the yogin the status of one who has carried out the Great Observance (*māhābrata/māhāvrata*). This element finds a counterpart in sūtra 2.31, 'When they (the general commandments) are unqualified by status or place or time or occasion and when valid at all stages these amount to the Great Observance' *jātideśakālasamayānavacchinnāḥ sārva-bhaumā mahāvrataṁ*, with the important exception that in the Old Javanese text it is applied not to the commandments but only to the first of them, non-violence. This is apparently due to the treatment of the *Bhāṣya*, which explains the Great Observance mentioned in the sūtra by taking up only the example of non-violence as being not restricted to holy places, days of change of the moon or that are auspicious, or for the sake of Gods or Brahmans, or in battle.

Of interest is also the explanation, coloured by theistic overtones, of the particular commandment *īśvarapraṇidhāna* as the visualization of the invisible essence of the Lord in the whole universe and in the yogin's body, in order to make absorption perfect (*umañṇaṇṇan kasūkṣman bhaṭāra ri rat kab-eh, ṇuniveh ry avaknira asthityana bhaṭāra, yatanyan siddhi samādhi*, 312.1–3)<sup>101</sup>—contrast the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 2.32: 'Fixing one's mind upon the Lord is the offering up of all actions to that Supreme Teacher' *īśvarapraṇidhānam tasmin paramagurau sarvakarmārpaṇam*.

Kumāra then asks why a yogin who has already mastered the five general commandments should observe also the particular commandments (312.5–6). The Lord replies that the two series of commandments are standing in one place (*mekasthā*), for the particular commandments are indispensable for the general commandments to bring about their fruits. This verbal exchange seems to reflect, if only indirectly, a point of doctrine that was an important issue in Old Javanese Tattvas, but which is not problematized in the

101. Compare the explanation of the fruit of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* in *Yogasūtra* 2.45: 'Perfection of absorption results from fixing one's mind upon the Lord' *samādhisiddhir īśvarapraṇidhānāt*, and contrast *Dharma Pātañjala* 314.1–1: 'The fruit of fixing one's mind upon the Lord is as follows: he is a perfect yogin' *nihan phala niñ īśvarapraṇidhāna, siddhi yogi sira*.

*Yogaśāstra*. The point lies in the consideration of the series of general commandments (*yama*) and particular commandments (*niyama*) as a single series of ten observances, that have to be understood as being practiced by the yogin at all times. This view, as shown by NIHOM (1995a), is testified to by the treatment of the *yamas* and *niyamas* in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (śloka 60–61 and commentary thereon) as a single set of ten rules of conduct, preparatory to the yoga of the six ancillaries, called *daśaśīla*—a technical term unknown in the Sanskrit literature.<sup>102</sup> NIHOM (1995a:204–205), having found the list in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*<sup>103</sup> to be identical to the one attested in *Sāṅkhyavṛtti* (43.14–44.1, p. 36, lines 4–17), *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 1.9 (15.23–16.8) and *Ratnaṭīkā* (14.9–22), referred to HARA's (2002:57–58 [1986:148]) observation that the subsumption of the *niyamas* under the *yamas* as constituting a single set of ten items is a feature that distinguishes the Pāsupata from the Sāṅkhya view.<sup>104</sup> Echoes of this view are found also in Siddhāntatantras,

102. Cf. NIHOM (1995a:213). The same point is made in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Yama Niyama Brata* (f. 49r): 'The total number of the observances of the general commandments and particular commandments is ten; those are called the ten rules of conduct' *ikā taṁ yama niyama brata piṇḍanya* [em.; *pidhanya* ms.] *sapuluh kvehnya, ya ika* [em.; *ya ka* ms.] *daśaśīla*. Note that the list given in this particular passage of the text differs from the one of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*; the identical śloka is found, however, elsewhere in the text (cf. the following footnote). Cf. also *Tantu Paṅgalaran* 1, mentioning the *daśaśīla* and *pañcaśikṣā*.

103. Which I have found to have a parallel in *Yama Niyama Brata* ff. 2v–3r and *Vṛtiśāsana* 3–4. The ślokas (as edited in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*) run: *ahiṃsā brahmacaryaṁ ca satyam avyavahārikam / astainyam iti pañcaite yamā rudreṇa bhāṣitāḥ // akrodho guruśūṣṛṣā śaucam āhārālāghavam / apramādaś ca pañcaite niyamāḥ parikīrtitāḥ //*. This list is different from the one given in *Yogasūtra*. The *yamas* are listed in a different sequence and *aparigraha* is substituted with *avyavahārika*; the list of *niyamas* displays more variance. Note that the list displaying *aparigraha* is likely to be the earliest, for it is attested in the Jaina *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, dating back to as early as the third to fourth century BC.

104. As Kauṇḍinya explains, the reason is that the ten items should be understood as general commandments as the latter are to be applied with no restriction of time until the practitioner's death, whereas the five particular commandments are withdrawn in time. According to HARA (2002:58), the specifically Pāsupata new list of five particular commandments is constituted by 'besmearing one's body with ashes (*bhasmasnāna*), lying in ashes (*bhasmaśayana*), wearing the *nirmālya* (the remains of flowers offered to the deity) and the like'—where 'the like' presumably refer to the supplementary bathing (*anusnānam*, sūtra 1.4) and wearing the sectarian marks (*liṅgadhārī*, sūtra 1.6). A list of five that might have been understood as a counterpart of the five Pāsupatas *niyamas* is the one referred to as *pañcaśikṣā*, mentioned alongside the *daśaśīla*, in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Yama Niyama Brata* f. 49v, glossing a śloka warning about the dire consequences for ascetics who do not respect the Pāsupata rules of conduct (*pāsupate na śīle*); cf. also *Tantu Paṅgalaran* 59.11 and

which often mention the items constituting the *yamas* and *niyamas* as a series of ten subsumed under the *buddhibhāva* Righteousness (*dharma*).<sup>105</sup>

Although the ten items listed in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and in other Old Javanese sources are different from those in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, the former going back to the Sāṅkhya (and Śaiva) tradition while the latter goes back to the *Yogasūtra*,<sup>106</sup> the emphasis on their being a single set of ten is likely to reflect a common Śaiva doctrinal standpoint.

The *Dharma Pātañjala* resumes the thread of exposition of the *Yogaśāstra*, skipping sūtra 2.33–34,<sup>107</sup> by detailing the fruits of the five general and five particular commandments. These are treated in *Yogaśāstra* 2.35–45, where each sūtra defines the fruit of one among the ten items. The definitions given in the *Dharma Pātañjala* are largely similar, although not identical, to those of the Sanskrit text. The treatment of the suitable places for practicing yoga, following thereupon, may be regarded as a reemergence of the Śaiva heritage of the Old Javanese source. Whereas the *Yogasūtra* immediately passes to the description of the postures (2.46), the *Dharma Pātañjala* first illustrates the places of yoga and prescribes the activities of purification and worship of the Lord to be undertaken:

Desiring to start constantly practicing yoga and its means of realization, he (the yogin) should look for a good place. His place should be somewhere far from confusion. It should not be a place for evil people, pure and neat. In order that his mind will become perfect, his abode should be any of these places: either a cave, or a mountain, or a forest, or close to a river-bank, or

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60.16.

105. Cf., e.g., the tenfold *dharma* (*daśavidho dharmo*) described in *Svacchandatantra* 10.1090cd–1091 (*ahiṃsā satyam asteyaṃ brahmacaryam akalkatā // akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucaṃ santoṣa ārjavam / evaṃ daśavidho dharmo yenokto dharmakṛn naraḥ*) and 11.144cd–145ab (*akrodho guruśuśrūṣā śaucaṃ santoṣa ārjavam // ahiṃsā satyam asteyaṃ brahmacaryam akalkatā / evaṃ daśavidho dharmah kathitas tu varānane*). The description of a tenfold *dharma* is found in a passage of the *Yama Niyama Brata* (f. 41v), corresponding to *Vratīśāsana* śloka 22, reporting another list of *yamas* and *niyamas* collectively defined as *daśadharma* (*ika ta kabeh daśadharma ṇa*). The śloka, which has a parallel in the *Agnipurāṇa* (161.17), runs: *dhṛtiḥ kṣamā damo śteyaṃ śaucam indriyanigrahaḥ / hrīr vidyā satyam akrodho daśakam dharmalakṣaṇam //*.

106. Yet, it appears that Sāṅkhya sources were not impermeable to the Pātañjala definition of the rules of conduct. As noted by HARA (2002:68), the series described in the *Yogasūtra* is also found in *Mātharavṛtti* and *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23.

107. Those describe the opposite conditions that should be dispelled through the commandments.

on an island, whatever is his desire. When he has already settled down, he should take a bath, first purifying himself and then rinsing his mouth. His mantra is: AGHORA, or: TATPURUṢA. Having finished [to mutter] thus, he enters the place to perform yoga, either a penance-grove, a cave or a house. He should wash the feet and take position to the west or to the south of the Lord. At first he shall worship. The words of the yogin will be: BHĀVA SIDDHA.

Several details in the above description find a counterpart in related accounts of Siddhāntatantras, usually in the context of introducing the description of the yogin's postures. The sources mention the same spots that are mentioned in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*<sup>108</sup> and also specify that they should be removed from people, clean and free from insects.<sup>109</sup> Besides in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*, I have found such prescriptions in the *San̥ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan*,<sup>110</sup> and also in the *Bhuvanakośa*.<sup>111</sup>

108. Save for an island (*nūsa*), arguably a local innovation; cf. *Bhuvanakośa* 10.9 (fn. 111).

109. Cf. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 12.6 (quiet cave or earthen hut), *Kiraṇatantra* 58.4 (a mountain peak, a deserted temple, a house), *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* YP 3.1c–2b (a secluded and clean spot), *Parākhyatantra* 14.2–3 (a lonely place with one *liṅga*, a grove, a mountain cave, an earthen hut, clean and free from insects), *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha* YP 20.1 (a silent spot frequented by yogins, not under any magic spell), *Sarvajñānottara* YP 6–7 (an empty building, a monastery, a temple, the bank of a river, a hut, a forest, a deserted spot), *Mṛgendratāntra* YP 1.17 (a house, a forest)—these passages are listed in VASUDEVA 2004:248–251; cf. also *Niśvāsana* 4.32, 4.101–103 and *Niśvāsaguhya* 10.4–5 (on the *japasthānas*). Similar lists are also found in the early Upaniṣads (cf. *Śvetāśvatara* 2.10) and in the Epics (cf. *Mahābhārata*, 12.269.12cd–14ab).

110. Cf. *San̥ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* p. 31 lines 4–10: 'It is good if the one who performs oblations with fire places himself on a mountain, a cave, the seaside, a hut, a (Buddhist) monastery, a newly-settled village, a penance-grove, or you [should place yourself in] a cemetery (? *kṣetra haraṇan*), or a forest, and suchlike' *yan molaha riñ vukir, gihā, sāgaratīra, kunañ kuṭi, vihāra, grāma naruka patapan, kunañ kita riñ kṣetra haraṇan, alas salviranya* (compare the slightly different version of ms. C: *tamolāh ta kitāmañun patapan in vukir, gihā, sāgaratīrah, oma uñgvan kuṭi, vihāra, dharma, alas salviranya*).

111. *Bhuvanakośa* 10.8–9: 'Here, in a field, a forest, the bank of a river, a cave or a mountain, the roots of a tree, a slab of rock, in those places the knower of yoga gives up life, o Goddess. Your question, o Goddess, is what are the places where one who knows the *yogasandhi* dies. Here they are: in a rice-field, in a forest, the bank of a river, in a cave, on a mountain, at the root of a tree, or on a slab of rock. There he will abandon his life. Or in a penance-grove, a forest, a house, a deserted mountain, a cave, a flat surface, an island, the knower of yoga gives up life. Other places where he should die are the following: in a penance-grove, in a forest, in a house, on a deserted mountain, on an island, or in an open field—there he abandons his life. Having died there, he goes back to the Lord Śiva' « *asmin kṣetre vane*

The prescription of the activity of bathing (*madyus*), purification (*maśoca*) and mouth-cleansing (*mācamana*) of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is also an eminent feature in Sanskrit sources.<sup>112</sup> The worship of the Lord is a cliché too, but the modalities vary consistently from source to source.<sup>113</sup>

The muttering of the Brahmamantras AGHORA or TATPURUṢA has an interesting parallel in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and Kauṇḍinya's commentary thereon. In *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 1.17: 'One should mutter the [mantra called] Raudrī Gāyatrī or the Bahurūpī' *raudrīm gāyatrīm bahurūpīm vā jayet* (p. 39), Kauṇḍinya explains that the Raudrī Gāyatrī amounts to the mantra beginning with TATPURUṢA, and the Bahurūpī to the mantra beginning with AGHORA; the muttering of these words precedes the advance of yoga—cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.20: 'From these things begins his yoga' *tato śya yogaḥ pravartate*. The same point is reiterated in the commentary to *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.21–22.<sup>114</sup> It seems that this prescription was specifically Pāśupata as no traces of it have survived in the later scriptures of the Śaiva Mantramārga.<sup>115</sup> I have

*devi nadīsthale guhāgirau / vṛkṣamūle śīlātale prāṇan tyajanti yogavit » ndi ta kapatyanira sañ vruh riñ yogasandhi / patakavanta bhaṭārī / nyan riñ savah / riñ alas / tira nikañ vve / riñ guhā / riñ gunuñ / ri vit nikañ vṛkṣa ṅkāna / mvañ riñ śīlātala / ṅkāna ta tiṅgalakna huripnira / « tapovane vane [em.; vanā Mss.] garhe śūnye girau tathaiva ca / guhe sthale [em.; stala Mss.] ca nuse 'pi prāṇan tyajanti yogavit // » nihan vaneh kapatyanira / riñ patapan / riñ vana / riñ umah / riñ guhā / riñ giri / riñ nusa / riñ tēgal kunañ / ṅkāna ta sirān tumiṅgalakān huripnira / mati pva sira ṅkāna / mulih ta sira bhaṭāra śiva //*. The passage is apparently to be understood in a context of yogic suicide (here called *yogasandhi*, cf. pp. 544–550). A (still preliminary) discussion of yogic suicide or *utkrānti* in the light of Sanskrit sources may be found in WHITE (2009:83–121) and VASUDEVA (2004:437–445).

112. Cf. e.g., *Niśvāsanaya* 4.31ab, *Sarvajñānottara* YP 9, *Mṛgendratāntra* YP 15–16. Only in the last source we find a (non-explicit) reference to *ācamana*, which may be understood as either a ritual sipping of water or its sprinkling on the seven bodily orifices (cf. *Somaśambhupaddhati* 1.47–50, BRUNNER 1963:42–44).

113. Cf., e.g., *Sarvajñānottara* VP 9b, *Mṛgendratāntra* YP 18, *Niśvāsanaya* 4.31b and 4.104a, *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 12.21. All these sources, unlike the *Dharma Pātañjala*, also prescribe the worship of the lineage of Gurus or Siddhas of the past.

114. Cf. *Pāśupatasūtra* 5.21–22 (pp. 123–124): '[The adept] should repeat the favourite prayer (i.e. the mantra AGHORA, according to Kauṇḍinya) [and the] Gāyatrī verse with his soul restrained' *ṛcam iṣṭām adhiyāta gāyatrīm ātmayantritaḥ*; 'Or either the Raudrī [Gāyatrī] or the [mantra] Bahurūpī' *raudrīm vā bahurūpīm vā*. Kauṇḍinya's interpretation of the words Raudrī and Bahurūpī is identical to the one advanced by him when commenting on sūtra 1.17.

115. The closest passage I have found is *Guhyasūtra* 3.7cd–8ab (cf. the following footnote), which describes a ritual of purification involving the muttering of the Brahmamantras VAKTRA (i.e. TATPURUṢA), AGHORA and VĀMA (i.e. VĀMADEVA). The muttering of these mantras,

found no Sanskrit parallel prescribing the muttering of the auspicious words BHĀVA SIDDHA.

The prescription that the yogin should take position at the west or at the south of the Lord (*muṅgva kulon bhaṭāra athavā kidul bhaṭāra*) must be understood in the context of yogic worship or initiation attested in early Śaiva literature, referring to the Lord as the Southern Image (*dakṣiṇāmūrti*).<sup>116</sup>

Having taken position in the spot of his choice, the yogin should then

however, is commonly prescribed in all the Śaiva Tantras.

116. 'The Lord' (*mahādeva*) often denotes an actual image, either a *liṅga* or a statue, at whose right side the yogin should stand while he faces north; cf. the abundant references in *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.9 ('Of the Great God in his Southern image' *mahādevasya dakṣiṇāmūrteḥ*): 'Here the word southern refers to a particular direction [...]. By image here is meant whatever a man sees to the southern side of God when he stands nearby facing north. The term includes the image of Śiva of the Bull Banner, a statue bearing the trident, a statue of Nandin, a statue of Mahākāla, a statue with erect phallus, etc.' *atra dakṣiṇeti dikprativibhāge bhavati / mūrtināma yad etad devasya dakṣiṇe pārśve sthitenodaṇmukhenopānte yad rūpam upalabhyate vṛṣadhva-jaśūlapāninandimahākālordhvaliṅgādilaṅgaṇam* (compare *Ratnaṭikā* to *Gaṇakārikā* 5cd and *Samskāravidhi* 4–5, cf. ACHARYA 2007:37, in particular fn. 68 and 69 on *dakṣiṇāmūrti*; other relevant passages of Pāśupata sources are quoted in BAKKER 2004:123–126); *Niśvāsa-guhyā* 3.7ab, prescribing that the yogin, having selected a suitable place, 'should fabricate his own hut to the southern or western side of the Image' *dakṣiṇā paścimā mūrtau svagrhan tatra kārayet*; 1.8cd–9ab of the same text (after the *japasthānas*: '[The yogin] having carried out a great homage to the God of Gods, concentrated, stands near the Dakṣiṇāmūrti, seated on a pile of *kuśa*-grass' *dakṣiṇāyāṃ sthito mūrtau kuśapiṇḍopaviṣṭakah*; many more references are found there, e.g. in 10.58, 60 and 11.72, where it is associated to a place provided with (only) one *liṅga* (*ekaliṅge dakṣiṇāyāṃ mūrtau*). On the other hand, BAKKER (2004, especially pp. 126–127) convincingly argues that such indications must be intended in most cases to be metaphorical and interpreted in the context of visualization of the Lord from His auspicious right side, which to the laymen may be represented by an image or the guru, but which to the Pāśupata initiand rather indicates a particular situation or state implying the visualization of the initiand's position with respect to Mahādeva and the cardinal points. This interpretation seems to be in agreement with the description provided by the *Dharma Pātañjala*, where no explicit mention of an actual image of the Lord is made (and one certainly does not expect to find images of the Lord in the form of statues or *liṅgas* in the places suitable for the practice of yoga mentioned in the text). The indication by the Old Javanese text of another possibility, i.e. that the practitioner may position himself at the western side of the Lord, is not attested in any Pāśupata source but occurs, as I have pointed out above, in the *Niśvāsa-guhyā*. This might be related to a tradition going back to the Brāhmaṇas, documented by BAKKER (2004:119), prescribing that the Vedic student should sit at the east of the east-facing guru (i.e. opposite him, looking at him from east to west). The *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Niśvāsa-guhyā* appear to have inverted this prescription.

assume a comfortable posture. The postures mentioned in the *Dharma Pātañjala* are only three, viz. *padmāsana*, *bhadrāsana* and *svastikāsana*, each of which is defined in 3.14.15–20. The *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 2.46, ‘The posture is firm and comfortable’ *sthirasukham āsanam*, names the above three plus another series of ten postures.<sup>117</sup> As noted by VASUDEVA (2004:401–402), these are simple seated postures that are widely described in early Śaiva texts and that stand in contrast to the great variety of more complex postures taught in later texts of the Haṭhayoga and Nātha-Siddha traditions.<sup>118</sup> Other Old Javanese sources, such as the *Tattvajñāna* (44.9–10), the *Navaruci* (42.22–24) and the *San Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) (p. 75 line 18–p. 76 line 1) report an identical list of six postures, all of which are found (with only one small variant) in the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, namely: *padmāsana*, *bhadrāsana*, *paryāṅkāsana*, *svastikāsana*, *daṇḍāsana*, *vīryāsana*.<sup>119</sup>

Thereupon follows a description of the comfortable yogic position, which is not understood as a proper *yogāsana*, to be assumed by the meditator: straight erect back and firm neck, eyes gazing attentively at the tip of the nose or alternatively closed, upper and lower teeth separated by the tongue and lips half-closed. Whereas no references to this mode of sitting are made in the *Yogaśāstra*, they are commonplace in Śaiva scriptures, which often define it as *karāṇa*.<sup>120</sup>

The *Dharma Pātañjala* then embarks on a definition of the yoga of withdrawal (*pratyāhārayoga*):

The faculties should be drawn away from their domains. Do not let the eyes see. The ears, do not let them hear. The nose, do not let it smell. The skin, do not let it perceive hot and cool. The mouth, do not let it speak. The hands, do not let them touch. The legs, do not let them walk. Thus is the

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117. Namely, *vīrāsana* (not in all mss.), *daṇḍāsana*, *sopāśraya*, *paryāṅka*, *krauñcaniśadana*, *hastiniśadana*, *uṣṭraniśadana*, *samasamsthāna*, *sthirasukha* and *yathāsukha* (the latter may indicate one or more postures whose names are not made explicit).

118. Passages of early sources describing postures, as listed by GOODALL (2004:348–489, fn. 728 and 729) and VASUDEVA (2004:398–401) include: *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on 1.16, *Mataṅga* YP 2.13–22, *Kiraṇatantra* 58.4e–5, *Sarvajñānottara* Yogaprakaraṇa 9. Cf. also *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 9.5, *Niśvāsanaya* 4:14–16 (= 4.105) and *Mukhasūtra* 4:49c–50.

119. As is evident from the comparison between the *Tattvajñāna* and the other two sources, the items *vajrāsana* and *vidyāsana* in the edition of the former text are corruptions of, respectively, *bhadrāsana* and *vīryāsana*.

120. Cf., e.g., *Niśvāsanaya* 4.106, *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* 9.6cd–7ab, *Sarvajñānottara* Yogaprakaraṇa 10–11, *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* YP 2.22cd–28, *Parākhyatantra* 14.8–9.

way to drawing out the faculties. The mind-stuff, do not let it deliberate. The intellect, do not let it reflect. The self-awareness, do not let it relate [things] to one's I. Thus is the way of drawing out the threefold internal organ. When he has already put all of them away, that is the reason why the mind is quiet, standing still, not like this and not like that.

Contrast *Yogasūtra* 2.54, 'Withdrawal is like an imitation of the nature of the mind by the senses, which are no more joined with their respective domains' *svaviṣayāsamprayoge cittasya svarūpānukāra ivendriyāṇāṃ pratyāhārah*, and 2.55, 'There results the highest state of control of the senses' *tataḥ paramāvaśyatendriyāṇām*. If, according to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, both the faculties of perception and action<sup>121</sup> and the *tryantaḥkaraṇa* should be arrested in order to pacify the mind (*citta*), the *Bhāṣya* explains that the quiescence of the senses follows the quiescence of the mind (rather than the other way around).<sup>122</sup> An account of *pratyāhāra* upholding a similar standpoint to that of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is found in the *Tattvajñāna* (45.1–3): 'All the senses have to be withdrawn from their objects, held with the mind, the intellect and the mind-stuff. [They] are not allowed to roam about, held with a serene mind' *ikaṃ indriya kabeh vataḥ sakeṇ viṣayanya / kināmpaḥ in citta buddhi manah / tan vineh maparanparana kināmpaḥ in cittālilaṇ*. Compare the *Vṛhaspatitattva*:

*Assiduously withdrawing the senses out of the domains that are the objects of the senses with a calm mind is called withdrawal.*

All the senses are withdrawn from their objects. Mind, intellect and mind-stuff are not allowed to roam about. They are kept guarded by a serene mind. That is called yoga of withdrawal.<sup>123</sup>

121. The list given in the text is deficient of one faculty of perception, namely tasting (in the tongue), and of two faculties of action, namely excretion (in the anus, *pāyu*) and sexual activity (in the genitals, *upastha*).

122. The example of the bees (i.e. the senses) following the queen-bee (i.e. the *citta*) wherever she goes or rests presented in the *Bhāṣya* on 2.54 is not found in the *Dharma Pātañjala* either.

123. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 54:

*indriyāṇīndriyārthebhyo viṣayebhyaḥ prayatnataḥ /  
śāntena manasāhṛtya pratyāhāro nigadyate //*

*ikaṃ indriya kabeh vinatāḥ saṅkeṇ viṣayanya / ikaṃ citta buddhi manah tan vineh maparanparana / kināmitakāṇ in citta malilaṇ / yeka pratyāhārayoga nāranya //*



The same śloka is found in the *Jñānasiddhānta* with a slightly different commentary.<sup>124</sup>

The *Dharma Pātañjala* concludes the definition of withdrawal by stating that ‘The oneness of mind and Soul, that is designated as *yoga*’ *ekatva citta sañ hyaṇ ātmā ya ta sinaṅguh yoga naranya*, and that when this unity has been accomplished, the yoga of breath-control (*prāṇāyāma*) should be performed (316.11–13). There is nothing specifically Pātañjala in the description of *prāṇāyāma*, which does not follow the *Yogaśāstra* (2.49–52) and is more Tantric in character. It revolves around the practice of the breath-exercises known in medieval (Tantric and non-Tantric) Sanskrit texts as *re-caka* ‘exhalation’, *kumbhaka* ‘retention’ and *pūraka* ‘inhalation’. The initial part of the passage (316.14–16) is elliptic and rather obscure, seemingly hinting at potentially nefarious consequences if one does not master this technique. This is to be understood in a context of esoteric practices connected with yogic suicide, usually described in Old Javanese sources in connection with *prāṇāyāma*. Whereas other Old Javanese sources describe that practice as a violent expulsion of the breath through the cranium,<sup>125</sup> the *Dharma Pātañjala* rather describes it as a technique to achieve a separation between mind and Soul. The text prescribes a very slow inhalation of the breath and then its stopping (i.e. retention) through the ‘key’ (*kuñci*), a yogic technical term indicating a practice of stopping the breath. This process eventually re-

124. Cf. *Jñānasiddhānta* chapter 6, Old Javanese commentary on śloka 2: ‘The meaning is: yoga of withdrawal is [when] all the senses are withdrawn, do not allow them to be [directed] to their objects; they are held within the clear, serene mind, which is untroubled in its extreme pureness. The objects of the senses cease. This is called yoga of withdrawal’ *arthanya: pratyāhārayoga naranya: ikañ sarvendriya vinatək hayva vineh riñ viṣayanya, kinəmpəl in citta maho malilañ, enak pva hənəñhəniñnya. māri viṣaya. yeka pratyāhārayoga naranya.*

125. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 56: ‘Having closed all the orifices, the breath is held within. The cranium is [then] broken open by the breath. This is called breath-control. All the openings, they have to be closed, [i.e.] eyes, nose, mouth, ears. The breath that has already been inhaled before, that should be expelled by way of the cranium. If, however, one does not master the expulsion of the breath through that channel, one expels it through the nose. But one expels just a little bit of breath. That is the yoga of breath-control’ « *pidhāya sarvadvārāṇi vāyur antarnigrhyate / mūrdhānaṃ vāyunodbhidya prāṇāyāmo nigadyate* » *ikañ sarvadvāra kabeh ya teka tutupana / mata / iruñ / tutuk / taliña / ikañ vāyu huvus inisəp nūnin rumuhun / ya teka vinətvakən mahavaneñ vunvunan / kunañ yapvan tan abhyāsa ikañ vāyu mahavane nīkāna / dadi ya vinətvakən mahavaneñ iruñ / ndan sakasaḍiḍik de niñ mamətvakən vāyu / ya teka prāṇāyāmayoga naranya.* This passage is paralleled, with minor variants, in *Tattvajñāna* 15.4, *Gaṇapatitattva* 6, *Saṇ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 76 lines 7–11.

sults in oneness of the mind (316.15). The effecting of the stopping of breath is then detailed as follows:

DHPĀT  
316.17–318.8

The supreme key [that stops the breath] does not expel the breath. It is only quiet, without breathing. For the sentience of the Soul, that is what should be reflected upon by him, without interruptions. The reason why the breath disappears to where it came from is that the sentience of the Soul is not reflected upon. For example, like the water that is dropped on a heated stone when working on metal while it is red: it just disappears, sucked out by the hot stone. Likewise the breath disappears by way of the sentience of the Soul. That is the reason why the key [that stops the breath and leads to] oneness is special. ‘But, when the *recaka*, *kumbhaka* and *pūra* have been completed, what is the fruit of the yoga of breath-control?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] The darkness of the heart and the mind vanish by way of that. The reason why the mind of the yogin vanishes by way of that, it is that the mind and the thoughts have various targets. They fly away unscathed, they cannot be cut off. As long as many thoughts are produced during the time of yoga, so long the absorption of the yogin remains unsuccessful. The yogin is afraid that his absorption could fail. The reason why the performing of breath-control is strived for, is that it wraps up the mind [so that] it becomes still, for precisely the breath-control is the reason why the many thoughts will become still.

The term *kuñcikā* ‘key’ (i.e. not *kuñci*, as in Old Javanese) infrequently appears in Śaiva Tantric sources in connection with practices of drawing up (*utkrānti*) the *kuṇḍalinī* along the central subtle channel of the body.<sup>126</sup> A similar function is attributed to the key in a number of Old Javanese sources, where its application concerns the violent uprise (*sadyotkrānti*) of the breath that ultimately amounts to a form of yogic suicide.<sup>127</sup> But some sources also describe another key, the application of which, as in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, only entails the retention of breath rather than its expulsion.<sup>128</sup> Such is the understanding of the yoga of breath-control also of the *Tattvajñāna* (44.13–30), which does not allow the breath to go out (*tan pamātvakān vāyu*) but

126. Cf., e.g., *Kubjikāmatatantra* 8.73, 9.82, 23.114 and *Gorakṣaśataka* (2) 51. For other, seemingly related, passages of Tantric sources, cf. MALLINSON (2007:21 and 177, note 79).

127. Cf., e.g., *Navaruci* 43.1–19, *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) p. 39–43, p. 71 lines 4–10, p. 75 lines 6–15, *Gaṇapatitattva* 49.

128. Note that in Bahasa Indonesia the word *kunci*, besides meaning ‘key’ (as in Old Javanese), also means ‘to lock’.

requires it to be entirely still (*humənañ juga*).<sup>129</sup> This causes the breath to be reabsorbed within its origin (*līna ri saṅkanya*), for it is no more perceived by the Soul (*apan tañ cinetana de niñ ātmā*). Unlike in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, this process does apparently end in the yogin's death. But both sources agree in characterizing breath-control as purifying, i.e. eliminating the darkness of heart and mind for the *Dharma Pātañjala*, and filling of *rajas* and *tamas* with the splendour of *sattva* (*təḍuhan in rajah, tamah, ri prakāśa niñ sattva*) for the *Tattvajñāna*.

Besides being propaedeutic to the yoga of fixation, the yoga of breath control is attributed by the *Dharma Pātañjala* the very important role of calming the activity of the mind, thereby rendering absorption successful.<sup>130</sup> The yoga of fixation is then defined as follows:

The mind [in the state of] oneness is stable in its own place; either in the heart, outside of the body, in the thought of the Soul. Or the oneness of [everything with] the Lord will become fixed. One of the instruments of the single attention of the mind is designated as *fixation*.

DHPĀT  
318.9–12

This rather general definition is in harmony with the one provided by *Yoga-sūtra* 3.1: 'Fixation is the binding of the mind to a place' *deśabandhaś cittasya dhāraṇā*. The loci of fixation mentioned in the *Bhāṣya* are the wheel in the navel (*nābhicakre*), the lotus in the heart (*hṛdayapuṇḍarīke*), the subtle centre above the head (*mūrdhni jyotiṣi*), the tip of the nose or of the tongue, or any other place in the body or outside of it. A stress on the theistic aspect of *dhāraṇā* as focusing on any kind of insentient element (*acetanaṃ tattvam*) as being part of the body of Śiva (*śaivaṃ vapur*) is found in the *Mṛgendratāntra* (YP 32–33ab).<sup>131</sup> The *Vṛhaspatitattva* characterizes *dhāraṇā* as follows:

129. Compare *Navaruci* 43.1 'There is a key that is different from that [just described], it is still and without breathing' *muvaḥ ana ta kuñci len saṅkerika, umənañ tan pāmbəkan juga*. The whole description of breath-control is apparently based upon the one of the *Tattvajñāna*. Both kinds of *prāṇāyāma*, involving either pacified retention or violent expulsion, are described on the basis of Sanskrit passages by VASUDEVA (2004:395–397 and 402–409).

130. Cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 318.8: 'The yoga of fixation ripens due to breath-control' *asā tekā dhāraṇayoga de ni prāṇāyāma*. The importance of *prāṇāyāma* is clearly documented in several Sanskrit Śaiva sources; cf., e.g., *Śivasantoṣiṇī* on *Līṅgapurāṇa* 1.8.44cd, regarding breath-control as the cause of visualization and absorption (quoted in VASUDEVA 2004:374, fn. 14).

131. A similar process of identification seems to be described in the Kakavin *Dharma Śūnya* (61b): 'The man of religion will not become perfect if he does not know about the state

*Having fixed the syllable oṃ in the heart, thereupon it is dissolved as the Soul of Śiva. Because the syllable oṃ is held steadfast, it is known as fixation.*

There is the sound oṃ, which is placed in the heart. That should be fixed upon. If that vanishes and no sound is heard during the time of yoga, that is the Soul of Śiva. In such a way the body of the Lord is Void. That is called yoga of fixation.<sup>132</sup>

The emphasis on the syllable oṃ as a support for fixation and its dissolution as the Soul of Śiva understood as Void are elements that find no counterpart in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, which in this respect stands closer to the Pātañjala tradition.

The definition of yoga of visualization is missing from the *Dharma Pātañjala* due to a textual corruption in 318.13, so one cannot be sure about the text's understanding of this technique. In the Āgamic tradition *dhyāna* is defined as the application of the mind to some kind of object, although almost every time a divine one, i.e. Śiva (cf. BRUNNER 1994:442–43). Both aspects are reflected in the Old Javanese sources.<sup>133</sup>

of him, the whole universe and the body; he should visualize the elements of the essence of the body outside or inside of the body' *tan siddhān vikva yan tan vruh i kahanan ikā mvañ sarāt lan śarīra / tattvanyan sāra śarīra ri yava ri dalām niñ avak yeka tonton.*

132. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 57:

*oṅkāraṃ hṛdaye sthāpya tato līnaṃ śivātmakam /  
oṅkāraḥ saṃdhr̥to yasmād dhāraṇaṃ vai nigadyate //*

▷ JS 15.5, Gaṇ 7, SHK C (p. 154)

57b tato ] JS, TK, TĀdh, Gaṇ cod.; tattva° Vṛh Ed.; tatva Vṛh cod., SHK C

• līnaṃ ] JS, SHK C; līna TĀdh, TK; līnaṃ Gaṇ cod.; līṇa Vṛh A; līṇa Vṛh BDEF; line Vṛh Ed.

*hana oṅkāraśabda umuṅgv iñ hati / ya teka dhāraṇān / yapvan hilañ ika nora karəñḥ ri kālā niñ yoga / yeka śivātmā ṇaranya / śūnyāvak bhaṭāra śiva yan mañkana / yeka dhāraṇayoga ṇaranya //*. This portion of OJ commentary is similar to *Tattvajñāna* 45.8–10: *hana oṅkāraśabda muṅguh riñ hati / ya teka dhāraṇān / ya pañilañ ikañ karəñḥ / ri kālā niñ yoga / ya teka śūnya ṇaranya / śivātmāvak bhaṭara śiva yan mañkana / ya tika dhāraṇayoga ṇaranya //*.

133. As for *dhyāna* in connection with a deity, cf.: *Gaṇapatitattva*, Old Javanese commentary on ślokaś 54–55, which mentions Śivadhyaṇa, Paramaśivadhyaṇa, Rudradhyaṇa, Mahādevadhyaṇa, Śaṅkaradhyaṇa, Īśvaradhyaṇa. Otherwise, cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 55 (≈ *Jñānasiddhānta* 15.3, *Gaṇapatitattva* 5), where *dhyāna* is characterized as follows: '[When the mind is] without dualities, without appearance, appeased and immovable, whatever form is constantly visualized, that is called visualization. [When] the mind is not dichotomizing, without modifications, being of untroubled quietness, being still and without coverings,

The brief passage that immediately follows, explaining the yoga of absorption, is heavily corrupted and virtually unintelligible. References are made to the mind transforming into something and visualization reaching a certain state towards the Lord, which suggests that the protracted practice of the previous ancillary resulted in absorption. Something to this effect may be inferred from the *Yogasūtras* on visualization (3.2) and absorption (3.3): ‘The continuous attention of the mental representation on that [which was the object of fixation] is visualization’ *tatra pratyayaikatānatā dhyānam*; ‘When this visualization shines forth as the [intended] object in itself only and, as it were, is devoid of its own form, [this] is [cognitive] absorption’ *tad evārthamātranirbhāsaṃ svarūpaśūnyam iva samādhiḥ*.<sup>134</sup> A rather similar characterization of *samādhi* as a form of supportless *dhyāna* is found in other Old Javanese scriptures.<sup>135</sup>

that is called yoga of visualization’ « *nirdvandvaṃ nirvikāraṃ ca niḥṣaktam acalaṃ tathā / yadrūpaṃ dhyāyate nityaṃ tad dhyānam iti kathyate* // 55b *niḥṣaktam* ] *conj.*; *niśāntam* Vṛh Ed., *niṣaktam* JS Ed. » *ikaṃ jñāna tan pañrvarva / tatan vikāra / enak hənən̄hənən̄nira / umiḍəṇ sadā tan kāvaraṇan / yeka dhyānayoga ṇaranya* //. The commentary of the JS (≈ Gaṇ 5) further defines *dhyāna* as concentration of the mind on one thing (*ekacittānusmaraṇa*).  
134. Compare *Mrgendratāntra* YP 7: ‘The thought-stream [focused] on that object [that one has chosen as a support] is visualization; and that has been taught again and again. When that [visualization] continuously focuses attention on one object only, absorption is produced’ *cintā tadviṣayā dhyānaṃ tac cādiṣṭaṃ muhurmuḥuḥ / tad ekatānatām eti sa samādhir vidhīyate* // (for a discussion, cf. VASUDEVA 2004:432).

135. Cf. *Jñānasiddhānta* 15.7: ‘[When the mind is] not paying attention [to anything], without concepts, without desires, without support, unobstructed, without aims, that is called absorption. The meaning is: what is called the yoga of absorption is the mind [when it is] without paying attention [to anything], without any conceptualizing, without relation to an I; there are no desires in it, it has no aims, clear without obstructions. That is the yoga of absorption according to the Lord’ « *nirupekṣaṃ niḥkalpanaṃ nirāmbananiḥspṛhaṃ / nirāvaraṇaṃ niḥsādhyāṃ samādhis tu nigadyate* » *kaliṇanya: samādhīyoga ṇaranya: ikaṃ jñāna tan pañupekṣa, tan pañalpana, tan pañakva, tan hana kahyun iriya, tan hana sādhyānira, malilaṇ tan kāvaraṇan. yeka samādhīyoga liṇ bhaṭṭāra • pañakva* ] *em.*; *pañalva* JS. The *Vṛhaspatitattva* (commentary on śloka 59, largely similar to JS 15.7) adds the following: ‘The sentience does not have any object, for it ceases to experience the body. It is free from the four mental creations. The four mental creations are the knower and what is known, the means of knowledge and [the process of] knowing. Thus are the four mental creations. All of them are not in the leader among yogins. That is the yoga of absorption’ *tatan pavastu ikaṃ cetana / apan māri humiḍəp sira ikaṃ śarīra / luput saṇkeṇ caturkalpanā* // *caturkalpanā ṇaranya / vruḥ lavan kinavruhan / pañavruḥ lavan mañavruhi / nahan yaṇ caturkalpanā ṇaranya / ika ta kabeh tan hana ri saṇ yogīśvara / ya teka samādhīyoga ṇaranya* //. The fourfold division of perception called *caturkalpanā* brings to my mind a similar fourfold distinction

In 318.16–320.2 the Lord concludes the account of the eight ancillaries with the corollary that they do not constitute means to obtain liberation but are used as external ancillaries (*pinakabahirāṅga*) with respect to non-cognitive absorption, and to obtain the state of supernatural prowess (*kaśiddhyan*). The supernatural powers are regarded as means to perform yoga again. The treatment of the eight ancillaries as external means to non-cognitive absorption is found in the *Yogaśāstra*: cf. the introduction of the *Bhāṣya* to *Yogasūtra* 3.1, which defines the means that are the five ancillaries beginning with the *yamas* and ending with *prāṇāyāma* as ‘external’ (*pañca bahiraṅgāni sādhanāni*), and sūtra 3.8, which specifies that even the triad of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi*, which was defined as an internal ancillary with respect to cognitive absorption in 3.7, is to be regarded as external in relation to non-cognitive absorption (*tad api bahiraṅgam nirbījasya*).<sup>136</sup>

The Lord goes on to state that it is when innate maculation (*sahajamala*) has vanished that the yogin is able to act according to his desire. The statement constitutes another instance of Śaiva theistic attuning: whereas the *Bhāṣya* ad sūtra 2.28 defines the eight ancillaries, with many examples, as being the cause of disconnection (*viyoga*) between the spirit and the mind, the disappearance of impurity, the cause of manifestation (*abhivyakti*) of right knowledge (*samyagjñāna*) as well as the attainment of discriminative discernment (*vivekakhyāti*), the *Dharma Pātāñjala* discusses the matter in terms of disappearance of maculation and manifestation of the state of omnipotence that is coterminous with Śivahood.<sup>137</sup> A debate follows:

described in a passage of the *Kitāb Pātāñjala*, where it is linked to the attainment of absorption and the state that occurs in the yogin before liberation: ‘In the same way he contains that which encompasses him, so that when union between (the act of) knowing and the known (is achieved) in him—he being the knower—intellection, he who intellects, and that which is intellected become in him one thing’ (cf. PINES and GELBLUM 1966:323–324). A fourfold distinction occurs in the *Sarvajñānottara* (Yogaprakaraṇa 4–5). The passage, while explaining *dhyāna*, states that one is engaged in yoga when one knows the following equations: visualizer (*dhyātā*) = self (*ātma*), the visualization (*taddhyānam*) = the mind-stuff (*manas*), his object of visualization (*taddhyeyam*) = the subtle Maheśvara (*sukṣmaḥ maheśvaraḥ*) and the purpose thereof (*prayojanam*) = supreme sovereignty (*paramaiśvaryam*); cf. VASUDEVA (2004:431), who notes that the verses appear only in the South Indian version commented upon by Aghoraśiva and not in the Nepalese manuscripts.

136. The term *nirbīja* (‘seedless’), which in the *Yogaśāstra* (1.51 and 3.8) indicates a liberating, therefore non-cognitive, kind of *samādhi*, does not occur in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*.

137. But note that a similar standpoint, although not explicitly connected to God, may be detected in sūtra 3.49, stating that ‘the mere discrimination of the difference between the

The opponent replies: ‘The explanation of that is very problematic, for the yoga, if constantly practiced, will not bring about liberation.’ If you speak thus, [I reply:] what is that which can bring about liberation? A [Saiddhāntika] Śaiva replies: ‘Only initiation brings about liberation.’ [I answer:] The Soul is one who is absolutely not omniscient. If the opinion of the opponent would be that initiation only [brings about liberation], the Soul, when not omniscient, is not regarded as [being in the state of] *liberation*. The state of omniscience of the Soul is by no means coming into being by means of initiation alone. That is the reason why yoga and absorption should be constantly practiced, now and continuously.

DHPĀT  
320.3–10

The debate illuminates us about the soteriological role of initiation vis-à-vis yoga—an issue that is passed over in silence in all other Tattvas and Tuturs known to me. The Lord here upholds the prominence of yoga over initiation—or at least the ineffectiveness of the latter without the former. The gist of the Lord’s argument is the observation that the Soul does not become liberated or omniscient after having undergone initiation;<sup>138</sup> that it does become so by continuous performance of yoga and absorption is seemingly taken for granted.

What is intriguing is that the view that initiation alone brings about liberation is upheld by a debater designated as *sañ śevaka*, which may be taken to denote either a general ‘worshipper’ (*sevaka*) or, to my mind more likely, a *śaiva(ka)*, i.e. a follower of (the ‘orthodox’ variety of) Śaivasiddhānta—for it is the latter variety of Śaivism that attributes to initiation a role of absolute prominence in bringing about liberation. If so, the characterization of this view as a *pūrvapakṣa* has the very important consequence that certain tenets of Śaivism adhered to by the *Dharma Pātañjala* as well as the other Old Javanese Tattvas and Tuturs are pre- or non-Saiddhāntika in nature, stemming from a period or a tradition of Śaivism where initiation did not (yet) assume a role of prominence.<sup>139</sup> Of course, this does not imply that the Old

mind and the Spirit brings about the states of sovereignty over all beings, and omniscience’ *sattvapuruṣānyatākhyātīmātrasya sarvabhāvādhiṣṭhātṛtvaṃ sarvajñātṛtvaṃ ca*. The two supernatural states can be compared to the divine qualities of *sarvajñatva* and *sarvakartṛtva* attributed by the Śaivas to the Lord and the liberated Souls.

138. On the contrary, the *Kiraṇatantra* (VP 1.21bc) affirms that the Soul after initiation becomes omniscient like Śiva (*sarvajñāḥ sa śivo yadvat*) and devoid of any limitations of knowledge (*kiñcijñatvavivarjitah*)—cf. Rāmakaṇṭha’s interpretation as emerging from his commentary to *Kiraṇa* VP 5.9e–10b (GOODALL 1998:338).

139. As is also the case, for instance, in the Atimārga (i.e. Pāśupata) variety of Śaivism:

Javanese sources were written at a time when Saiddhāntika Śaivism had not yet emerged, but merely that they preserved older doctrines within a Mantramārga context.<sup>140</sup>

*The Yogic  
Powers*

To Kumāra's question about the characteristics of the state of supernatural prowess (*kaiśvāryan*) obtained by the yogin, the Lord replies by pointing at restraint (*sañyama/saṃyama*), viz. fixation, visualization and absorption, on a single principle as the means to achieve it. He further specifies that restraint should first be practiced from below (*sañke sor*), for the upper principles cannot be restrained. This definition of restraint is evidently indebted to *Yogasūtra* 3.4: 'The three in one are restraint' *trayam ekatra sañyamah*, which is interpreted by the *Bhāṣya* as the triad of fixation, visualization and absorption focused on a single object;<sup>141</sup> the warning about the manner in which it should be practiced reflects *Yogasūtra* 3.6: 'Its application is on [every] stage' *tasya bhūmiṣu viniyogaḥ*, which is explained by the *Bhāṣya* as a gradual application to successive stages, 'because one who has not yet conquered the inferior stages can never obtain restraint towards the superior

cf. SANDERSON (2006a:147–148). A Saiddhāntika scripture that characterizes the attainment of Śivahood as a goal of yoga (and not of initiation) is the *Sarvajñānottara* (Yogaprakaraṇa 30): 'Having entered into that [state of unity with Śiva brought about by yoga], the knower of yoga visibly becomes Śiva, whose nature is immortality, who is omniscient, omnipervasive, subtle, the Lord of everything and the all-doer' *amṛtātmā śivaḥ sākṣāt tasmin viṣṭas tu yogavit / sarvajñāḥ sarvagaḥ sūkṣmaḥ sarveśaḥ sarvakṛd bhavet //*. Aghoraśiva, commenting upon this passage, tries to bring it in line with the Saiddhāntika orthodoxy by identifying yoga as part of *dīkṣā*. The important role of *dīkṣā* is preserved also in the non-Saiddhāntika Tantras of the Mantramārga, even though there it may assume a more 'gnostic' and ultra-ritualistic dimension. As argued by GOODALL (2006), it is only in post-12th century (Vedānta-influenced and non-dualist) Śaiva scriptures from South India that *dīkṣā* loses its importance as a salvific transformatory rite. Since Tattvas do not seem to share any fundamental (Vedānta- and *bhakti*-influenced) theme with the above category of Sanskrit scriptures—unlike Tutors, cf. pp. 378–387, it is unlikely that the *Dharma Pātañjala* borrowed its view of *dīkṣā* from those late South Indian scriptures.

140. Cf. the relevant remarks I have made on pp. 11–16 of the Introduction.

141. Although the characterization of *sañyama* in the *Yogaśāstra* is undeniably connected with the obtainment of supernatural powers, sūtra 3.5 regards the mastering of *sañyama* as leading to the manifestation of insight (*prajñālokaḥ*)—contrast *Dharma Pātañjala* 322.1–5, which considers it propaedeutic to the obtainment of the (Śiva-like) state of supernatural prowess; cf. also sūtra 3.8, describing *sañyama* as leading to seedless absorption—compare *Dharma Pātañjala* 318.16–1, where non-cognitive absorption seemingly coincides with the Śiva-like state of omnipotence.



stages by skipping an intermediary stage' *na hy ajitāḍharabhūmir anantara-bhūmiṃ vilaṅghya prāntabhūmiṣu saṃyamam labhate*.<sup>142</sup>

*Saṃyama* is used as a technical term indicating the triad of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* in other Old Javanese sources, which however reconfigure it in a context that has little to do with the original Pātañjala yoga characterization;<sup>143</sup> the *Dharma Pātañjala* is essentially faithful to the treatment of the *Yogaśāstra*, although it also reinterprets several items along Tantric lines. I have detected no correspondences between the *Dharma Pātañjala* and sūtras 3.9–15 of the *Yogaśāstra*, which are mostly devoted to a detailed philosophical disquisition on the mutations in the mind in connection with mutations of substances, time, etc.<sup>144</sup> The first supernatural ability attained through the application of 'restraint' is described in sūtra 3.16, which has no counterpart in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The first correspondence is found between the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 3.24 and *Dharma Pātañjala* 322.9, which mentions the attainment of the power of Garuḍa. The treatment of the restraints by the two texts is summarized in the following table.<sup>145</sup>

142. I support ANGOT's (2008:461) translation 'On applique ce [*saṃyama*] successivement à tous les plans', against WOODS': 'Its application is by stages'. The referent of *bhūmi* is not explicitly mentioned in the Sanskrit passage, although by comparing it to the expression *sārvabhauma* in *Yogaśāstra* 1.1 one may suppose that it refers to the five stages of the mind starting with scattered (cf. above, p. 491). Bhoja (*Rājamārtanḍa* on sūtra 3.6) understands it as referring to stages distinguished according to the gross or subtle constitution of their object (*sthūlasūkṣmāmbanabheda*). The *Dharma Pātañjala* apparently understood the stages to be *tattvas*, i.e. the hierarchically ordered (from coarse to subtle) constitutive principles of the universe to which the yogin should apply restraint. Thus, here the term 'stage' is perhaps to be understood as having the sense of 'station' or 'level' and not as indicating a 'step' in a process.

143. For instance, in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (Old Javanese exegesis on śloka 64) it is mentioned in connection with the seven nectars (*saptāmṛta*) corresponding to the five faculties of sense plus *saṅkalpa* (= *manas*?) and *boddhavya* (= *buddhi*? cf. below, p. 543), to which the yogin should apply restraint in order to become forever joined with the Lord (*sadāsamāhitānira riṇ bhaṭāra*) and become the embodiment of the Lord (*pāvaka bhaṭāra ri sira*). The *Tattvajñāna* (19.7) describe *saṃyama* as 'the triad beginning with *dhyāna*' (*dhyānāditraya*), which is inconsistently glossed in the commentary as *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇā* and *samādhi* (*dhyāna* having been replaced by *prāṇāyāma*).

144. Both the author of the *Bhāṣya* and Vācaspatimiśra devote considerable space to the commentary of some of these sūtras.

145. The items preceded by an asterisk (\*) are not, strictly speaking, objects of *saṃyama* but independent, albeit related, meditative techniques or supernatural achievements.

Table 19: *saṃyama* and the ensuing supernatural powers in the DhPāt and the YS[Bh]

| <i>Yogasūtra</i> [ <i>Bhāṣya</i> ]   |  | <i>Dharma Pāṭiñjala</i>   |  |
|--|--|---|--|
| Object of <i>saṃyama</i>   | Faculty obtained   | Object of <i>saṃyama</i>  | Faculty obtained                         |
| 3.16 Three mutations ( <i>pariṇāmatraya</i> )  | Knowledge of past and future                               |   |  |
| 3.17 Distinction between word, object and mental representation                      | Knowledge of the cries of all the beings                   |   |  |
| 3.18 *Direct perception of impressions   | Knowledge of previous births                               |   |  |
| 3.19 Thought-stream  | Knowledge of another's mind                                |   |  |
| 3.21 Colour <sup>146</sup> of the body   | Invisibility   |   |  |
| 3.22 Karma that is quickly productive or slowly productive                           | Knowledge of one's impending death                         | Right-and-wrong ( <i>dharmaṁdharma</i> ) (322.9–12)                 | Knowledge of one's death                 |
| 3.23 Friendliness etc.   | The corresponding powers                                   | Fruits right-and-wrong (322.12–13)                                  | To attain one's death (at wish)          |
| 3.24 The powers  | Powers [like those of Garuḍa, an elephant, the wind, etc.] | The power of a lion (322.8), the power of Garuḍa (322.9)            | The power of a lion, the power of Garuḍa |
| 3.25 *Casting the light of sense-activity [on subtle, concealed, or obscure objects] | Knowledge of subtle, concealed or obscure objects          |   |  |
| 3.26 Sun   | Knowledge of the worlds making up the universe             |   |  |
| 3.27 Moon  | Knowledge of the arrangement of the stars                  |   |  |
| 3.28 Polar star  | Knowledge of the movements of the stars                    |   |  |
| 3.29 Wheel of the navel  | Knowledge of the arrangement of the body                   |   |  |
| 3.30 Well of the throat  | Cessation of hunger and thirst                             | The nectar of immortality below the tubes of the throat (322.14–15) | Cessation of hunger and thirst           |
| 3.31 Vessel of the tortoise  | Stability [like that of a serpent]                         |   |  |

146. For the translation of *rūpa* as 'colour' instead that 'form', cf. ANGOT (2008:505).

| <i>Yogasūtra</i> [Bhāṣya]   |   | <i>Dharma Pāṭanjala</i>   |   |
|---|---|---|---|
| Object of <i>saṃyama</i>  | Faculty obtained  | Object of <i>saṃyama</i>  | Faculty obtained  |
| 3.32 Light in the cranium   | The vision of the Siddhas   | The light coming out from the cranium (322.15–17)   | Vision of the Siddhas and the Gods  |
| 3.33 *Transcendent intuition  | Knowledge of everything   |   |   |
| 3.34 Heart  | Consciousness of the mind   |   |   |
| 3.35 That which exists for its own sake   | Knowledge of the Spirit ( <i>puruṣa</i> )                                   |   |   |
| 3.36  | *[Divine] intuition, hearing, feeling, vision, taste and smell              |   |   |
| 3.38 *Slackening of what causes the mental to be bound (to the body) and the perfect knowledge of the movements of the mental | Entrance [of the mind] into another's body                                  | The right-and-wrong are almost cut-off, then they completely vanish (328.16–19)   | Ability to enter another man  |
| 3.39 *Conquest of <i>udāna</i> breath   | Non-adherence with water, mud, thorns, and expulsion [of life]              | <i>udāna</i> breath (322.15–17)   | Vision of the Siddhas and the Gods; not be pressed down by water and † <sup>147</sup> (324.1–2) |
| 3.40 *Conquest of <i>samāna</i> breath  | Radiance  | <i>samāna</i> breath (322.17–18)  | Assuming the appearance of a blazing fire   |
| 3.41 Relation between hearing and the space   | Divine hearing  | <i>samāna</i> breath (322.19–20)  | Reducing the body to ashes by fire  |
| 3.42 Relation between the body and space and identification as light cotton   | Movement through the atmosphere [walking on water, a spiderweb or sunbeams] | The eyes of other human beings or one's body, visualized as if not being seen (324.2–3)   | Invisibility  |
| 3.43 *Activity of the mental unconstructed is <i>mahāvīdeha</i>   | Dissolution of the covering of the light                                    | The body visualized as if becoming light like <i>kapok</i> <sup>148</sup> and the characteristics shared by the body and the atmosphere (324.3–7) | Ability to fly, perch on the long stalk of a banana-leaf or reside in a cobweb                  |

147. The second element of the list is missing due to a textual corruption.

148. The 'Java-cotton' tree, from which a cotton-like fibre is harvested.

|      | <i>Yogasūtra</i> [ <i>Bhāṣya</i> ]<br>Object of <i>saṃyama</i>                                    | <i>Dharma Pātāñjala</i><br>Object of <i>saṃyama</i>  |   |
|------|---|--|---|
|      |   | Faculty obtained   | Faculty obtained  |
| 3.44 | The gross, the essential, the subtle,<br>the inherence, purposiveness                             | Conquest of the elements   | Eternal youth   |
| 3.45 |   | Atomization and so on, perfection<br>of the body and not being hindered<br>by the properties of the elements | Indestructibility: one is not<br>wounded by swords or by falling on<br>trees or rocks<br>One is not pressed down if sub-<br>merged in water<br>One is not burnt if set on fire<br>Not being hit by the wind, and long-<br>life (until <i>pralaya</i> )<br>Not falling from the sky, and pos-<br>sessing a body of beautiful appear-<br>ance and unaffected by old age |
| 3.46 |   | Perfection of the body is beauty,<br>grace, force and density of diamond                                     | The eight sovereign powers  |
| 3.47 | Process of knowing, essence, egoic-<br>ity, inherence, purposiveness                              | Conquest of the faculties  | The eleven faculties (328.19-21)  |
| 3.48 | *Swiftiness as that of thought, ac-<br>tions without instruments, conquest<br>of unevolved matter |  |   |
| 3.52 | The instants and their sequence   | Knowledge born from discrimina-<br>tion  |   |
| 3.53 |   | Capacity of distinguishing two<br>completely identical objects   |   |

One interesting point is the mention, in *Dharma Pātañjala* 322.14, of the nectar of immortality below the tubes of the throat, which corresponds to *Yogasūtra* 3.30: '[With restraint on] the well of the throat, there is cessation of hunger and thirst' *kañṭhakūpe kṣutpipāsāvinirvṛttiḥ*. The *Bhāṣya* interprets *kañṭhakūpe* as the well placed under the throat: 'Below the tongue there is the cord, below that there is the throat, below that there is the well' *jihvāyā adhastāt tantuḥ / tato 'dhastāt kañṭhaḥ / tato 'dhastāt kūpaḥ*, whereas Bhoja's *Rājamārtanḍa*, the *Mañiprabhā* and the *Kitāb Pātañjala* speak of the well below the tongue in the throat.<sup>149</sup> Practices like pressing the palate with the tongue, or similar ones, to achieve insensibility to hunger and thirst are already described in early Buddhist canonical scriptures,<sup>150</sup> but it is only in Kaula and Haṭhayogic texts that the process results in the raising of the Kuṇḍalinī, which is often referred to as *amṛta*.<sup>151</sup> The mention of *amṛta* in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is therefore indicative of a Tantric rather than Pātañjala yoga background.

The subjugation or conquest (*alah*) of the five gross elements described in 324.7–326.5 finds a counterpart in sūtra 3.44, which results in the attainment of the supernatural faculties of the *aṇimādi*-group, in the perfection of the body and in not being hindered by the properties of the elements (3.45). Whereas the *Yogaśāstra* speaks of the subjugation of the elements in a general manner and focuses on philosophical distinction of the qualities to which the yogin should apply restraint, the *Dharma Pātañjala*, also in this case, takes a more practical stance and stands remarkably close to Tantric accounts of the conquest of the elements (*bhūtajaya*) by means of the five

149. Cf. *Rājamārtanḍa*: 'At the basis of the tongue, below the cord of the tongue, there is a "well", as it were; the well is a region that has the shape of a seat' *jihvāmūle jīhvātantor adhastāt kūpa iva kūpo gartākāra pradeśaḥ*; *Mañiprabhā*: 'Below the cord of the tongue is a region of the throat in the shape of a cavity (or well)' *jīhvātantor adhastāt kañṭhasya kūpākāraḥ pradeśo 'sti*. According to PINES and GELBLUM (1983:284–285, note 169), these definitions are echoed in the rendering of al-Bīrūnī: 'Whoever wishes to remove the harmful (effects) of hunger and thirst from himself should direct his thought to the hollow (part) of the chest and the larynx, (i.e.) the channel (through which) the wind (passes) by means of respiration'.

150. Cf. MALLINSON (2007:18–19 and notes).

151. Cf. MALLINSON (2007:20–24), who also refers to an early Āgamic parallel in the *Kiraṇa*, YP 59.34c–35b (cf. *id.* p. 176, fn. 75); interestingly, the śloka-quarter referring to the 'raising' (*utkramaṇa*) of breath, but seemingly also of Kuṇḍalinī, is found only in a South Indian codex (and not in the Nepalese ones). Note that in Tantric sources, however, this practice is not intended to overcome hunger and thirst but rather disease or even death.

respective *dhāraṇās*. These five fixations are mentioned in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) (pp. 28–29) as leading to the powers of invulnerability, the ability to avoid sinking, suffering from the heat of the sun or fire, etc.<sup>152</sup> Accounts of these *dhāraṇās* are common in Sanskrit Śaiva sources,<sup>153</sup> which however display a considerable degree of variation in the attribution of their respective supernatural powers.<sup>154</sup>

In both the *Dharma Pātañjala* (328.19–21) and the *Yogasūtra* (3.45) the eight sovereign powers (*aṣṭaiśvarya*), also known as the eight (supernatural) qualities (*aṣṭaguṇa* or *guṇāṣṭaka*), are described as arising from the restraint on the eleven faculties of sense and action. Whereas the sūtra only mentions miniaturization and so on (*aṇimādi*), the eight supernatural powers are detailed in the *Bhāṣya*. The octet is well-known in a large variety of Sanskrit sources of both Tantric and non-Tantric persuasion,<sup>155</sup> and is also widely at-

152. The term *saṇyama* occurs in the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (Śaiva) as applied only to the first two elements, i.e. earth and water, whereas the other three are simply referred to as *dhāraṇās*. Note that the translator LOKESH CHANDRA (1997:29) misunderstood the expressions *saṇyama ikaṇ pṛthvī-apah avakakna* as ‘Yama (*saṇ yama*) will be embodied in the earth/water’ instead of ‘the earth/water should be the body (i.e. support) of *saṇyama*’. Further terse references to the conquest of the elements and *pṛthivīdhāraṇā* are found on p. 37 lines 1–5 (cf. also the Buddhist *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* ms. C, p. 157).

153. Among the Siddhāntatantras, cf. *Parākhyantra* 14.33–47, *Niśvāsana* 3:1c–8 (mentioning the five gross elements, followed by the other *tattvas* in 3.9–41) and 4:115–116 (note that in the former passage the term used in the text is not *dhāraṇā* but *dhyāna*; this may be explained by the fact, as VASUDEVA 2004:309 fn. 7 notes with respect to the *Svacchandatantra*, that both *dhyāna* and *dhāraṇā* ‘are used loosely as blanket-terms covering all manner of contemplative exercises’). Among the non-Siddhāntika sources, cf. *Svacchandatantra* 12.83–90 and 5.61–66, *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 12–13 (the five elements) and 14–16 (the mental faculties and the remaining *tattvas*, cf. VASUDEVA 2004:303–365). The *dhāraṇās* are very common in (later) sources of Haṭhayoga, such as, e.g., *Śivasamhitā* 1.75–77, *Gheraṇḍasamhitā* 3.70–82, *Gorakṣaśataka* (1) 68–73.

154. Cf. BRUNNER (1994:441). For a different tradition of fourfold *dhāraṇā*, viz. *āgneyī*, *vāruṇī*, *aiśānī* and *amṛtā*, documented in the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha*, the *Kiraṇatantra* and the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, cf. *ead.* (1994:442); the same tradition is also attested in the *Agnipurāṇa* (374.7) and in the *Niśvāsaguhyā* (8.123), which mentions these *dhāraṇās* in connection with the ‘razors’ (*kṣurikā*) for violent expulsion of the breath (*sadyotkrānti*).

155. Among the Śaiva Tantric sources, cf. *Niśvāsaguhyā* 7.205, *Mataṅga* VP 17.108–125, *Kiraṇa* 58.52–60, *Svacchandatantra* 10.1072–1073 (defined in Kṣemarāja’s *Uddyota*), *Parākhya* 14.91–94. The eight *siddhis* already figure in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on sūtra 2.12: ‘Not being intoxicated with delights’ *harṣāpramādi*, where the delights indicate the supernatural powers evidently understood as ‘obstacles’ to which the yogin should not attach himself. These *aṣṭaguṇas* are divided into a series of three (viz. *aṇimā*, *laghimā*, *mahimā*),

tested in Old Javanese texts of different genres and religious affiliations.<sup>156</sup> This forms a series of *siddhis* that is distinguished from other common sets of supernatural faculties, such as *dūradarśana* and so on, detailed in *Pāśupatasūtra* 1.21–38 and several other Sanskrit sources (cf. above, pp. 361–363). But there is no general agreement among the sources—even within the Śaiva tradition—as to the interpretation of the single items of the octet. This can be appreciated in table 20. The *Dharma Pātañjala*, also in this respect, attempts at bridging the Tantric and non-Tantric traditions: whereas it displays strong resemblances with the accounts of these *siddhis* given in Śaiva Tantric sources, it also adheres to the model of the *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* by integrating the Pātañjala interpretation of certain powers with the Śaiva one. For instance, it defines attainment (*prāpti*) as the ability to touch the moon, as per the *Bhāṣya*, alongside the ability to attain anything at will, as per most Śaiva sources. On the other hand, such as in the case of *prākāmya* ‘ability to produce multiple bodies at will’, the Old Javanese text goes against the *Bhāṣya*,<sup>157</sup> which rather understands *prākāmya* as the freedom from obstruction by the elements and the ability to go through solid objects like the earth—a capacity that all Śaiva sources rather attribute to *aṇimā* ‘miniaturization’. In the case of *mahimā* ‘largeness’, the *Dharma Pātañjala* merges the Pātañjala (as well as Sāṅkhya) ‘physical’ interpretation with the ‘moral’ one attested in many Śaiva sources, i.e. that the yogin is praised and honoured wherever he goes.<sup>158</sup> The last *siddhi* of the series, *yatrakāmāvasāyitva*, is understood as the fulfillment of wishes and as supreme rulership<sup>159</sup> but not, as another tra-

defined as the three powers (or qualities) of the body (*kāryaguṇa*), and a series of five (viz. *prāpti*, *prākāmya*, *īśitva*, *vaśitva* and *yatrakāmāvasāyitva*), defined as the five powers of the faculties (*karaṇaguṇa*); note that this division has survived in the *Mataṅga* (17.114).

156. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.15–16, 29, 32–33, 63–74; *Tattvajñāna* 49.1–5; *Bhuvanakośa* 4.37, 41; *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* p. 51 lines 3–4; *Tutur Saptati* f. 52v; *Navaruci* 51.10–52.2; *Kakavin Rāmāyaṇa* 17.94, 25.27–28 and 31 (*aṇimā*, *laghimā*, *mahimā*, *aṣṭaguṇa*); *Arjunavivāha* 19.3, 29.3, 37.5; *Smaradahana* 32.1 (*aṇimādi devaguṇa*); *Śivarātrikalpa* 29.4 (*aṣṭaguṇāṇimādi*); *Sumanasāntaka* 3.3 (*aṇimālaghimādi*); *Sutasoma* 4.6; *Agastyaparva* pp. 48.19–31 and 49.1–2 (where *aṣṭabhāga* = *aṣṭaiśvarya*, cf. GONDA 1936:436).

157. Thus also the *Kitāb Pātañjala*, where the capacity to appear in whatever form the yogin desires seems to refer to *prākāmya* (cf. PINES and GELBLUM 1983:264, 295 note 229); on the other hand, Gauḍapāda on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23 interprets it, in line with the *Bhāṣya*, as the fulfillment of every wish (*prākāmyaṃ prakāmato yad eveṣyati tad eva vidadhāti*).

158. Cf. *Kiraṇa* 58.48–55 and *Parākhya* 14.93a; the *Mataṅga*, as the *Dharma Pātañjala*, interprets *mahimā* in both ways.

159. It thus seems that a connection might have been felt with *√vaś* ‘command’.

dition of interpretation has it, as the ability of being wherever one wishes.<sup>160</sup>

Having detailed the restraint on the five elements and the powers arising therefrom, the *Dharma Pātañjala* introduces the obstacles (*upasarga*) to yoga. The *Yogasūtra* define the obstacles in 3.37: 'Obstacles for the absorption, these are perfections for activity' *te samādhāv upasargā vyutthāne siddhayaḥ*, as if referring to the powers previously mentioned in 3.36,<sup>161</sup> i.e. the divine faculties of intuition (*pratibhā*), hearing (*śravaṇa*), sensibility (*vedanā*), vision (*darśa*), gustation (*āsvāda*) and olfaction (*vārtā*).<sup>162</sup>

The *Yogaśāstra* apparently does not include the eight *siddhis* in the obstacles, unlike the *Dharma Pātañjala*, which understand the latter to encompass all the other powers described in the *Yogasūtra*.<sup>163</sup>

160. As noted by GOODALL (2004:379), the explanation of this *siddhi* is problematic. Some sources analyze the compound as *avasāya* 'to have an end', hence 'fulfillment' of whatever thing (*yatra*) is desired, while others understand it in the meaning 'to abide', thus *yatrakāmāvasāyitva* would mean 'the power to transport oneself wherever one wishes' (cf. BRUNNER 1977:508 fn. 14). The former interpretation is shared by most Śaiva sources, and also by Vācaspatimiśra (*Tattvakaumudī* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23), who substitutes the locative *yatra* with the nominative form of the pronoun *yat*, reading *yac ca kāmāvasāyitvam* (another substitution is documented in *Niśvāsaguhya* 7.205d, which reads *sarvakāmāvasāyitā*). The latter interpretation is clearly found in Gauḍapāda on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 23, the *Kitāb Pātañjala* ('going everywhere undisturbed', cf. PINES and GELBLUM 1983:264) and, with a certain degree of uncertainty, in the *Parāṅkhyatantra* (cf. Table 20 and fn. 167); the half-śloka 74 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* also seems to offer this interpretation ('to go [wherever] with the body [according to] one's desire' *dehena yātum icchā syād yatrakāmāvasāyitvam*), which is incoherently explained by the Old Javanese exegesis as the power to command gods, humans and animals. Yet another line of interpretation is followed by Kṣemarāja, who in his *Uddyota* to *Svacchandatantra* 10.1073 explains *yatrakāmāvasāyitva* as the determination of concealed objects (cf. VASUDEVA 2004:365, fn. 44).

161. Thus the *Bhāṣya* and virtually all the other Sanskrit commentaries.

162. Identical lists of six, with their members in different orders, are found in the *Līṅga-purāṇa* (1.9.14–21) and *Śivapurāṇa* (7.2.38.10–14); the latter qualifies them as *upasarga*, seemingly understood in the slightly less negative sense of 'epiphenomena', i.e. side-effects, rather than 'obstacles'. Note that these faculties apparently give access to the experience of the respective supernatural sensorial domains, which are not accessible to human beings in normal circumstances; thus they are not to be understood (only) as 'enhanced' faculties such as those of (*dūra*)*śravaṇa*, *darśana* etc.

163. Thus also the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (exegesis to 74b) and the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* (40.1). An equally negative view of the yogic powers (*aṣṭaguṇa*) is found in the Buddhist *Sutasoma* 40.6cd: 'These [powers] are a burden on the mind of the perfect one whose purpose is supreme tranquillity, forgetful of the difficulty of being one who has subdued the senses, a pitfall to the pure mind' *yekāṇbhvāti manahniraṇ paramaśāntikārya nipuṇa / kempār yan rusit in jitendriya juraṇ niṇ ambāk ahajāṇ //*.



Table 20: The eight supernatural qualities of the *aṇimādi*-group in selected Old Javanese and Sanskrit texts

| Powers         | Yogasūtrabhāṣya<br>3-45                         | Dharma Pāṇḍjāla<br>328.21–330.15  | Tattvajñāna<br>49  | Vṛhaspatiatīvra<br>66–74   | Saptati<br>f. 52v   | Matangapāramesvara<br>17.108c–125   | Parakhyatantra<br>14.91–94 |
|----------------|---|---|--|--|---|---|----------------------------|
| <i>aṇimā</i>   | to become small                                 | to become small and be able to dive into and out of the earth as if it were water, unobstructed by mountains and penetrating even rocks | to become small and subtle (from large and gross) and to be able to go wherever one wishes, unobstructed by mountains and rocks, and dive into water | to become small and be able to dive (unnoticed) into and out of the earth as a boy dives into water, unobstructed by mountains and big rocks   | one can go through the earth and mountain tops without being injured        | miniaturization of one's body, so that firm objects will not ward-off his movement; further, he becomes invisible                           | having minuteness          |
| <i>laghīmā</i> | to become light                                 | to give up the heaviness of the body and become light as <i>kapok</i> and move in the sky swifter than thought                          | to give up the heaviness of the body and become light as <i>kapok</i> and move through the air and water   | to give up the heaviness of the body and become light as <i>kapok</i> and travel to heaven, the seven continents, the seven underworlds, or outside the Egg-World  | one can set foot ( <i>man-ampak</i> ) [wherever one wants (?)]              | to become light and travel with the velocity of thought; not being submerged into mud or water, and not being harassed by any enemy whoever | being light                |
| <i>mahīmā</i>  | to become large                                 | to become large and be praised wherever one goes  | to go in foreign lands and be honoured, praised and worshiped, without being perturbed whatever is one's destination                                 | to be able to roam about in different places as one wishes, and there be honoured, praised and presented with gifts and enjoyments   | one can, like the mount Meru, <i>uminkī</i> (?) <sup>164</sup> the universe | one can do violence to all beings unimpeded, being worshiped by the Siddhas, get a large-sized body and rule over Brahmā and the other gods | having great size          |
| <i>prāpti</i>  | to be able to touch the moon with the fingertip | to attain whatever one wishes, and to be able to touch the moon from one's seat   | whatever object one desires, that comes without being the result of one's own effort   | whatever one wishes, that comes about spontaneously—thus one does not need to crave for things, a feeling causes the production of karmic latent impressions. One enjoys the pleasures, but quickly obtains a thousand bodies and enjoys all kinds of pleasures in heaven; when one has finished to enjoy oneself, one is not bound by the fruits of one's good actions <sup>165</sup> | one is able to do as one wishes and touch the sun and the moon              | whatever the yogin desires he obtains, and is able to reach whatever place instantly  | attaining everything       |

164. This might be a corruption for *uminkīni*, which OJED (2286) is not able to translate.

165. The last sentence might actually intend that the fruits of the good actions do not expire and one is able to enjoy pleasures in heaven

| Powers                      | <i>Yogasūtrabhāṣya</i><br>3.45   | <i>Dharma Pāṇijāla</i><br>328.21–330.15  | <i>Tattvajñāna</i><br>49  | <i>Vṛhaspatiatīva</i><br>66–74  | <i>Saptati</i><br>f. 52v                               | <i>Matangapāramēśvara</i><br>17.108c–125   | <i>Parakhyatantra</i><br>14.91–94                         |
|-----------------------------|--|--|---|---|--|--|---|
| <i>prakāmya</i>             | one's own desires are not obstructed (by the elements) and one is able to dive into and out of the earth as if it were water | one's appearance is as one wishes  | one is able to change one's form and become young or old, male or female, and is also able to enter the mind of every-body in the universe                                    | to obtain whatever form and body one wishes, i.e. that of a god, a human being or an animal   | one can obtain any particular appearance               | one enjoys thousands of women of incomparable beauty for as long as one wishes   | the procuring of one's desires                            |
| <i>īśīva</i> <sup>166</sup> | to reign over the production, destruction and cohesion (of elements)   | to subdue without being subdued  | one is able to go to heaven and there be honoured and worshiped by all the gods, or one is able to subdue all the gods in their residences, for the Lord is within one's body | one may go to heaven to enjoy oneself and subdue Brahṃā, Viṣṇu, Indra, Śūrya or any other god in their respective residences, for the Lord is within him and he has sovereignty on them | to subdue without being subdued                        | one rules over everything, from Brahṃā down to movable and immovable beings; the gods obey him and praise him; he sports with celestial women  | the state of being a Lord                                 |
| <i>vaśīva</i>               | to master the elements and their products and not being mastered by anyone   | to command   | nobody can oppose one's own orders and desires  | one may give orders to all the gods and attack them if they do not obey, as one rules over the whole universe   | to perceive (amastu) without being perceived (kavastu) | unhindered, one subdues and holds captive the whole universe   | total control   |
| <i>yatrakāma-vaśīva</i>     | one's desires become reality, and one is able to dispose of the elements and their causes according to one's desires         | everything becomes according to the desires of the yogin, who acts in sovereign freedom; further, one becomes subtle (yatrakāma) and a ruler, able to punish whomever goes against his orders (vaśāyīva) | one can match all the gods, becoming the Lord (īś); one's orders cannot be disobeyed, and one can curse the gods who oppose him so that they become humans                    | one can punish the god, men and animals, whomever do not obey to one's orders   | one is able to do whatever is the desire of the Lord   | wherever one desires to be king there one [becomes king], unhindered; whatever pleasures one desires one gets; one is not oppressed by anybody | being linked with whatever place on wishes <sup>167</sup> |

just as long as one wishes, without having to return to earth and be reborn again because of the termination of one's previous merit.

166. The *Yogasūtrabhāṣya*, against all Śaiva sources, reads *īśīva* and places it after *vaśīva*.

167. Thus GOODALL (2004:379) translates *yatrakāmaṃ ca vaśitā padayogitā*, noting that the interpretation is however not sure since the text is likely to be corrupt. The gloss occurring in 14.94b is tentatively translated by him (p. 380) as '[The power of being] wherever one wishes (*yatrakāma*) [is so called because this is dictated] exactly according to one's own desire (*yatheccchayā*)'. Otherwise, one may interpret 'whatever is wished [one obtains] according to one's will'.

Whereas sūtra 3.37 does not define these *upasargas*, and the *Bhāṣya* simply states that ‘they go against the vision of that [*puruṣa*], perfections arising only for the mind (still) engaged in activity’ *taddarśanapratyanīkatvāt / vyut-thitacittasyotpadyamānāḥ siddhayaḥ*, the *Dharma Pātañjala* gives a more detailed definition. The text glosses them as ‘those which are caused by the principle of unevolved matter to oppose [yoga]’ *ikaṁ pinakadāgi de nīn prad-hānatattva*, and explain that they are met in the mind and, even when that has been left behind, they remain in the form of latent impressions (*vāsanā*) of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Each quality is then connected to a series of particular obstacles, as follows: *sattva* causes the ‘obstacle’ of insight (*prajñā*),<sup>168</sup> which entails the mastering of the scriptures before the yogin knows them, to smell fragrances or see godly forms bestowing a boon; *rajas* is an obstacle insofar as it causes the yogin to think that powers are within his reach, for he sees that he has obtained the powers caused by *sattva*;<sup>169</sup> *tamas* causes the yogin’s sight and mind to become suddenly dark and bewildered, causing him to lose his consciousness. The Lord, before continuing with the exposition of the remaining supports of *saṁnyama* and the eight *siddhis*, concludes the account by explaining the remedies to such a situation, and that the only manner to definitively eliminate suffering is to separate the principle of unevolved matter from the Soul, and the Soul from the mind.

Although the division of the obstacles into three categories linked to the three *guṇas* is explicitly made neither in the *Yogaśāstra* nor in any other Sanskrit text known to me, other motifs in the remaining part of the Old Javanese account clearly draw upon the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 3.51, ‘Invited by the residents [of heaven], no attachment or pride should be effected, for undesirable consequences will again occur’ *sthānyupanimantraṇe saṅgasma-yākaraṇaṁ punaraniṣṭaprasaṅgāt*. The *Bhāṣya*, apart from describing what happens to a yogin who has attained the supernatural powers and what he should do in order to avoid his absorption being disturbed, introduces a division of the yogins into four classes, viz. the debutant (*prathamakalpika*), the

168. This idea echoes the *Bhāṣya* on 3.50: ‘When, after the dwindling of hindrances and of karma, [intuition] comes to him thus, “This presented-idea of discrimination is an external aspect of *sattva*. And *sattva* is to be reckoned with those things that are to be escaped” [...]’ *yadāśyaivaṁ bhavati kleśakarmakṣaye sattvasyāyaṁ vivekapratyayo dharmah, sattvaṁ ca heyapakṣe nyaṣṭam*.

169. Although not made explicit in the text, this consideration inevitably entails a feeling of pride on the part of the yogin, which is detrimental to his pursuing *samādhi*—an idea reiterated in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 3.51.

resident in the stage of honey (*madhubhūmika*), the one who shines by virtue of insight (*prajñājyotis*) and the one who has trespassed the stage where one has to meditate (*atīkrāntabhāvanīya*).<sup>170</sup> The purity of *sattva* possessed by the yogin belonging to the second category (*madhumatī bhūmi*) having been noticed by the gods, they try to lure him with the following invitation:

O [Sir], please sit here! Take pleasure here! Here is a desirable object of pleasure! Here is a desirable maid! This elixir suppress old age and death! This vehicle moves in the air! Here are wish-fulfilling trees, the meritorious [river] Mandākinī, the Siddhas and the Maharṣis, incomparable and well-disposed Apsaras, divine hearing and vision, a body [strong] like diamond! All these things you have gained because of your intrinsic qualities, please accept them! This immortal place (i.e. heaven) is devoid of decadence and old age and it is dear to the gods!<sup>171</sup>

Compare the more synthetic account of the *Dharma Pātañjala*:

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332.1–5

The gods bring objects of enjoyment and beautiful women, dressed in a charming way and at the same time exceedingly wanton. They greet the yogin, inviting him to come to the heaven. However, he should not consent, for that is a deception, its purpose being to cause the failure of the yoga of the leader among yogins.

According to the *Bhāṣya*, in order to avoid being lured by the gods' invitation, the yogin should not be overcome by attachment to the powers or even by the pride (*smaya*) of having been addressed by the gods themselves but consider the bad consequences caused by attachment (*saṅgadoṣa*) and stick to the following resolution:

'Baked upon the terrifying coals of the cycle of existence and wandering in the darkness of birth and death, in a difficult way I have found the lamp of yoga that dissipates the darkness of the hindrances. And these winds of pleasures born from lust are enemies of that [lamp]. Now that I have attained

170. On the probable Buddhist origin of this categorization, cf. ANGOT (2008:563, fn. 1631) and WOODS (1917:285, fn. 1).

171. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 3.51: *bho ihāsyatām, iha ramyatām kamanīyo 'yaṃ bhogaḥ, kamanīyeyaṃ kanyā, rasāyanam idaṃ jarāmṛtyū bādhat, vaihāyasam idaṃ yānam, amī kalpa-drumāḥ, punyā mandākinī, siddhā maharṣayaḥ, uttamā anukūlā apsarasasḥ, divye śrotracakṣuṣī, vajropamaḥ kāyaḥ, svaguṇaiḥ sarvam idaṃ upārjitam āyusmatā pratipadyatām, idaṃ akṣayam ajaram amarasthānam devānāṃ priyam iti* /.

this light, how could I be led astray by the mirage that are the pleasures, and make myself fuel for that fire of the cycle of existence as it flares up once again? Fare thee well, pleasures similar to dreams and to be craved for by vile folk!' Thus resolved in his mind, he should then practice absorption.<sup>172</sup>

Compare with the *Dharma Pātañjala*, where the Lord exhorts the yogin to deliberate in his heart as follows:

'I should be concerned that, should I follow the invitation of the gods, I will certainly experience again the cycle of rebirth, for the nature of the power of the objects of pleasure is that the supreme bliss is out of reach because of it. The suffering has been unremittingly experienced by me. The state of supernatural prowess has been experienced by me already. It was not the result of my relaxing; it was the result of my practicing observances and absorption. That [state] lasts for as long as the life of the universe. It will vanish in only a moment because of the sensual objects. Thereupon I shall be impure. The likeness of the feeling of those [sensual objects] is like an illusion; the enjoyment of them is like a lightning. Even if they are enjoyed for a long time, they cause no less suffering. The sorts of the suffering are various. As soon as the human beings are stricken by suffering, †*kadasyatanayā*. It is difficult to return to a human birth: only water-buffaloes, cows, dogs or pigs will be their outcomes'. You should think: 'That is my object of fear, if the invitation of the gods will be accepted'.

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332.5–14

The equation of the *upasargas* to *vāsanās* and their division into the three types connected to the *guṇas* is also attested in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*. The presence of this doctrine in all the three texts suggests that they inherited it from a common tradition. The *Tattvajñāna* describes the rising of the *upasargas* as a consequence of the attainment by the yogin of the seven fires (*saptāgni*), the seven parts (*saptāṅga*) and the seven nectars (*saptāmṛta*), which represent code-names for elements and faculties that are mastered and 'sublimated' by the yogin through restraint and *dhāraṇās*.<sup>173</sup> It defines the obstacles as 'the latent impressions of the three constituents,

172. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 3.51: *ghoreṣu saṃsārāṅgāreṣu pacyamānena mayā jananamara-ṇāndhakāre viparivartamānena katham cid āsāditaḥ kleśatimiravināśi yogapradīpaḥ / tasya caite tṛṣṇāyonayo viśayavāyavaḥ pratipakṣāḥ / sa khalv ahaṃ labdhālokaḥ, katham anayā viśayamṛgatṛṣṇayā vañcitas tasyaiva punaḥ pradīptasya saṃsārāgner ātmānam indhanī kuryām iti / svasti vaḥ svapnopamebhyaḥ kṛpaṇajanaprārthanīyebhyo viśayebhya ity evaṃ niścitamatiḥ samādhim bhāvayet.*

173. Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 46.12–29 and *Vṛhaspatitattva* 62–64. The two texts have slightly

which adhere tightly to the body of the Soul' *vāsanā nikaṇ triguṇa / rumakāṭ iṇ śarīra niṇ ātmā*, and describes them as follows:

What are the obstacles like? When there is somebody who looks like a gandharva, or like a Vidyādhara. They come forward to greet the leader among yogins during the time of yoga. Further, there are some who have the appearance of deities, presenting him with a golden lion-throne. They will order the leader among yogins to take a seat, and they will order the Seer to come, worshiping him with a shower of flowers or bringing the [right] meaning of the sacred texts. Then they will teach the leader among yogins during the time of yoga. If this happens, the leader among yogins has met the obstacles of *sattva*. But if what is seen is as if the body of the leader among yogins during the time of yoga is made to swing back and forth, as if it is rocked, as if it is shaken, as if it is stirred up, as if it flies in the atmosphere, or [if] the Dānavas, the Daityas and the Rākṣasas aim at blocking the absorption of the leader among yogins—if this happens, those are the obstacles of *rajas*. Further, if the body of the leader among yogins during the time of yoga becomes heavy, or suddenly rubs and thunders, filled to overflowing, trembling and raising its hairs [out of fear], as if he is oppressed in his heart, or he becomes unconscious and obfuscated, as if his awareness is vanished during the time of yoga, and [he is] fully intent to sleeping on [his] lap—if this happens, the leader among yogins has met the obstacles of *tamas*.<sup>174</sup>

different opinions as to the identification of the single members of the three items, but they both agree in attributing to them the arising of supernatural faculties, such as obtaining the Lord's body and the elimination of the hindrances, old age and death. The *Vṛhaspatitattva* (63) attributes to the *saptāgnis* the role of burning the defilements in the body and, having defined the *saptāmṛtas*, describes the *śivāgni* (65) as burning the latent impressions in the yogin and entering his body; according to the *Tattvajñāna* (46.28–29 and 47.17–20) the *saptāgnis* burn, through absorption, the *saptāṅgas* and the *saptāmṛtas*, and with them also the obstacles to yoga and the latent impressions. An early Sanskrit passage describing the arising of supernatural powers in connection with a yogic practice based on the burning of the five elements in the body (thus resembling the definition of *saptāṅga* given by the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, i.e. the five elements plus *manas* and *buddhi*) is *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 2.12 (trans. OLIVELLE 1998:419): 'When earth, water, fire, air, and ether have arisen together, and the body made up of these five becomes equipped with the attribute of yoga, that man, obtaining a body tempered by the fire of yoga, will no longer experience sickness, old age, or suffering' *prṥhyapatejo 'nilakhe samutthite pañcātmake yogaguṇe pravṛtte / na tasya rogo na jarā na duḥkham prāptasya yogāgnimayaṃ śarīram*.

174. *Tattvajñāna* 46.29–47.1–13: *ndya kari lvir nikaṇ upasarga nihan // 46 // yapvan hana katon kadi gandharva / hana kadi vidyādhara / ya ta manuṣuṇ ri saṇ yogīśvara ri kāla niṇ*

Instructions on how to burn the obstacles through the *saptāgnis* and the fire of absorption follow. The Old Javanese exegesis to half-śloka 74 of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* also understands, albeit implicitly, the obstacles as being the consequence of not only the *saptāṅgas*, *saptāgnis* and *saptāmṛtas* (described in ślokas 62–64), but also of the eight sovereign powers (*aṣṭaiśvarya*) of the *aṇimādi*-group (described in 66–74), which are the fruits of the state of leader among yogins. If the yogin is able to burn with absorption the principles below the primal matter and up to the three constituents, the obstacles that present obstructions (*magave vighna*) arise:

There is the vision, there is the hearing, there is enlightenment, there is the olfaction. The vision is as if the appearance of a god is seen during the time of yoga. The hearing is as if a feeble sound is heard, bestowing the state of supernatural prowess during the time of yoga. Or there is an extensive knowledge, which is met by him during the time of yoga. Insight suddenly arises, and he knows about the [true] meaning of the sacred texts [even though] he has not yet studied them. That is enlightenment. There is like the perfume of a king that gives off smell, inhaled by the nose during the time of yoga. That is olfaction. All of them are obstacles of *sattva*. The obstacles of *rajas* are as follows: he feels that his body is as if rocked during the time of yoga. It is as if his body is lifted up. It is as if he feels that his body is pressed down. It is as if his body is flung away. It is as if his body is swung back and forth. He feels as if it is stirred up. He feels that his body is light like *kapok*. All of them, they are obstacles of *rajas*. The obstacles of *tamas* are as follows: it is as if his body is filled to overflowing during the time of yoga. He feels as if his body is heavy, he feels. He feels that his body is cold. He feels as if his limbs are being entered (i.e. possessed) and filled. His mind becomes dark. Its awareness becomes dazed and obfuscated; it is unconscious. All of them, they are the obstacles of *tamas*.<sup>175</sup>

yoga / muvah hana ta marūpa devatā / manuṣuṇi siṅhāsana mās / manon maluṅguha ri saṅ yogiśvara muvah hanona ṛṣi datān / mamūjā riṅ puṣpavarṣa / athavā umava hartha niṅ aji / ndan ahajara kunaṅ saṅ yogiśvara ri kāla niṅ yoga / sattvopasarga kapaṅgih de saṅ yogiśvara yan maṅkana // kunaṅ yan katon / kadīnuntitakēn / kadīnayun / kadīnulahulāh / hana kadi binoṅboṅ / hana kadi maṅlayan riṅ ākāśa / kunaṅ avak saṅ yogiśvara ri kāla niṅ yoga / athavā don dānava / kunaṅ daitya / rākṣasa / umalaṅi samādhi saṅ yogiśvara / rajopasarga ika yan maṅkana // kunaṅ yan abyāt avak saṅ yogiśvara ri kāla niṅ yoga / athavā kagyata humaras kumātuga / gəgəṅən rumab muririṅ / hana kadi pinətəkakēn [pinətək Ed.] riṅ hatən / hanan malupa viparīta / kadi hilaṅ ikaṅ cetana / ri kāla niṅ yoga / prayatna turū saṅhulun / tamah ika kapaṅgih de saṅ yogiśvara yan maṅkana /

175. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 74.8–22: hana si darśana ṇaranya / hana si śravaṇa ṇaranya / hana si

The text ends with a description of the remedies to be used to cure the obstacles of *tamas*, which closely echoes a similar account given in *Dharma Pātañjala* 326.22–3, and characterizes the successful absorption as causing the separation of the yogin's mind (*jñāna*) from the body.

The supernatural faculties of perception arising from the obstacles of *sattva* as described in the Old Javanese sources closely resemble the divine faculties mentioned in *Yogasūtra* 3.36. On the other hand, the faculty of knowing the sacred scriptures before having studied them is not described in the *Yogaśāstra* but in the Purāṇic accounts of Pātañjala yoga listing the *siddhis* connected with the *upasargas*.<sup>176</sup>

The Yogapāda of the *Dharma Pātañjala* comes to an end with the yogin's monologue refusing the invitation of the gods. A debate between a materialist opponent and the Lord about the destiny of the Soul after death and the essence of the universe follows.

We have already encountered a few occurrences of the elusive term *prayogasandhi*, in both the Yogapāda and other parts of the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The expression, attested in several Old Javanese texts but not in Sanskrit, is tentatively glossed by OJED (*prayoga sandhi*) as 'secret means; or *prayogasandi*, esoteric knowledge of the (right) means?'.<sup>177</sup> In the Yogapāda the term features in the de-

*boddhavya ñaranya / hana si gandha ñaranya / si darśana ñaranya hana kadi rūpa niñ devatā katon ri kāla niñ yoga / si śravaṇa ñaranya hana ta śabda sūkṣma karəñē / kadi mañanu-grahāni kasiddhyan rasanya ri kāla niñ yoga / vaneh hana ta jñāna bahu katəmu denira kāla niñ yoga / prajñā dumadak vruh ry artha niñ aji tapvan pañaji ya / si boddhavya ñaranya / hana ta kadi gandha niñ ratu mavañi kesəp in iruñ ri kāla niñ yoga / si gandha ñaranika / ika ta kabeh upasarga niñ sattva ñaranika // nihan tañ upasarga niñ rajah / hana kadīnayun ikāvāknira / hiḍəpnira ri kāla niñ yoga / hana kadīnañkatañkat ikāvāknira / hana kadi pinətəkakən ikāvāknira hiniḍəpnira / hana kadīnuntalakən ikāvāknira / hana kadīnuntituntakən ikāvāknira / hana kadi binoñboñ hiḍəpnira / hanan kaḍaṇan kadi kapuk hiḍəpnira / ika ta kabeh upasarga niñ rajah ika // nihan tañ upasarga niñ tamah / hanan kadi gəṅgəñən ikāvāknira ri kāla niñ yoga / hanan kadi mabvat ikāvāknira kahiḍəpanya / hanan matis ika si kahiḍəpanyāvaknira / hanan kadi kapasukan kesyan aṅganira kahiḍəpanya / hanan pətəñ hiḍəpnira / hanan vulañun viparita / lupa lvir nikañ cetananira / yeka kabeh upasarga niñ tamah ika //*

176. Cf., e.g., *Agnipurāṇa* 375.8: 'All the scriptures such as the Vedas and so on are mastered by him spontaneously; any desired matters of metrical science and poetry are mastered by him' *vedādisarvaśāstrañ ca svayam eva pravartate / abhiṣṭachandoviṣayaṃ kāvyāñ cāsyā pravartate //*

177. Cf. OJED 1650, s.v. *sandhi*. The meaning of 'esoteric, secret' is justified by a semantic shift of the word *sandhi* borrowed from Sanskrit, documented in several Old Javanese



scription of the restraint on right-and-wrong (*dharmādharmā*):

That is the goal of the *prayogasandhi* to be enquired about when facing the guru, if he wishes that the yogin enters in another man. The right-and-wrong, that is cut off by him. There is a little bit of what remains, which is why he does not die. When the cutting-off is finished, he will be successful in entering the other man.

DHPĀT  
328.16–19

Among Old Javanese Tuturs and Tattvas the *Dharma Pātañjala* is unique in connecting *prayogasandhi* with the above yogic practice, which is described in the *Yogasūtra* (3.38): ‘From loosening the fetters of bondage to the body and from awareness of the bodily processes, there is the entering of the mind into another’s body’ *bandhakāraṇaśaithilyāt pracārasaṃvedanāc ca cittasya paraśarīrāveśaḥ*. The *Bhāṣya* mostly paraphrases the sūtra, only adding that the yogin can withdraw his own mind and deposit it into the body of another living being ‘as when the king-bee flies up, the bees fly after him, and when it alights, they alight after it, so the organs follow after the mind when penetrating into the body of another’ *yathā madhukararājānaṃ makṣikā utpatantam anūtpatanti niviśamānam anuviśante, tathendriyāṇi paraśarīrāveśe citam anuvidhīyanta iti*. The technique of *paraśarīrapraveśa* is described in al-Bīrūnī’s *Kitāb Pātañjala* (PINES and GELBLUM 1983:262) as follows:

If he wishes that he, except for his spirit, be transported in this entanglement, from his (own) body to another body, not in a way in which (one is) transported after death, but rather in virtue of his (own) will, volition and (free) choice, he is able to bring this about. This is because the bodies are nets for the spirits, with a view to requiting them for former good and evil (deeds) with ease or discomfort corresponding to the two (categories of deeds).

The entering into another person’s body by way of yogic technique is a well-known motif in the Epics, and it has been connected by WHITE (2004:622–623) to the entering by the Śaiva guru into the body of his disciple during

sources, in the sense of ‘not open, covert, deep, subtle, secret, esoteric; deep or hidden sense, subtleties (finer points), secrets, subtle tactics, secret (uncommon) power; secrecy, deepest (most hidden) part, innermost recesses. Earliest evidence of the semantic change from *sandhi* 1. [connection, alliance, peace, juncture, interval between day and night, twilight] to 2. (not found in *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin*) seems to be the combination *upāya sandhi* (*Virāṭaparva*; “peaceful means” > “subtle, or covert means”, ? cf. *sūkṣmopāya*, *rahasyopāya*, *Arjunavivāha* 22.7)’ (OJED 1649); for a similar usage, cf. the *Sutasoma*’s *advayayogasandhi* ‘the esoteric knowledge of *advayayoga*’ (ENSINK 1978:186), and the Sanskrit *sandhyābhāṣā* or *sandhibhāṣā* ‘twilight language’, which is usually translated as ‘secret (esoteric) language’.

(Mantramārga) Tantric initiation, to burn the latter's innate maculation and guide him toward higher cosmic levels. The connection between this practice and *prayogasandhi* remains obscure to me, even though it may be argued that the 'extraction' and 'travelling' of the yogin's subtle body into another being involve a process active at the 'fine' ontological level that seems to be the reserve of *prayogasandhi*.<sup>178</sup> The supernatural ability of entering another's body is already described in the *Pāśupatasūtra* and the *Bhāṣya* thereon.<sup>179</sup> Kauṇḍinya's elaboration when introducing sūtra 1.31: 'And all become such as may be killed by him' *sarve cāśya vadhyā bhavanti* (p. 48) is interesting:

Question: Is [the perfect one] able only to enter into a human like a spirit, a demon or a devil? Or, is he also able to separate them from life and apply torture to them? Answer: He is able to do so.<sup>180</sup>

This description presupposes the ability of killing, thus foreshadowing the *Dharma Pātañjala*'s allusion to the fact that only when the leftovers of *dharma* of a living being are cut, which amounts to death, one is able to enter another's body.

Elsewhere in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (326.22) the practice of *prayogasandhi* is recommended for the yogin when he meets the obstacle of *tamas*, along with the application of fire (*apuyapuya*); whether the application of fire (i.e. inner yogic fire?) is connected to *prayogasandhi* is not clear, but very probable. The most elaborate definition of the term is found at the very beginning of the Yogapāda, prior to śloka 2, in correspondence with the discussion of the attainment of the body of the Lord by the yogin. Śiva defines *prayogasandhi* in reply to Kumāra's statement that the Lord is within the cycle of rebirth (which is in fact not true, for He is there only as a manifestation of His form within the realized yogin):

178. This finds a parallel in the characterization of practices of *paraśarīrapraveśa* in the *Ne-tratantra* (20.27–36) as 'subtle' (*sūkṣma*) yoga, in contrast to the supreme (*para*) and coarse (*sthūla*) yoga (cf. WHITE 2004:623–624, 2009:161–163).

179. Cf., e.g., the latter on sūtra 1.28 (p. 47): 'And he becomes not subject to anyone' *sarveṣāṃ cāvaśyo bhavati* (also with reference to the pupil being subjected to the master, yet not entered by him) and sūtra 1.29 (p. 48): 'And he enters into all' *sarvāṃś cāviśati* (with reference to all the 'cattle' or bound souls).

180. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 1.30 (p. 48, lines 5–7): *āha kim āveśanamātra eva śakto yakṣara-kṣaḥpiśācādivad uta prāṇair api viprayogaṃ yātanābhiś ca saṃyogaṃ kartuṃ śakto bhavātīti // ucyate śaktaḥ*.

The reason why it is so is that the absorption of the yogin is perfect, for the Lord is made manifest in a human being. It will be obtained by the yogin if he knows about the *prayogasandhi*. To exemplify it: like the fire which is in the wood, for it brings forth its body. The fire which is in the wood is the consequence of the rubbing—the cause for it to come out. Likewise, the butter is not produced if it is not churned. That is a coarse substance, and yet it is not produced if no working procedure is applied with a tool. The Lord Supreme Cause will not be met by him, if there will not be *prayogasandhi*. Even though one may know about the *prayogasandhi*, if one does not put it into practice, one will definitely not meet the Lord.

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288.11–18

The passage tries to explain the term *prayoga* as the activity of churning (*pin-utaran*) and rubbing (*añāsā*), and *sandhi* as a ‘tool’<sup>181</sup> through which an invisible yet material substance—here the butter—can be produced (i.e. made manifest) by being ‘worked’ (*inupāya*). Here *prayogasandhi* appears to refer to a kind of yogic procedure, the details of which are passed over in silence, causing the manifestation (*kābhibyaktan*) of the visible form of the Lord in the body of the yogin.

Even though references to *prayogasandhi* abound in the Tūtur and Tat-tva literature, they are all characterized by secrecy and ellipsis; furthermore, from the passages it may be inferred that the sources were by no means in agreement as to what yogic procedure was intended by it, or even its aim. Therefore, I limit myself here to drawing attention to the Old Javanese passages that display the most obvious mutual parallels, and try to identify similar motifs in Sanskrit sources.<sup>182</sup> The closest parallel to the account of the *Dharma Pātañjala* is found in the first of the two cantos constituting the Śaiva hymn of the *Arjunavivāha*:<sup>183</sup>

181. Following OJED (1650) s.v. *sandhi* II ‘part. kind of tool’; alternatively, the form may indicate an ‘esoteric/subtle means’ (cf. above, fn. 177).

182. Other instances of the term *prayogasandhi* used in a yogic context that shows no apparent links with the understanding of the term by the *Dharma Pātañjala* are found in *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 2, where it is connected with a practice involving a focused attention even in the state of deep sleep; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.80, where it is not clearly defined; Kakavin *Dharma Śūnya* Kakavin 59 (canto 9.2), where the aim of *sandhi upāya* (= *prayogasandhi*) is to hold back (or: ‘concentrate upon,’ *rāgāp*) the bad and good actions (*pāpa lavan supunya*) with the secret key of yoga (*kuñci rahasya yoga*, perhaps connected with *prāṇāyāma*?—cf. above, pp. 521–523); in several passages of the *Tattvajñāna*, among which ch. 44, where *prayogasandhi* is explained as being constituted by the ancillaries of yoga, which are the *upāyas*.

183. I have quoted and discussed the two stanzas of the second part of the hymn (canto

OM—May the homage of him who is in need of a protector (*anātha*) be noticed by Him who is the refuge of the three worlds! My homage to your feet is both bodily and mental—there is nothing else [but you]. You are like the fire [that comes out] from wood and the butter [that comes out] from the milk. You come out in visible form when there is a man who carefully ‘churns’ the consciousness.

Pervaded and pervasive, you are the essence of the supreme reality, difficult to grasp. According to your will is what exists and what does not exist, what is gross and subtle and what is good or evil. Of the origin, existence and end of creation you are the Cause. You are the origin and end of the whole universe, having both a manifest and unmanifest form.<sup>184</sup>

It is arguable that the stanzas adumbrate a yogic method, illustrated through the metaphors of fire in wood and butter in milk, to make the Lord manifest (*sākṣāt mātu*) in the man who practices it. Here the verb *amutār* ‘churn’ is connected with *tutur* ‘consciousness, awareness, remembrance’ and *pinahayu* ‘carefully, with due care’.

An elliptic reference to *prayogasandhi* in a similar context is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (50.1–6), where the Lord, having used the above similes in śloka 49 and in the Old Javanese commentary thereon, limits Himself to stating that Vṛhaspati, having been taught about the knowledge of the *tattvas*, can be imparted the great secret called *prayogasandhi* after all the other gods in the assembly have left. Another instance is found in *Jñānasiddhānta* ch. 25, where the one line constituting the Old Javanese comment to śloka 5, explaining the invisible presence of the Lord in everything through examples such as those of fire and wood and butter and milk, states that ‘The means (*prayoga*) of the master to meet with the Lord is *yogasandhi*’ *prayoga sañ paṇḍitān tuməmvakən bhaṭṭāra yogasandhi*. The śloka that follows, which seems to be only feebly related to the preceding one, refers to the yogin leaving his body with his breath, realizing to be Śiva himself.<sup>185</sup>

11), using the metaphor of the moon reflected on water, above (p. 386).

184. *Arjunavivāha* 10.1–2: OM *sambah niñ anātha tiñhalana de trilokaśaraṇa / vāhyādhy-ātmika sambah i ñhulun i jñāta tan hana vaneḥ / sañ lvir agni sakeñ tahən kadi miñak sakeñ dadhi kita / sañ sākṣāt mātu yan hana vvañ amutār tutur pinahayu // byāpibyāpaka sārī niñ paramatattva durlabha kita / icchāntan hana tan hanāganal alit lavan halahayu / utpattisthitilīna niñ dadi kitāta kāraṇa nika / sañ sañkan paran in sarāt sakalanīṣkalātmaka kita //*

185. The śloka appears to have been quoted and decontextualized by the compiler of the *Jñānasiddhānta* from a Sanskrit source, for the śloka has a parallel in *Niśvāsamūla* 6.8 and *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 19.4 (cf. ACRI 2006:124).

Sanskrit passages providing what may be the antecedents for this doctrine are found in the Upaniṣads. For instance, the late *Amṛtabindūpaniṣad* (9–13th century AD) equates the process of mental realization of Brahman to the extraction of butter from milk and the production of fire through a churning-stick:

Like clarified butter is hidden within milk, the knowledge [of the self] dwells within every being. That should be churned out constantly with the mind as the churning-stick.

Having applied the cord<sup>186</sup> of knowledge [to the churning-stick], one should extract, like fire [by friction], the Supreme [Brahman], without parts, immovable, pacified; ‘I am that Brahman’—it is said.<sup>187</sup>

Another, much earlier, parallel is found in the *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* (1.10–12). The passage, having taught that the Lord abides in one’s body as the *ātman*, explains how that realization, which brings about the eradication of the fetters (*sarvapāśāpahā*) and universal sovereignty (*viśvaiśvarya*), can be attained:

When a fire is contained within its womb, one cannot see its visible form and yet its essential character is not extinguished; one can grasp the fire once again from its womb by means of tinder. In just the same way, one can grasp both<sup>188</sup> within the body by means of the syllable OM.

When one makes one’s own body the bottom slab and the syllable OM the upper drill, by twirling it constantly through meditation one would see God, just as one would the hidden thing.

Like oil in sesame seeds and butter in curds, like water in the riverbed and fire in the fire-drills, so, when one seeks it with truth and austerity, one grasps that self (*ātman*) in the body (*ātman*)—that all-pervading self, which is contained [in the body], like butter in milk.<sup>189</sup>

186. For this translation of *netra*, cf. MW s.v. (attested in *Mahābhārata* etc.): ‘the string by which a churning-stick is whirled round’.

187. *Amṛtabindūpaniṣad* 20–21: *ghṛtam iva payasi nigūḍhaṃ bhūte bhūte vasati vijñānam / satataṃ manthayitavyaṃ manasā manthānabhūtena // jñānanetraṃ samādhāya ud-dhared vahnivat param / niṣkalaṃ niṣcalaṃ śāntaṃ tad brahmāham iti smṛtam //*.

188. That is, the Lord and unevolved matter, mentioned in verse 1.10.

189. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 1.13–16ab (trans. OLIVELLE 1998:416–417): *vahner yathā yonigatasya mūrtir na dṛśyate naiva ca liṅganāśaḥ / sa bhūya evendhanayoniḡrhyas tad vo-*

The stanzas describe in detail the procedure for producing fire by means of a fire-drill, as a metaphor for the obtainment through meditation of the manifestation of the Lord who is present in the human body as the Self (*ātman*). According to OLIVELLE (1998:617–618), ‘the womb is the depression on the lower slab into which the drill is inserted and twirled to produce fire. “Essential character” (*liṅga*) appears to refer to the essential element of fire, which remains within the fire-drill even when its visible form is extinguished.’<sup>190</sup> He concludes that ‘the point of all these images is that in every case one has to engage in a strenuous activity (crushing the sesame seeds, churning the curds, or digging up the riverbed) to obtain what is hidden therein’, a point that is clearly implied also in the description of *prayogasandhi* in Old Javanese sources—and especially in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. The same point clearly emerges from a verse of the *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara* (f. 37v.2–3), the only Siddhāntatantra known to me that includes a reference to this motif: ‘As the butter existing within milk will not become visible without proper effort (*prayoga*), thus Śiva, the support of the *dhanañjaya* [breath], will not be manifest at all times’ *yathā kṣīre sthitam sarpir na drśyed aprayogataḥ / tathā dhanañjayāvastho na drśyeta śivaḥ sadā*.

*bhayaṃ vai praṇavena dehe // svadeham araṇim kṛtvā praṇavam cottarāraṇim / dhyānanir-mathanābhyāsād devaṃ paśyen nigūḍhavad // tileṣu tailaṃ dadhinīva saprit āpaḥ srotaḥsv araṇīṣu cāgniḥ / evaṃ ātmātmani grhyate 'sau satyenainaṃ tapasā yo 'nupaśyati // sar-vavyāpīnam ātmānaṃ kṣīre sarpir ivārpitam /*

190. OLIVELLE refers to analogous descriptions of the procedure for obtaining fire in the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (1.4.6 and 3.23–31) and the *Kaṭhopaniṣad* (4.8), which also understand the fire as being ‘hidden’ within the fire-drill. This is a fairly widespread image in Vedic literature.

## Right Knowledge

AS WE HAVE SEEN ABOVE (p. 481), it is at its very outset of the *Dharma Pātañjala* that the Lord, prompted by a specific question of Kumāra, defines the right knowledge (*samyajjñāna/samyagjñāna*) and connects it to the practice of *samādhi*. The term, comparable to the synonym *tattvajñāna* ‘knowledge of the things as they are,’<sup>1</sup> is widely attested in Sanskrit Śāstras of various philosophical and religious traditions, including the Śaiva ones, as well as in Old Javanese sources. In both traditions it denotes a proper knowledge, perception or notion, of either intellectual or intuitive, and thus salvific, nature.

### As Salvific Knowledge

It is the latter characterization of right knowledge that is found in the beginning of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, where it is presented as a fundamental ingredient in the process of liberation. It accompanies yoga and its ancillaries towards the realization of absorption leading to oneness with Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The connection between right knowledge and the means of yoga must have been a widespread doctrinal tenet, for it is expounded in other Old Javanese scriptures as well. For instance, the *Agastyaparva* prescribes to restrain the unstable mind by using right knowledge as a hook (*aṅkuśa*) and applying the ancillaries of yoga.<sup>3</sup> The *Tattvajñāna* (42.16–19) explains that the right

1. Cf. *Tattvajñāna* 1, 23, 24; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 5, 32, 50; *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya* ad 1.1.2: *tattvajñānam tu khalu mithyājñānaviparyayaṇa vyākhyātam* / ‘true knowledge is explained as the contrary of the wrong notion’ (cf. below, pp. 559–560).

2. For the conflation of *samyagjñāna* and the item Knowledge (*jñāna*) belonging to the eight qualities of the intellect, cf. above, p. 449.

3. Cf. *Agastyaparva* 375.18–20: ‘Such a mind, it should be restrained by the master by means of right knowledge, as if it were a hook. It should be crafted with the yoga of visualization, fixation, reflection, withdrawal and absorption’ *ikaṁ manah maṅkana, ya ta*

knowledge must be used as a lamp (*makasuluh*) guiding the performance of observances (*brata*), austerity (*tapa*), yoga and absorption (*samādhi*), using a means of realization *prayogasandhi*;<sup>4</sup> elsewhere (43.13–21), the right knowledge is compared to the wings that keep the course of the arrow that is *prayogasandhi*, shot by the bow that are observances, austerity, yoga and absorption.<sup>5</sup> The *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* (ms. C, p. 32 lines 1–3) regards the right knowledge as the cause of absorption, which ends in liberation (*kamoktan*).

A somewhat different characterization is that of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (26), which equates the possession of right knowledge to the being endowed with the four Sovereign Powers of the Lord and achieving oneness with Him (*sāt-maka lavan bhaṭāra*), i.e. liberation from the cycle of rebirth (*tan pañjanma muvah*). The *Jñānasiddhānta* in ch. 6 (p. 108) defines right knowledge as the means through which someone remembers his true nature as the absolute reality (*katutur i kaviśeṣanira*)—a knowledge without thought or thought-objects (*tan pañhiḍap, tan kahiḍap*). That knowledge is said to annihilate all the defilements (*hilaṅ nikaṅ sarvakleśa*) as fire burns both stinking and fragrant matter until it is completely reduced to ashes, after which it also vanishes and again returns to its latent state (*malvi sūkṣma*).

Old Javanese sources also explain *samyajñāna* as the knowledge achieved through the three valid means of perception (*pramāṇa*), namely direct perception (*pratyakṣa*), inference (*anumāna*) and reliable testimony of scripture (*āgama*).<sup>6</sup> The *Dharma Pātañjala*,

*hinərətnira saṅ paṇḍita makasādhana samyajñāna kaṅkən aṅkuśa. inupāya ta ya riṅ dhyāna dhāraṇā tarka pratyāhāra samādhi yoga.*

4. Which in the *Tattvajñāna* denotes the ancillaries of yoga; cf. also 43.1–3.

5. The simile is also illustrated in detail in 42.17–19: '[The yogin who] uses as stages [of practice] observances, penance, yoga and absorption, who uses as a lamp right knowledge, who uses as a means *prayogasandhi*, he is the only one able to obtain the supreme state of the Lord. Like an arrow that is shot and has already [been discharged] from the bow: its striking will be altogether straight' *makabhūmi brata / tapa / yoga / samādhi / makasuluh samyajñāna / makasādhana prayogasandhi / sira juga saṅ vnaṅ tuməkani kaviśeṣan bhaṭāra / kady aṅgān iṅ hru pinanahakən / sāmpun iṅ laras / abənəra juga tampuhnya /*. A similar example occurs in the *Dharma Pātañjala* in connection with the state of insight of the yogin, characterized by right knowledge: cf. above, p. 495.

6. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 26: 'One who possesses the three authoritative means of knowledge—direct perception, inference and testimony of scripture, he is designated as one who possesses right knowledge' *saṅ kinahanan de niṅ pramāṇa təlu / pratyakṣānumānāgama /*



having prescribed the three means as the guide to the human beings who desire the right knowledge, defines them as follows:

The *valid means of knowledge of direct perception* means: the entity that is not a matter of guess. That is the *valid means of knowledge of direct perception*. The *valid means of knowledge of inference* means: there is an entity which is not visible, but the thought of men about it is sure, for there is a sign by means of which one can recognize it. For example: like the foreign countries across the sea, it is possible that men know about their existence, for one sees thus, namely that there are men of different appearance, like the Brahmans and the Pujut, the Nambi, the Persians. These are seen by you. And further, there still are entities which are not seen, they originate in [foreign] lands, in [other] islands, such as gems, musk, camphor. These constitute the evidence that the islands across the sea exist; it is the mind that infers that they exist. That is the *valid means of knowledge of inference*. The *valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture* means: the teachings of the people from the foreign lands, but [only] if there is a proof; if there is no proof, they are [to be considered] false. If there is a proof, that is designated as the *valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture*. Thus are the *three valid means of knowledge*, so that there is no going wrong of the knowledge according to the men of religion.

DHPĀT  
208.10–210.7

The concise definition of *pratyakṣa* as an entity that is ‘not matter of guess’ or ‘uncertain’ (*marakva*) reveals a rather developed epistemological awareness and may be compared to similar characterizations found in the Śāstric Siddhāntatantras.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, definitions of direct perception as a

*ya ta sinaṅguh samyagjñāna ṅaranya; Tattvajñāna* 36.4: ‘The aim of the three valid means of knowledge is to serve as torch for the one who is endowed with right knowledge’ *ya ta don ikaṅ pramāṇa tēlu / pinakasuluh mata kita kasamyajñāna; Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* p. 62 line 11: ‘Right knowledge is direct perception and inference’ *samyajñāna ṅaranya pratyakṣānumāna* (in harmony with the late Buddhist rejection of *āgama* as a *pramāṇa*).

7. Cf., e.g., *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* YP 4.15c-16a: ‘Sense-knowledge is unobjectifiable, free of doubt, and free of imagination’ *anirdeśyam asandigdham kalpanāpoḍhagocaram / pratyakṣam*, which, according to SANDERSON (2006b:78), shows an awareness of Dignāga’s (c. 480–550) definition of *pratyakṣa* in the *Pramāṇasamuccaya* as being ‘free of imagination’ *kalpanāpoḍham*; contrast Śrīkaṇṭha’s definition in *Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* 227cd: ‘Characterized by imagination, free of doubt and devoid of error’ *savikalpam asandigdham vyabhicāravivarjitam*. All definitions may be regarded as going back in some way to the classical definition given in the (second part of) *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.4: ‘Direct perception is not the result of an inferential mark, devoid of error, certain’ *avyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakam pratyakṣam*.

mere psychological process of sense-cognition are found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (26): 'Direct perception (lit. 'what is present before the eyes') means: what is seen and grasped' *pratyakṣa nāranya katon kagamāl*, and in the *Tattvajñāna* (36.6–7): 'The substances that are coarse, whatever can be seen and heard, whatever can be grasped with the hands, those are within the scope of the valid means of knowledge of direct perception' *ika tañ vastu gaṇal / sakaton sakarāṇā / sakagamāl de niñ tañan / yeka kavānañ deniñ pratyakṣa-pramāṇa*.<sup>8</sup>

The characterization of inference given by the *Dharma Pātañjala* is also decidedly more elaborated than those found in the other Tattvas, articulated as it is through abstract philosophical terms and corroborated by various metaphors. The definition as the sign or means (*cihna*) through which an invisible entity can be recognized is apparently based on the very standard description of inference as the cognition of an entity (or mark-bearer, *liṅgin*) by means of a mark (*liṅga*).<sup>9</sup> The examples cited in support of this definition, namely the reference to the existence of foreign lands based on the common observation of people with an 'exotic' appearance (like Brahmans!) and of products from foreign lands, I have found neither in other Old Javanese nor Sanskrit sources. On the other hand, what constitutes the standard simile (or syllogism) explaining inference as an invariable concomitance between the *probans* and *probandum* in Sanskrit literature is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*: 'Inference means: like when one sees smoke at a distance, he infers the boundaries of the fire' *anumāna nāranya kady aṅgān in anon kukus riñ kadohan / ya ta mañanumāna hīñan in apuy*. Yet another definition is given by the *Tattvajñāna* (36.7–8): 'What is subtle (i.e. invisible), like the characteristics of the Fourth State, that is within the scope of the valid means of knowledge of inference' *ikañ sūkṣma kadi lakṣaṇa niñ tūryapada / yeka kavānañ de niñ anumānapramāṇa*. Whereas the reference, by way of example, to the Fourth State of consciousness is an idiosyncrasy of the *Tattvajñāna*, the basic idea that inference serves the purpose of demonstrating the existence of invisible entities is widespread in Old Javanese sources. In both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* it is epitomized in the demonstration of the

8. These echo the definition of direct perception given by the first part of *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.4, i.e. 'The knowledge resulting from the contact of the objects of the senses with the faculties' *indriyārthasannikarṣotpannam jñānam*.

9. Cf. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* 9.18, 10.4 and 19; *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 5; the various commentaries on *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.5, etc.

existence of karma through the inference of its fruits by way of the example of the movement of the sun, which is found in Sanskrit sources in connection with inference of the kind ‘observed from the general’ (*sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*, cf. below, pp. 564–570).

The definition of testimony of scriptures by the *Dharma Pātañjala* is interesting in that it mentions the teachings (*varahvarah*) coming from foreign lands, which presumably refer to areas of the Indian Subcontinent—references of this kind are extremely rare in Tuttur and Tattva literature. It also adds that such teachings are to be considered as valid only if they display proofs (*cihna*);<sup>10</sup> even though these proofs are not defined, it might be argued that they consisted in analogies, logical demonstrations, etc. A similar standpoint is detectable in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, which defines *āgama* as ‘the scriptures that are provided with demonstrations by the teacher’ *ikaṇ aji in-upapattyan de saṇ guru*—a gloss of the Sanskrit half-line *kṛtāntād vacanāgamaḥ*; the need to integrate the reliable testimony of the sacred scriptures with logical means emerges also from 52.38–42, ‘the valid means of knowledge and analogies<sup>11</sup> have been presented in the scriptures because they serve as means to guide what is said’ *ya hetu niṇ pramāṇopamā / yan hinanākən ri saṇ hyaṇ aji / apan yeka pinakasipat niṇ vuvus*, and ‘the nature of the scriptures and the valid means of knowledge is to mutually support each other’ *iki saṇ hyaṇ aji masuṇḍaṇsunḍaṇan lavan pramāṇa svabhāvanira*. The once again idiosyncratic definition of the *Tattvajñāna* (36.8–9) runs: ‘what is extremely subtle, like the characteristics of the State [called] the End of the Fourth, that is within the scope of the valid means of knowledge of scripture’ *ikaṇ paramasūkṣma kadi lakṣaṇa nikaṇ tūryāntapada / yeka kavənan de niṇ āgamapramāṇa*.

10. In this instance I translate the Sanskrit *cihna* as ‘proof’ rather than ‘mark, (distinctive) sign, characteristic’, on the basis of OJED (326). The former meaning may be the result of a semantic shift that occurred in Old Javanese.

11. Or, if we take the compound *pramāṇopamā* as a *karmadhāraya*, ‘the analogies that constitute valid means of knowledge’.



## Wrong Knowledge

THE OPPOSITE OF right knowledge is denoted in the *Dharma Pātañjala* by the term *mithyājñāna* or wrong knowledge. Unlike in other Old Javanese sources,<sup>1</sup> the use of such a term is pervasive in the text, and it appears to have been borrowed from Sanskrit Śāstras—especially of Nyāya, Sāṅkhya and Yoga—where it is employed with the technical meaning of ‘false conception, error’. Whereas *samyagjñāna* is widespread in other Tattvas, its opposite is (indirectly) referred to only once, namely in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* (47.63–64), where Vṛhaspati’s nihilistic view is defined as *jñāna viparīta*, ‘perverted’ or ‘reversed’ knowledge/mind. While in Old Javanese *viparīta* can be translated as either ‘turned round’, ‘altered’ or ‘obscured’ (OJED 2287), one may also take into account the translation of ‘opposite to’, which is more faithful to the Sanskrit original. For instance, the Śaiva author Kumāradeva, while commenting upon *Tattvaprakāśa* 52, elaborates on the item Ignorance, i.e. the opposite of Knowledge among the eight qualities of intellect (*buddhibhāva*), providing the following definition:

Ignorance is the opposite of knowledge (*jñānaviparyaya*), that is to say non-right-knowledge (*asamyagjñāna*). That is of three kinds: misapprehension (*viparyaya*), fantasizing (*vikalpa*) and sleep (*nidrā*). Misapprehension is a false knowledge that is not true to the nature of the object, [like] the knowledge of silver etc. in place of mother-of-pearl etc.<sup>2</sup>

1. OJED 1144 lists only one occurrence of the term in *Udyogaparva* 57.3, meaning ‘with a false mind’. Cf. the synonym *mithyādr̥ṣṭi* attested once in the Buddhist *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kama-hāyānikan* (p. 38 line 13) in a context in which it seems to conform to the technical use of the term in the *Abhidharma*, i.e. disbelief in the four noble truths.

2. *Tātpāryadīpikā* ad *Tattvaprakāśa* 52: *ajñānaṃ jñānaviparyayaḥ, asamyagjñānam iti yāvat tat trividham—viparyayo vikalpo nidrā ceti / viparyayo mithyājñānam atadrūpa-*

In the light of the above-quoted passage, defining *jñānaviparyaya* as *asamyagjñāna*, one may suggest that the compound *jñāna viparīta* of *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47 may be regarded as a calque of the Sanskrit *-viparyaya* in the sense of ‘opposite to’ rather than ‘upside-down, in a contrary manner’. The unlikelihood of such a possibility is, however, indirectly suggested by the gloss, in *Dharma Pātañjala* 304.20, of *avidyā* as *ikaṁ jñāna mabalik*, literally an ‘upside-down’ or ‘turned-round’, i.e. perverse, knowledge; a similar definition recurs in 306.3, i.e. *mabalik hiḍapnya* ‘his reasoning is perverse’.<sup>3</sup> The whole passage (304.20–306.3), elaborating on the first item *avidyā* ‘ignorance’ in the list of the afflictions (*kleśa*), provides a circumstantial definition of wrong knowledge by reporting the words of an opponent referring to the five elements as beautiful and pure, to a yogin as impure and to beautiful women as pure; that is to say, a kind of positive error recognizing things for what they are not, or better, exchanging them for their opposites.<sup>4</sup> Such a definition of ignorance presents definite echoes of the treatment of the same item, which is also listed as the first of the five *kleśas*—along with egoicity, attachment, aversion, obsession—in *Yogasūtra* 2.3 (*avidyāsmītārāgadveṣābhiniveśāḥ kleśāḥ*). In *Yogasūtra* 2.5 it is stated that *avidyā* ‘is the apprehension of the impermanent as permanent, of the impure as pure, of pain as pleasure and of not-self as self’ *anityāśuciduḥkhānātmasu nityaśucisukhātmakhyātir avidyā*.<sup>5</sup>

*pratiṣṭhaṁ śuktikādaḥ rajatādijñānam* / • *mithyājñānam atadrūpapraṭiṣṭhaṁ* ] em. (cf. YS 1.8); *mithyājñānatadrūpapraṭiṣṭhaṁ* Ed.

3. Both definitions recall the one given in *Yogasūtra* 1.29, as translated by Woods (1914:62), ‘Thereafter comes the right-knowledge of him who thinks in an inverse way [...]’ *tataḥ pratyakcetanādhigamo ’pi* [...] and commented upon by Vācaspatimiśra: ‘One is inverted who knows in an opposite way [to the ordinary person whose mind-stuff flows out and becomes modified by objects]. One who thinks in that way thinks inversely; [in other words] the [ordinary] man [still] under the conditions of undifferentiated-consciousness (*avidyāvantaḥ*)’ *pratīpaṁ viparītaṁ añcati vijñātīty pratyak, sa cāsau cetanaś ceti pratyakcetano ’vidyāvān puruṣaḥ*. Cf. also *Parākhyantra* 4.89cd: *ajñānaguṇamūḍhaḥ san paśyet sarvaviparyayam* // ‘deluded by the property of nescience he sees everything topsy-turvy’ (or, more literally: ‘he sees the reverse for everything’, cf. GOODALL 2004:257–258).

4. I quote and discuss the passage below, p. 613.

5. Cf. al-Bīrūnī’s *Kitāb Pātañjala*, answer to question 27 (PINES and GELBLUM 1977:523): ‘Ignorance consists in representing a thing in a way contrary to its true reality. Thus [an ignorant person] regards the impure as pure, pleasure as good, distress as well-being, the earthy turbid body as eternal and as being man himself; he is ignorant of the fact that [man] is the soul rather than [the body].’

That the formulation of the *Yogasūtra* must have been perceived as authoritative even in Śaiva circles is also suggested by the fact that Kumāradeva borrowed his definition of misapprehension from that text.<sup>6</sup> If in the Sāṅkhya ignorance is simply the absence of discrimination (*viveka*), due to *tamas* obfuscating the discriminative knowledge of *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*, in the Yoga system it is positively false knowledge, i.e. the superimposing onto the *puruṣa* of what it is not. Thus, according to the *Bhāṣya* on sūtra 2.5, ignorance denotes a wrong cognition as opposed to right cognition; it is *viparyaya-jñānavāsanā*, a ‘trace left by wrong cognition’ (2.24). Ignorance plays an important role in Yoga ontology as the *kleśa* leading to wrong knowledge, being the ground of the other four, which originate with it, and disappear when it disappears (2.4). This idea found in the commentary is explicitly mentioned in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (306.9–10), where the five *kleśas* of the *Yogasūtra* are presented as ultimately deriving from *avidyā*: ‘Ignorance is the basis of all of them, for they are brought together with the wrong knowledge’ *ika ta kabeh, avidyā anuñ bhūmi nikā, apan yekāpupulan i mithyājñāna*.

The views labeled as *mithyājñāna* or *jñāna viparīta* in  
*The Materialist Doctrine* Old Javanese texts are as a rule reported through the mouth of an opponent and represent an adulterated, quintessentially unorthodox standpoint that the Lord’s interlocutor is warned at all occasions to avoid. These arguments are outlined especially in the markedly argumentative and speculative sections occurring at the beginning and end of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, containing an articulated debate between the Lord and the opponent (at times imaginary, at times assuming the contours of a realistic character). The sources never specify the opponent’s affiliation but simply refer to an unspecified ‘other’ *sañ para*,<sup>7</sup> or *sañ mithyājñāna* ‘one having wrong knowledge’.<sup>8</sup> This state of affairs is reflected in Vātsyāyana’s *Bhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.2 mention-

6. Cf. *Yogasūtra* 1.8: *viparyayo mithyājñānam atadrūpapratīṣṭham*. That the sentence is a direct borrowing from the sūtras is suggested by the explicit quotation, a few sentence further, of *Yogasūtra* 1.10 on *nidrā*, introduced by the words *tad uktam patañjalīnā bhagavatā* ‘as it is said by the reverend Patañjali’.

7. Literally meaning ‘another, other(s)’. This usage appears to be a calque from the Sanskrit *paraḥ/pare* referring to opponent(s) in works of Śāstra, where it is also often the case that their affiliation is not openly mentioned. The fact that in the *Dharma Pātañjala* *para* is mostly spelled *pāra* is irrelevant and due to a mere scribal idiosyncrasy; the word is in fact constantly spelled in the correct way in other Old Javanese sources, such as the *Tattvajñāna*.

8. OJED (1144) glosses *mithyājñāna* as ‘with a false mind’.

ing wrong (or: false) knowledge (*mithyājñāna*), which might have been regarded as the *locus classicus* of such a discussion in the Sanskrit philosophical tradition. The author provides a long commentary on the meaning of wrong notion as the perception of a thing contrary to its real nature (i.e., according to the view of the Nyāya system). He exemplifies false knowledge by quoting nihilistic statements, yet without attributing them to any specific opponent:

With reference to the Soul, [false knowledge is when one says that] there is not such thing as the Soul; when one regards the not-Soul as the Soul; when one regards pain as pleasure, the non-eternal as eternal, non-salvation as salvation, the fearful as free from fear, the disgusting as agreeable, that which is to be left as that which is not to be left; with regard to activity, when [one says that] karma does not exist and the fruits of karma do not exist; when, with regard to the defects, [one says that] they are not the cause of the cycle of rebirth; that, with regard to death and birth, there is no creature, be it a human or an animal or a Soul, who could die and, having died, could be born; that birth is without cause and the cessation of birth is without cause; that death and birth have a beginning but no end; that, though caused, death and birth are not caused by karma; that birth and death have no relation with the Soul, consisting only in the disruption or restoration of the current of body, organs of sense, intellect and sensations; it is when, with regard to the final release, [one says that] it is fearful, involving the cessation of all activities and, there being the separation from everything, much of what is desirable is lost; [and that] no wise person could possibly take pleasure in final release, which is the extirpation of all pleasures and utter insentience.<sup>9</sup>

Statements echoing several of the views reported in the above passage are also uttered by the opponent featuring in the *Dharma Pātāñjala*. Although the existence of exact parallels suggests that the definition of *mithyājñāna* in the *Dharma Pātāñjala* reflects the position of the Yoga system, it is nonetheless possible that the general formulation of the *pūrvapakṣa* by the Nyāyasū-

9. Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya 1.1.2: *ātmani tāvan nāstīti, anātmani ātmeti duḥkhe sukham iti anitye nityam ity atrāṇe trāṇam iti, sabhaye nirbhayam iti, jugupsite 'bhimatam iti, hātavye apratihātavyam iti, pravṛttau nāsti karma, nāsti karmaphalam iti, doṣeṣu nāyaṃ doṣanimittaḥ saṃsāra iti, pretyabhāve nāsti jantur jīvo vā sattva ātmā vā, yaḥ preyāt, pretya ca bhaved iti, animittaṃ janma, animitto janmoparama ity ādimān pretyabhāvaḥ, anantaś ceti, naimittikaḥ sann akarmanimittaḥ pretyabhāva iti, dehendriyabuddhivedanāsantānocchedapratibandhānābhyāṃ nirātmakaḥ pretyabhāva iti / apavarge bhīṣmaḥ khalv ayaṃ sarvakāryoparamaḥ, sarvaviprayoge 'pavarge bahu ca bhadraḥ khalv ayaṃ sarvasukhocchedam acaitanyam amum apavargaṃ rocayed iti /*



*trabhāṣya* might have been influential among the followers of different Brahmanical traditions that reached the Archipelago.<sup>10</sup> Now, since the text attributes to the opponent upholding wrong knowledge similar nihilistic views but remains anonymous as to his affiliation, it is only by analyzing the philosophical tenets of such an opponent that his identity can be established. The profile best fitting with this *pūrvapakṣin* is that of a materialist. This is in harmony with the situation in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, in which the opponent was on most occasions deemed by ZIESENIS (1958:10, 188–192) to be a materialist.<sup>11</sup>

The materialists are known from Sanskrit sources with the denominations of Cārvāka or Lokāyatas.<sup>12</sup> While these labels are not attested in Old

10. A similarity between the Yoga and Nyāya definition of *mithyājñāna* can be detected in *Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.2, where the item is hinted at as the origin of the three *doṣas* of *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*, which in their turn lead to *adharma* (cf. *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya* thereon). According to both schools, false knowledge denotes a positively wrong knowledge, wrongly taking realities for their contraries.

11. It is certainly no coincidence that in this text the interlocutor of the Lord is Vṛhaspati, the teacher of the Gods, whom Sanskrit sources see as the legendary promulgator of materialist doctrines (cf. *Padmapurāṇa*, 1.13.291–293). It is indeed he himself who reports the opponents' views in the text, with the consequence that he is reproached by the Lord and warned about teaching such wrong doctrines in the assembly of the Gods.

12. The term Cārvāka appears once in association with Lokāyata (*cārvākalaukāyatikau*) already in the Sanskrit lexicon *Amarakośa* (2.6.823), dating between the second to the sixth century AD. The term Lokāyata may be analyzed as referring to 'those upholding [views] prevalent in the world', or '... among people' (*loka*). Guṇaratna (*anvaya* to *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya* 80) glosses the word *loka* as meaning 'ordinary people who act without distinction, and since the Cārvākas act like them, they are also called Lokāyatas or Laukāyatikas'. The latter etymology is somewhat echoed in *Dharma Pātañjala* (198.9–11), where those upholding false knowledge are referred to in the following terms: '... their actions are unrestrained—good and bad are mixed up indistinguishably in them—and their thoughts, as well as their hearts; such a disposition is called false knowledge'. The *Vṛhaspatitattva* (52.34–35), having illustrated a materialistic position through the speech of Vṛhaspati, refers to it as 'a position of human beings, whose wrongness is extreme' *ya teka pakṣa nim mānuṣa / atyanta viparītanya* (here *mānuṣa* ≈ *loka*?). Before this (50.22–27) the Lord described the imperfection of the knowledge of ordinary human beings, who cannot grasp the real nature of *paramaśivatattva*, as follows: 'It is not distinct in the mind of human beings, for their nature is to have only little knowledge (*kiñcijñāna*); small is their understanding, narrow is their seeing, short is their life, great is their delusion and affliction. According to their minds they know; they dispute about reality as far as their mind can go. Because of their knowledge, they easily feel sure about their knowledge of reality. They attribute it to themselves. This is the reason why their understanding is restricted. Thus is their knowledge. In such a way is the nature of human beings; it stands below that of the Gods' *tan vyakta ri*

Javanese sources, we find various instances of the word *Nāstika*, ‘Nihilist’, recurring in Sanskrit works as a definition of the followers of skeptic and atheistic positions (*nāsti* = ‘there is not’ = Old Javanese *taya*).<sup>13</sup> The materialists, whose original scriptures are lost to us, survived in Sanskrit philosophical literature as the lowest among the opponents. Their tenets are thus to be retrieved from second-hand expositions of their views in Sanskrit philosophical works of all ages and persuasions, including doxographical compendia such as the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* and the *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*, fragments contained in Epic and Purāṇic texts, and early Buddhist literature.<sup>14</sup> The refutation of materialists is already present as a philosophical cliché in the more dialectical of the early Siddhāntatantras (WATSON 2006:74–75),<sup>15</sup> and then developed in the commentaries of seminal scriptures by Sadyojyotiś, Rāmakaṇṭha and Aghoraśiva. The most common attacks which the Śaiva masters cast against the materialists concerned their nihilistic ideas about the valid means of knowledge, the origin and nature of the Soul, the validity of karma, the existence of a creator, etc. Of course, this group was only one, and the lowest, among the variety of philosophical schools whose views were rejected by the Śaivas and dialectically refuted in treatises one after other. But it appears that in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and other Tattvas the views that originally belonged to distinct philosophical or religious traditions were blended with those of the materialists, so that wrong knowledge came to represent a coalition of ideas of different scholastic provenance embodied in the figure of one single (imaginary) opponent.<sup>16</sup> I believe that this

*hiḍap niñ manuṣya / apan kiñcijjñāna svabhāvanya / akāḍik pañavruṇnya / ahāt panonya / alpāyuṣanya / magēñ mohanya lavan kleśanya / vihikan pva ya ri hiḍapnya / vinādanya tekañ tattva sahiñan iñ jñānanya / saka vihikanya enak pva niścayanya irikañ tattvajñāna / inakunya ta ya / ya ta matañyan kapihəran ika pañavruṇnya / tadvat ika jñānanya / mañkana jāti niñ mānuṣa ṇaranya / kasornya de niñ devatā /*

13. The earliest known attestation of the term *nāstika* in Old Javanese is found in the Dawangsari metrical inscription of probably the 9th century AD (in the expression *nāstika buddhinya*, verse 7; cf. SETIANINGSIH 1989); most of the instances of the word are, however, found in the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Sārasamuccaya*, a collection of moralistic ślokaś mostly deriving from the *Mahābhārata*. I have found no attestation of the term in Tattvas and Tuturs.

14. A recent survey of the surviving fragments is contained in BHATTACHARYA 2002, whose readings and system of numeration I have adopted here.

15. Cf., e.g., *Parākhya* 1.17; *Mṛgendra* VP 6.

16. Cf. above, p. 379 and below, p. 603 and 610. It seems reasonable to imagine that knowledge of Indic philosophical systems existed among the ancient Javanese authors, for

feature reflects the theistic persuasion of the texts, which regarded the materialists as the most dangerous among the rival schools, denying the very fundamental tenets of Śaiva theology.<sup>17</sup>

As to the question whether the opponent's views that can be apparently linked to some form of materialism represent genuine materialist stand-points, the answer can never be certain. It is often the case that Sanskrit scriptures themselves attack the well-known philosophical tags from other schools but they do not always represent them faithfully,<sup>18</sup> a feature that is even more prominent in the case of the materialists, the knowledge of whose tenets was mostly second-hand.<sup>19</sup> Still, as I will show below, there is little doubt that the majority of these statements genuinely reflect, often with a striking degree of similarity, the principal tenets of the materialists as we

Brahmanical and Buddhist *darśanas* are mentioned since an early time in a variety of epigraphical and manuscript sources from the Archipelago: cf., e.g., *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin*, Sarga 25, mentioning Tarka (i.e. Nyāya) and the related *Aji Viniścaya* (a reference to Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya*?), the followers of Jaimini (the Mīmāṃsakas) and the Sāṅkhyas; *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* p. 48 lines 15–20 and 49 lines 1–5, mentioning Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, the followers of Kapila (Sāṅkhyas) and Kaṇabhakṣa (another name of Praśastapāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣika school); *Tattvajñāna* 4.16–17, mentioning, among the others, the treatises on Tarka and Vyākaraṇa; *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* 7.11–12, mentioning the treatises (*aji*) of Kāvya, the books (*prakaraṇa*) on Sāṅkhya, the books on ritual (*kalpa*) and the Purāṇas, the Viniścaya (cf. *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin* 25.18), the Caṇḍa (a grammar?) and the science of Mathematics or Astronomy (*gaṇita*); the 14th century *Varingin Pitu* inscription, listing the names of religious functionaries said to be trained in the following systems: Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Śaiva and Buddhātarka.

17. Preoccupation with and contempt for the views of this school are apparent in *Tattvas*. For instance, in *Dharma Pātāñjala* 206.15–2 the Lord explains that the wrong knowledge upheld by the materialists is the knowledge of Kāla, the embodiment that He takes up when He destroys the universe, and the appearance of religious men teaching such a doctrine in the future will be a sign that the time of the great dissolution is approaching. A similar view, defining materialism as the 'knowledge/doctrine of Kāla', is found in the *Mahājñāna*, Old Javanese exegesis ad śloka 27 (which is, regrettably, corrupt beyond repair): 'There is the knowledge of Kāla. The knowledge of the agitated among men, that is the knowledge of Kāla. That is the cause of experiencing [the cycle of rebirth]. There is the ignorance that makes men entitled to be in the cycle of rebirth, as they come back again and again in the world of incarnated beings' *hana saṅ kālajñāna ṅaranya / vruhnya ri kagivaṅ saṅ puruṣa / yeka saṅ kālajñāna ṅaranya / nimitta niṅ manṁvakaṅ / hana ta ajñāna humādhikārakṅ kasaṅsāran saṅ puruṣa / an pavalivali riṅ janmaloka /*.

18. Such as in the *Parākhya* (GOODALL 2004:li).

19. BHATTACHARYA (2002:599) even suggests that any Sanskrit author born after the 12th century cannot have had access to authentic Cārvāka works.

know them from Sanskrit literature.

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| <i>Admitting only</i> | The basic tenet of the materialists is the recognition of   |
| <i>Direct</i>         | only direct perception as a valid means of knowledge.   |
| <i>Perception</i>     | This is illustrated by the Lokāyata fragment <i>pratyakṣam ekam eva pramāṇam</i> ‘perception is the only valid means of knowledge.’ <sup>20</sup> This belief distinguished them from all |

the other Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical philosophical systems, whose epistemological frameworks admitted two or more means of knowledge. Most of the positions of this school are indeed a direct consequence of this basic axiom, which its exponents resorted to when launching their attacks on the fundamental truths postulated by their adversaries. Thus, in Sanskrit texts as well in the sources from the Archipelago, useful criterion to identify the identity of the opponents is their adherence to this belief.

In the *Dharma Pātañjala* the Lord states, while elaborating on the mechanism of operation of karma in incarnated beings, that what is subtle (*sūkṣma*) is within the scope of inference, which is therefore sufficient to determine the existence of the fruits of karma (236.16–238.3). This point provokes the criticism of an opponent, who questions the factual existence of the fruits of karma on account of their being unseen. In pointing out that ‘only the valid means of knowledge of direct perception is [admitted] among us’ *pratyakṣapramāṇa juga ri kami* (238.5), the opponent reveals his affiliation to the Lokāyata school. Elsewhere (196.19–20) the text defines one possessing wrong knowledge as ‘one who experiences giving authority to what is within the boundaries of his knowledge, using direct perception only’ *ikānaṁ humiḍap humadikārākāṇ sahiṇan i kavruhnya makasādhana pratyakṣa juga*.<sup>21</sup> This reminds one of the Lokāyata statement reported in the philosophical digest *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* by the Jaina Haribhadra (8th century AD), 558.81ab: ‘This world consists of only as much as is within the scope of the senses’ *etāvān eva loko ’yaṁ yāvān indriyagocaraḥ*.

In replying to the opponent’s defence of direct perception as the only valid means of knowledge, the Lord points out that the subtle falls within the scope of inference. In doing so he resorts to the example of the course of the sun:

20. And the variants thereof, viz. *pratyakṣam eva pramāṇam*; *pratyakṣam evaikam pramāṇam*. BHATTACHARYA (2002:600, 605, 612) assigns this group the number III.1.

21. Cf. also *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.30–35, where the Lord criticizes the belief in the validity of direct perception as the only means of knowledge.

If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply] as follows: the Sun is present, being seen by the whole world. Is the one that rose yesterday the same as that that rises now, or is it different? If the one that rose yesterday is different from the one that rises now, what is then [the sun that] is [rising] just now here? Their forms are not different, for their forms are hardly distinguishable; their *nālitā*<sup>22</sup> is really the same, and the same are their warmth and their shining power. The opponent speaks: ‘One and only is the Sun: the one that rose yesterday is the one rising now’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] where is its course while it moves to the east? For last night it set in the west. The opponent says: ‘It sets. Below the earth is its course when it returns to the east’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] where are you when see it going back to the east, moving below the earth? You teach something that is not seen, therefore you are wrong if you use only direct perception as a valid means of knowledge, for the Sun is not seen when it goes back to the east.

DHPĀT  
238.5–15

The same example is expounded in a passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. There the Lord counters the opponent’s view that there is no proof for liberation or for the existence of the fruits of good and bad actions by demonstrating the existence of something that is invisible:

There is the sun, which is seen through direct perception. You know about its rising-place as well as its setting-place. ‘Its rising-place is the east. Its setting-place is the west’. If you would say thus, [then] the one which arose yesterday is the one which is rising now. If you would admit so, where is its course while it returns [to the east]? When it goes to the west, that is seen by you. That it returns again to the east, do you know it by direct perception? Of course not. [Objection:] ‘the [sun] which arose yesterday is different from the one which is arising now’. If you would say thus, [I reply:] since, even so, their appearance are not different,<sup>23</sup> they are just the same. Where do you see a multitude of suns? Wherefrom do you know their number? To say that they are different is, therefore, wrong. Without evidence you know about all of them. This is the reason why the means of knowledge [of direct perception] is not appropriate, [being limited to] everything which is seen and the one who sees. That is a view of men; its wrongness is extreme.<sup>24</sup>

22. Cf. p. 238, fn. 72.

23. The translation of this clause (i.e. from *apayapan* to *ya ta vih*) is conjectural.

24. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.27–35: *nihan sañ hyañ āditya anuñ pratyakṣa katon / vruh kita ri sañkanira lavan surupanira / vetan sañkanira / kulvan surupanira / yapvan kva liñanta vih /*

Both examples aim at proving in an indirect way the validity of inference by showing that to rely upon direct perception only would lead to absurd consequences. Having first established certain characteristics of the sun, i.e. its being one and its movement through the diurnal sky, which, being a matter of direct perception, are above dispute, the opponent is forced to accept the existence of an invisible movement of the sun under the earth at night. The denying of such a movement would lead the opponent to postulate the absurdity of the existence of a multitude of different suns, which is not experienced through direct perception. The passage of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* ends with a critique of those upholding direct perception as the only means of knowledge, who are bewildered (*vyāmoha*) and teach whatever pleases their mouths (*umajarakān samēnaka niṇ tutuknya*), and with an injunction to Vṛhaspati to ignore the views denying the valid means of knowledge (*hayva parāñārāñān / irikañ vuvus yan panayākān pramāṇa*).

The denial of direct perception as an independent means of knowledge seems to have been dear also to the authors of Sanskrit Śaiva texts, where the acceptance of inference as useful for establishing the existence of any entity, even though it is not accessible through direct perception, is upheld for obvious heuristic and soteriological purposes. This point of view is clearly explained in the *Parākhyantra* (trans. GOODALL 2002:187–188):

A thing that is directly perceived may be determined to be an inferential mark [that allows one to assume the existence] of something connected with the seen thing.<sup>25</sup>

If [something is] wholly proven by one means of knowledge, then what is the point of having it proved by a number of means of knowledge?

What is proved by this [one proof], even though it is [only] one [proof], is still proved. Nor is it the case in this world that establishing the existence of things must be achieved in all cases by direct perception.

*rasika sañ mātu vāñi / karika sañ mātu mañke / yan kva liñanta / ndi dalanira valuy / yan sira mañetan tinonta / kari siromaluy mon pratyakṣa vruh kita veh / taha / dudū sañ mātu vāñi / dudū sañ mātu mañke / yapvan kva liñanta vih / apayapan yaya ta lvirnira / tan palenan paḍapaḍa ta sira ya ta viḥ / ndi ta kita tumon pasamūha sañ hyañ āditya / ndi ta kita vruh ri kvehnira / matañyan dva niñ sumañguh sira dudū / tapvan vyakta vruh terika kabeh / ya ta matañyan tan yogya ikañ pramāṇa / ikañ sakaton lavan manon / ya teka pakṣa niñ mānuṣa / atyanta viparītanya / • ndi dalanira* em.; andidala nira Ed. (with comment: ‘is it *dinala*?’, cf. note 81 p. 307).

25. GOODALL inserts this line between cruxes but suggests a plausible reconstruction of the text along with this translation in fn. 165, which I have incorporated here.

It is for this reason that things that are distant, obscured by darkness, or hidden, or [for some other reason not directly perceptible] can be established to exist. If this were not so, then [simply] because of their not being directly perceived their non-existence would be proven. So give up this stubborn insistence upon directly perceived objects [as though direct perception were necessary to establish their existence].<sup>26</sup>

Now, the analogy found in the Old Javanese texts describes the kind of inference classified in Sanskrit philosophical texts as *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* ('observed from the general'), i.e. when there is no failure of concomitance between what is to be proved and its *probans* (*lokaprasiddhahetu*). For instance, in this kind of inference the connection has been known from the general case, that is to say 'when the connection between *sādhya* (what is to be proved) and *hetu* (the reason or mark) is not apprehended by the senses but is known only in general, as when the sun's motion is known from its presence in a new spot in the sky' (SCHUSTER 1972:379). The *Yuktidīpikā* defines it as 'when at some time one has observed the necessary connection of two entities and later observes one such entity it is possible to know another entity of a different kind (necessarily connected with it) which is absolutely unperceived'.<sup>27</sup> The important status of the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* kind of inference in Indic philosophical speculation is suggested by its being discussed in early Sāṅkhya literature.<sup>28</sup> For instance, in the *Yuktidīpikā* the examples provided to corroborate this kind of inference play a primary role, revolving around analogy rather than the logical demonstration of the nexus between the proving reason (*hetu*) and what is to be proven (*sādhya*).<sup>29</sup>

26. *Parākhyantra* 2.73cd–76: *yad dṛṣṭam dṛṣṭasambaddhe tat syāl liṅgaviniścitam // yady ekena pramāṇena siddham bhavati sarvataḥ / tat kiṃ pramāṇabhedena sādhitena prayojanam // enaikenāpi yad vastu saṁsthitam sthitam eva tat / na ca dṛṣṭena sarvatra vastusaṁsthā bhaved iha // viprakṛṣṭatirobhūtavyavadhānādy ataḥ sthitam / na ced eṣām adṛṣṭatvād abhāvaḥ saṁsthitō bhavet / tena dṛṣṭārthaviśaye mucyatām āgraho dṛḍhaḥ // • 73c dṛṣṭasambaddhe] conj. GOODALL (2004:187); dṛṣṭasambaddhe ms.; • 73d tat syāl] conj. GOODALL (2004:187); tasya ms.*

27. *Yuktidīpikā* p. 86.6–9: *yadā tarhi kvacid dharmena dharmāntarasyāvyabhicāram upalabhyaikadharmopalambhād bhinnajātiye 'tyantānupalabdhasya dharmāntarasya pratipattis [tadā sāmānyatodṛṣṭam]*.

28. This kind of *anumāna* is the only one to be briefly mentioned in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 6, which just names inference as threefold. Cf. also *Sāṅkhyasūtra* 1.60 and 1.103.

29. This would again suggest a pre-Dignāga dating, cf. CHEMPARATHY (1965:126; 136, fn. 60). According to *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 15d (158.11–12), the fact that there is

The analogy of the sun is found in Sanskrit sources in connection with the discussion of the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* inference, where it usually serves the purpose, as in the Old Javanese sources, of proving the unseen.<sup>30</sup> Most of the texts in question can be safely dated to before or around the early 6th century AD on account of the fact that they seem to ignore the sophisticated logical arguments that became widespread after the great Buddhist logician Dignāga, who died before 540 AD (cf. SANDERSON 2006b:67). These early sources are characterized by a certain naivety insofar as they make abundant use of examples, such as the one of the Sun, which, according to SCHUSTER (1972:359), does not constitute ‘anything more than a (rather primitive) example of reasoning by analogy’. The most striking similarities are detected in early Buddhist treatises on logic. The *Śataśāstra* by Āryadeva (trans. TUCCI 1998:28), which has survived in a Chinese translation only, presents the view of a *pūrvapakṣin* arguing in favour of the existence of the Soul:

There are things which although cannot directly be perceived can still be known through inference. For instance, having seen that a man first goes and then reaches (a place), since the moon and the sun rise in the east and disappear in the west, although their movements are not seen, because they reach another (place), they are known to possess motion; in the same way, seeing that *guṇa* depends upon *dravya*, through the characteristics of the inference, we know that there is an *ātman*.

Similarly, the *Upāyahṛdaya* of Vasubandhu:

The [inference] based upon a general observation is as follows: a thing that moves reaches a place. In the sky too, the sun and moon previously arisen in the eastern region set in the west. Even though their motion is unseen, the movement of the two [entities] is inferred. This is the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* [inference].<sup>31</sup>

And *Chung-Lun*, the ‘Middle Treatise’, a commentary on Nāgārjuna’s *Madhyāmakakārikā* by T’sing-mu (i.e. Piṅgala or Vimalākṣa) of ca. 409 AD, survived only in Chinese translation:

no example (*dṛṣṭānta*) to prove something implies that there cannot be an argument (*vāda*) altogether (*dṛṣṭāntābhāvaḥ* / *na cāsty anudāhrto vādaḥ*).

30. For a survey and discussion of the sources, cf. SCHUSTER (1972).

31. *Upāyahṛdaya* p. 14: *sāmānyatodṛṣṭam yathā / kaścīd gacchaṃs taṃ deśaṃ prāpnoti / gagane ’pi sūryācandramasau pūrvasyām diśy uditau paścimāyāñ cāstaṃ gatau / tacceṣṭāyām adṛṣṭāyām api tadgamanam anumiyate / etat sāmānyatodṛṣṭam /*.



‘Seeing together’ means, for example, that when you see with your eyes a person going from here to another place, you also see his going. The sun is like this. It emerges from the east and goes to the west. Although you do not see it going, because a man has the characteristic of going, you know that the sun also has going.<sup>32</sup>

Further attestations of the same example in connection with the proving of unseen entities such as the Soul, the Lord, etc. are found in early Brahmanical sources. Accounts standing remarkably close to those found in the above-quoted Buddhist are presented in Vātsyāyana’s commentary to *Nyāyasūtra-bhāṣya* 1.1.5:

The [inference] based upon a general observation is the observation [of something that] has been seen at a different time in a different place when preceded by movement. In such a way is [the observation] of the sun. Therefore, the movement of the sun exists, even though it is not seen.<sup>33</sup>

Calques of the above passage are found in Śabarāsvāmin’s *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya*<sup>34</sup> and the *Yuktidīpikā*.<sup>35</sup> Similar examples are found in a slightly different fashion in *Gauḍapādabhāṣya* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 5 and in *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* 1.7, proving the movement of the moon and the stars instead of the sun. A position that seems to stand midway, mentioning the sun and the moon, is that of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* on the *Pāsupatasūtra*—the only Sanskrit Śaiva source known to me documenting this example:

The [inference] based upon a general observation is such as after observing the fact in this world that the attaining of a new position is preceded by

32. Chung-Lun on Kārikā 18.1–12 (24b7), trans. BOCKING (1995:277).

33. *Nyāyasūtrabhāṣya* 1.1.5: *sāmānyatodṛṣṭam—vrajyāpūrvakam anyatra dṛṣṭasyānyatra darśanam iti / tathā cādityasya / tasmād asty apratyakṣāpy ādityasya vrajyeti /*

34. *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtrabhāṣya* 1.1.5: [Inference in which] the connection has been known from the general observation is such: as one perceives that Devadatta has reached a different place after he has moved, so there is the inference of the movement in the case of the sun’ *sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandham ca yathā devadattasya gatipūrvikām deśāntaraprāptim upalabhya āditye ‘pi gatismaranam /*

35. *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 6ab, p. 86.9–11: ‘As Devadatta’s reaching of a new place by virtue of movement is ascertained even though [that movement] was absolutely unperceived, so the movement of the sun is inferred because of [its] reaching a new place [in the sky]’ *devadatte gamanād deśāntaraprāptim upalabhyāntādrṣṭam jyotiṣām deśāntaraprāpter gamanam anumīyate /*

motion, one concludes that the moon and the sun are in motion.<sup>36</sup>

HARA (1992:215–216) observes that ‘if the solar movement is a naive example of reasoning as we have in Kaunḍinya's illustration of *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*, this simplicity and naiveté also may indicate the historical priority of Kaunḍinya to the philosophical writers, at least to Praśastapāda, as has been pointed out by scholars of Indian philosophy’. He further remarks that the simpler and more primitive character of the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* with respect to the Sāṅkhya treatises may indicate an early stage of philosophical speculation as represented by the *Upāyahṛdaya* and the like (pp. 219–220).

On the basis of the textual passages presented above, it may be concluded that when the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva* illustrate their views on inference they draw this analogy from a pre-Dignāga Sanskrit source and re-elaborate it using a different wording.

*Denying the  
Lord and Sum-  
mum Bonum*

In harmony with the belief that realities that are inaccessible to direct sense perception are non-existent, the materialist opponents negate the existence of the Lord (*bhaṭāra*), who is also characterized as *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*), a term that, according to the context

in which it is used, can mean either ‘Supreme Reality’, with reference to the impersonal form of God, or ‘Highest Goal’, with reference to the state of final liberation. It is indeed often the case that for the Śaivas these two aspects coincide, and hence they are attacked simultaneously.<sup>37</sup> Whereas in *Dharma Pātañjala* 268.6 the opponent defines the *Summum Bonum* as being just an idea or concept (*buddhi*),<sup>38</sup> the negation of the *Summum Bonum* is usually achieved in the text, as well as in other Old Javanese sources, through the attachment of the predicate *tayā* ‘non-existence’ to it. Indeed, according to the Lokāyatas, an entity not cognized by direct perception is not existent.

36. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 1.1.44 (trans. HARA 1992:215): *sāmānyato/-dṛṣṭam apiha gatip-ūrvikāṃ deśāntaraprāptiṃ dṛṣṭvā candrādityādigatiprasiddhiḥ / • candrādi°* em. HARA (1992:214); cāsyādi° ed.

37. Liberation being for the Śaivasiddhānta the manifestation (*abhivyakti*) of the Lord's supernatural qualities; cf. above, pp. 410–413.

38. Compare the similar use of *ambāk* in Tutar *Saptati* f. 51r: ‘Just our Lord is the Supreme reality (*viśeṣa*); according to the opponent, another explanation of Him is [that He is] “a concept”. Truly he does not know about the [nature of] the universe. His explanation is: “the Lord is as follows: He is regarded to be a concept”’ *hyañ mami juga sira viśeṣa, ambāk haranira vaneh de sañ para, tuhu ika ndatan vruh ikañ rat, pratyakṣanira, ndan nihan sañ bhaṭāra, ndan sinaṅgah ambāk*.

But the term *tayā* often appears to indicate a (paradoxically) positive entity, a vacuum or ‘nothingness’ parallel, and opposed, to the *Summum Bonum*.<sup>39</sup>

In *Dharma Pātañjala* 196.20–23 the *pūrvapakṣin* equates the Lord-*Summum Bonum* with non-existence on the basis of the argument that non-existence is visibly the origin and end of incarnated beings. Elsewhere, in a concise manifesto of a materialist position, the same standpoint is advanced and coupled with the denial of the existence of the karmic bearing of actions on the grounds that their effects will ultimately dissolve—along with the whole universe—into non-existence:

A hundred shall be the number of pleasures enjoyed by the man; he will not experience suffering if he knows about the true state of the Lord. The reason why it is so is that all the actions do not actually exist. The reason why they do not exist in the real sense is that their effects will all disappear, going back to their origin. Where is their origin? From the Holy Non-Existence, pure without obstructions. It is designated as *unmanifest*, which is the place of dissolution of the whole universe. [...] Such is the true state of human beings, and the knowledge about the *Summum Bonum*. [...] Similarly, water-buffaloes, cows, dogs, pigs, as soon as they die they return to non-existence. The returning to non-existence is by no means a guess, for visibly their bodies disappear’.

DhPāt  
332.16–334.3

The non-existence advocated by the opponent, also defined as *unmanifest* (*niṣkala*),<sup>40</sup> is not only a negative concept, for it is regarded as ‘being pure and without obstructions’ (*malilāṇ tan kāvaraṇan*). A similar standpoint is traceable in other Old Javanese texts.<sup>41</sup>

39. That there is indeed a difference of nuances between such Old Javanese terms as *tayā* and *tan hana* is arguable from the contexts in which they appear. While the former can be translated as both ‘there is not [anyone]’ and as the substantive ‘non-being, non-existence, absence, nothingness’, it seems to me that its substantival function is more prominent and idiomatic in philosophical contexts, as opposed to *tan hana*, which is always used in the meaning ‘there is not’.

40. The term *niṣkala* was perhaps understood in a technical manner as a synonym of *avyakta*, which in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 10 is defined, in contrast with the manifest, as having a series of characteristics that are attributed by the Śaiva to the *Summum Bonum*: ‘The manifest is caused, non-eternal, non-pervasive, active, non-singular, dependent, with characteristics, with limbs, conditioned; the unmanifest is the opposite’ *hetumad anityam avyāpi sakriyam anekam āśritaṃ liṅgam / sāvayavam paratantram vyaktaṃ viparitam avyaktam //*.

41. Cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.54, where Vṛhaspati, who there embodies the *pūrvapakṣin*, describes the state of insentient dissolution corresponding to the *Summum Bonum* termed

Elsewhere, the opponent challenges the existence of the Lord by rejecting, by means of syllogistic logical arguments, statements attempting to prove His existence. Thus, to the Lord's definition of *Summum Bonum* as a supreme and unfathomable entity, bodiless and without colours (194.20–24), the opponent replies by partially accepting such a 'negative' relative definition, but only to force the interpretation of this statement to its extreme consequence, i.e. that the *Summum Bonum* does not exist at all:

DHPĀT  
196.20–23

Indeed the *Summum Bonum* does not have a body, does not have a colour, for it is non-existence. What is the evidence of the *Summum Bonum* being non-existence? Because non-existence was your cause in the past, and without an effect you will be in the future; mere non-existence will be your end. This is the reason why the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence.

The equation of the *Summum Bonum* to non-existence is made on the ground that the latter only is the cause of the universe. Further on, an opponent possessing wrong knowledge (*sañ mithyajñāna*) reiterates the point through the denial of the Lord's body:

DHPĀT  
200.6–7

How is it possible that the *Summum Bonum* is what serves as life for the whole universe? For the life of its body does not exist!

The argument revolving around the absence or non-perceptibility of the body of the Lord finds a counterpart in Sanskrit Śāstras in connection with the defence of the existence of the Lord (*īśvara*) from the attacks of the opponents of theism. The attribution of a body (*śarīra*) to the Lord is important to the discussion of the issue as to whether the visible universe is an effect

*viśeṣa* as 'unmanifest, pure and without obstructions at all times' *tan vyakta ika, alilañ tan kāvaraṇaṇ sadākāla*; in 52.10, the luminous aspect of the sentient (*prakāśa*) is also described as constantly pure and without obstructions (*nityomiḍaṇ tan kāvaraṇaṇ*). The concept of *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*) as Void (*śūnya*) and non-existent (*tayā*) is met in *Navaruci* p. 54; the text explains that *tayā* is like the image of a heron flying in the sky and that from *śūnya* plus *tayā* the subtle (*sūkṣma*) comes forth. The simile of the flying heron (*kuntul aṇlayaṇ*) is illustrated in an identical context also in *Kumāratattva* II f. 27v. The first paragraph of the *Jñānasiddhānta* (p. 68) defines the Unmanifest (*niṣkala*) as *sarva tayā* or 'complete non-being', which has no characteristics (*tan katuduhan*), no form or colour (*tan parūpavarṇa*), no remnants (*tan pahamaṇaṇ*).

(*kārya*) of a former cause.<sup>42</sup> This cause is deemed to be the Lord by the theistic systems. However, to this view the atheists object that, according to common experience, any entity, in order to qualify as an intelligent and capable agent, should necessarily be provided with a body. The standard example illustrated in the sources is that of the pot maker, who, in order to create a pot out of the insentient clay, must be provided with intelligence, desire and ability to carry out his work.<sup>43</sup>

The example of the pot is attested in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, where it serves the purpose of dispelling Vṛhaspati's view regarding the *Summum Bonum* as an insentient reality, corresponding to liberation, called *viśeṣa*. Having reproached Vṛhaspati for repeating his view, the Lord retorts:

According to you the unconscious is *viśeṣa*. The so-called unconscious is insentient. The so-called insentient, that is sought after by the sentient. Its illustration is like the clay out of which a pot is made. He who makes the pot is the one who wishes it. The clay is the insentient, because it does not experience. The person (i.e., the pot-maker) is the sentient. It is the insentient that is shaped by him. Feeding troughs,<sup>44</sup> pots, vats, earthen pots and such other things are after the own desire of the sentient, which desires to create them. In the same way, the Lord is just like the person who makes the pot in subjecting what is insentient to His desire. The body of the unconscious is insentient, hence it is not proper that you term the *Summum Bonum* as *viśeṣa*.<sup>45</sup>

42. Cf. *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 6.61–62ab: ‘This universe filled with movable and immovable beings is to be regarded as the effect of unevolved matter; an effect is established to originate from a cause, and that cause is desired by an enjoyer. The one who causes to enjoy the object of enjoyment is God, the Lord Parameśvara’ *kāryam etat pradhānasya dṛśyaṃ yat sacarācaram / kāryeṇa kāraṇaṃ siddhaṃ tac ca bhoktur abhīpsitam // bhogyam bhojayitā devo bhagavān parameśvaraḥ /*.

43. Passages of Śaiva sources supporting the argument that the creator of the world needs a body with the example of the pot are, e.g., *Kiraṇa* VP 3.12ac; *Mṛgendra* VP 1.8–9a (and the elaborate *Vṛtti* thereof), 3.7b–15a; *Pauṣkara-Parameśvara* VP 1.28cd–39; *Parameśvaratantra* 9–10 (cf. GOODALL 1998:lvii); *Mokṣakārikā* 1–11; Rāmakaṇṭha on *Paramokṣa-nirāsakārikā* 2.

44. OJED (2342) translates *kavvaṇan* (from *vvaṇ* 1), quoting this line of text, as ‘birth, form of existence (man, animal, etc.) fixed by birth, position assigned by birth, natural disposition; noble birth, high position’; however, the context suggests that the form may be derived from *vvaṇ*\* III (attested only as *amvaṇ*, *vinvaṇ*, *amvaṇi*, *vinvaṇaṇ*) ‘to take care of, foster, feed, kindle; treat fondly, guard, look after, tend’; hence, *kavvaṇan* = ‘place of feeding/from where it is fed’.

45. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.44–52: *ikaṇ lupa ya viśeṣa liṅta / acetana kaṇ lupa nāranya / ikaṇ*

The argument is that the unconscious—which is also called *viśeṣa* by Vṛhaspati—cannot be the *Summum Bonum* because of its insentience; and what is insentient is by definition an effect, created by what is sentient. The example of the pot is here employed to demonstrate this basic axiom. The same example occurs in Sanskrit philosophical literature to demonstrate the sentience of the Soul, which knows, desires and acts. The traditional purpose of the example seems to be presupposed by the Old Javanese text, which in fact construes a syllogism by equating the sentiency and agency of the Soul of the pot-maker to the power of sentience and action of the Lord.<sup>46</sup> Still, Vṛhaspati claims the status of non-effect, hence cause, for the non-existence, describing it through the epithets attributed to the *Summum Bonum*:

The unconscious is just like an absurdity (*asambhava*).<sup>47</sup> It is not manifest (*tan vyakta*),<sup>48</sup> always pure and without a covering. For it is only a thing with a body that can be desired and created. These [characteristics] just do not exist (*tan hana*) [with respect to the unconscious]. Hence, it is not appropriate [to say] that it (the unconscious) can be created.<sup>49</sup>

The point underlying this statement is that non-existence can never be an effect, for that state applies only for entities that are insentient and possess a body. This is important in view of the fact that, according to Vṛhaspati, non-existence is the supreme goal out of which existence arises; if it would be proved to be an effect, the veracity of this proposition would be undermined.

*acetana naranya inicchā de niñ cetana teka / paḍanya kady aṅgān in ləmah ginave dyun / ikañ magave dyun yekañ umicchā ya / ikañ ləmah yekañ acetana / apan tan pañhiḍəp / ikañ vvañ yeka cetana / ikañ acetana yeka ginavenya / kavvañan dyun paluñan paryuk saprakāra / svecchā nikañ cetana / mañicchā dumadyakən / tadvat mañkana kady aṅgān ikañ magave dyun / tadvat mañkana ta bhaṭāra / ar pakeccchā ikañ acetana / acetana pvāvak nikañ lupa / ya ta matañyan tan yogya ikañ paramārtha liñmu viśeṣa / • paluñan paryuk ] BDEF, OJED ; paluñan / paryuk A ; paryuk paluñhan CG ; paluñhān payun Ed. • liñmu ] em. ; liñnyu Ed. (all mss.).*

46. A similar point appears to be made in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (cf. p. 582), arguing that the element earth is an (insentient) effect, whereas the Soul can experience and know by virtue of the Lord's *jñānaśakti* (cf. p. 344).

47. Following OJED (134): 'hard to believe, absurd, impossible', etc.

48. Against OJED (2347), which s.v. *vyakta* gives only '(1) evident, certain; (2) distinct' (the latter on the basis of *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.7). Note, however, that OJED 134 s.v. *asambhava* quotes this sentence with the reading *vyakti*.

49. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.53–56: *kadi asambhava atekañ lupa / tan vyakta ika / alilañ tan kāvaraṇan sadākāla // apan ikañ vastu māvak atah / kavənañ inicchā lavan ginave / ika tatan hana juga / ya ta matañyan tan yogya ika gavayən //*

A comparable controversy over the existence of an intelligent creator is documented already in early texts of Sāṅkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika,<sup>50</sup> becoming one of the standard clichés in Śaiva scriptures, from the early Śāstric Siddhāntatantras throughout the later exegetical traditions. The replies to the atheistic objection, of course, vary according to the philosophical affiliation and period. An early argument against the existence of God is found in the *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 15d. It objects to the view that the conjunction of the sentient Soul with the insentient body is effected by a conscious being.<sup>51</sup> According to the Sāṅkhyas, God does not exist as the universe can be reduced to two fundamental principles, the sentient *puruṣa* and the insentient *prakṛti*. The argument of the bodiless<sup>52</sup> state of the Lord is attributed to a (seemingly materialist) *pūrvapākṣin*:

[...] both [the Soul and the body] are not conscious; for we do not admit that Īśvara has a body, and (hence) there is no fault (in our doctrine). Those who acknowledge the substance (called) Īśvara, teach that he is possessed of infinite marks such as being all pervasive, devoid of parts, of infinite power, the subtlest among the subtle, the biggest among the big, the subject of merit, eternal etc. Why, then, should one attach a body (to him) and falsely attribute it to him?<sup>53</sup>

The commentator refutes this point, remarking that the Lord does have a body; and it is because of this very fact that he cannot be the creator, for

50. On the defence of an invisible but intelligent creatorship for, respectively, atoms and material entities such as trees, mountains, etc., cf. Uddyotakara's *Nyāyavārttika* and Vācaspati-miśra's *Nyāyavārttikatātparyāṭikā* on *Nyāyasūtra* 4.1.19–21.

51. This may very well represent the Śaiva standpoint; cf., e.g., *Vṛhaspatitattva* 14.52–53, according to which 'The principle Soul is caused to meet the principle unevolved matter by the Lord' *pinatāmvakēṇ pvekaṇ ātmatattva lavan ikaṇ pradhānatattva de bhaṭāra*.

52. The technical term used by the *Yuktidīpikā* for 'body' is *kāryakaraṇa*, in which *kārya* denotes the five *tanmātras* plus the five elements, and *karaṇa* the ten organs of sense and action plus the three internal organs (all these being Sāṅkhya categories). As pointed out by CHEMPARATHY (1965:139, fn. 70) this technical usage is frequently found also in the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* (74.2–8; 76.8; 141.21). Since, as far as we know, the *Pañcārthabhāṣya* is likely to be earlier than the *Yuktidīpikā*, it is possible that such usage was first introduced in the former text.

53. Trans. CHEMPARATHY (1965:141); *Yuktidīpikā* 159.8–13: *na tarhy ubhayoś caitanyam / kāryakaraṇavattānabhyupagamād adoṣa iti cet / [syād etat /] vyāpī niravayavo 'nantaśaktiḥ sūkṣmebhyaḥ sūkṣmatamo mahadbhyo mahattamo 'dhikaraṇadharmānādir ity evam anantalakṣaṇam īśvarapadārthaṁ tadvidho vyācakṣate / tasya kutaḥ kāryakaraṇam avalambyedam adhyāropitam iti /*.

revelation (*śruti*) speaks of his gross bodily forms as well as other 'glorious bodies' (*māhātmyaśarīrāṇi*) of supernatural beings, all of which come out of unevolved matter. Assuming the existence of a prior divine entity is, therefore, useless.

On the other hand, Nyāya seeks to dispel this objection by demonstrating that agency (*karṭṛtva*) does not necessarily require the possession of a body (*śarīravattva*).<sup>54</sup> A development of this standpoint is probably detectable in the Īśvara doctrine of the Pāśupatas, according to whom He is bodiless, being described as *niṣkala* and *vikalaḥ*, 'without parts'; when He is said to possess a body, He does so only in a figurative sense.<sup>55</sup> The solution of the Śaivasiddhānta is to postulate for the Lord an invisible and pure mantric body. This point is already found in the *Mrgendra* (VP 3.8–15) and in the *Parākhya*, which justifies the Lord's embodied form (*sakala*) as a necessity 'for the sake of worship' (*upacāranimittatḥ*, 2.87).<sup>56</sup>

In the *Dharma Pātāñjala* the first argument advanced to demonstrate the Lord's existence is constituted by a matter-of-fact proposition pointing at the absurdity of postulating the derivation of the visible world from an invisible non-existence:

DHPĀT  
200.2–5

The evidence that it (i.e. wrong knowledge) is wrong [is]: indeed the whole universe does not exist, if the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence, and all of you could not live, if the *Summum Bonum* is non-existence. This life of yours is visible, as is the existence of the whole universe: from this you can infer that the *Summum Bonum* is not non-existence.

This syllogism, implying inference, is used to attack the views of those considering non-existence as the cause of the universe. Another proof adduced refers to the establishment of the cause from its effects or creation (Skt *kārya*, OJ *gave*), which also implies the upholding of inference as a legitimate means to arrive at the Lord's existence through the direct perception of reality:

DHPĀT  
204.7–9

Not visible is the *Summum Bonum*, but what is visible is its creation. What

54. This end is often achieved through the finding of logical fallacies in the position of the adversary, such as, e.g. *āśrayāsiddhi* or the assuming of Īśvara's body without accepting Īśvara Himself who is the substratum of that body (cf. *Nyāyakusumañjali* 485,1–502.7).

55. Cf. *Pañcārthabhāṣya* 76.5–17 and 128.8–10, as pointed out by CHEMPARATHY 1965:141, fn. 77.

56. Among the Archipelago sources attributing a mantric body to Śiva, cf. *Vṛhaspatitātva* ad śloka 14 (quoted above, p. 356).



is its creation? Here it is: the animals as well as this world, not to speak of the human beings. These are its creation.

The establishment of the existence of the Lord on the inference of His effects is a well-known motif in Sanskrit sources. Since, according to the Śaiva, the Lord is not perceivable by the limited human senses and ungraspable by the limited human mind, His existence can be proved only through His effects, i.e. creation. The paradigmatic instruments to carry out such a discussion are provided by a non-Śaiva system, i.e. the (theistic) Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. As it is put forward in the Nyāya section of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (11.165, which is largely based upon Udayana's *Nyāyakusumāñjali*), 'the mountains, seas, etc., must have had a maker because they possess the nature of effects, like a jar' *nagasāgarādikaṃ sakartṛkaṃ kāryatvāt kumbhavat*. To this proposition the opponent objects that 'the mountains, etc., cannot have had a maker, because of the fact that they were not produced by a body' (11.174). Having shown this to be a wrongly-formulated syllogism, the follower of Nyāya points out that if such gross entities had no maker, they would not be effects; but since all acknowledge that they have the nature of effects, there also must be a maker. The same argument is put forward in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 7, defending the view that *prakṛti* can be perceived only through its effects. In *Parākhya Tantra* 4.4–5 it serves the purpose of proving the existence of Māyā.<sup>57</sup> Now, it is probably this widespread axiom that the above-quoted terse statement of the *Dharma Pātañjala* presupposes. In order to know about the Lord from His effects, an inferential process is required. This is made explicit in *Mṛgendra* VP 3.1, a verse much quoted by Śaiva commentators:

Now, having perceived that things such as bodies etc. have the nature of effects, we can know their particular creator by way of inference.<sup>58</sup>

Similarly, *Parākhya* 2.2–3 and 7 (trans. GOODALL 2004:165–167):

All things that are endowed with form, that are made up of parts, that have various forms, because they are distinguished by having gross parts, must necessarily depend on a sentient cause. (2)

57. Cf. also *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* VP 6.56, and *Vyomavyāpistava* 22, on Vāmadeva being devoid of distinctive marks yet inferable from His effects.

58. *Mṛgendratānttra* VP 3.1: *athopalabhya dehādivastu kāryatvadharmakam / kartāram asya jānīmo viśiṣṭam anumānataḥ* //.

Therefore there exists some sentient [cause]. [And that is] proved to be the Lord. He is known, according to this system, by inference, because of His effects, which we directly experience. (3)

By these inferential marks, such as effects, He may be known even though He is not directly perceived. A gross effect with parts must lead [one to assume] a cause. (7)<sup>59</sup>

Further on (2.11) the text elaborates on the correct type of inference to be employed:

Therefore [we know that] He must be the sentient cause of this coarse [body of] effect[s that is the universe], the first of whose effects is the effect that is earth, by inference based on [a connection that is] known from a general principle.<sup>60</sup>

The type of inference referred to as ‘observed from the general’ (*sāmānyatodṛṣṭa*) is commonly used in early Brahmanical texts to prove unseen realities such as the Supreme Being.<sup>61</sup> As I have shown above (pp. 564–570), in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* this type of inference is illustrated through the example of the Sun to prove the existence of the invisible fruits of karma. A logical demonstration of the existence of the Lord through inference, against an opponent maintaining His bodiless state, is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*:

If you would say that He has no body, and it is not appropriate to speak about a Lord because there is no proof to establish Him, then look, as follows are the proofs to establish Him:

*Just as butter invisibly resides in milk and fire in wood; as water abides in clouds and the wind is omnipresent, so also are rajas and tamas.*

59. *Parākhyantra* 2.2–3, 7: *mūrtāḥ sāvayavāḥ ye ’rthā nānārūpaparicchadāḥ / sthūlavayavaśiṣṭatvād buddhimaddhetupūrvakāḥ // ato ’sti buddhimān kaścīd īśvaraḥ samavasthitāḥ / pratipannaḥ svakāryeṇa dṛṣṭenātrānumānataḥ // [...] ebhiḥ kāryādibhir liṅgair adṛṣṭo ’pi pratiyate / sthūlaṃ sāvayavaṃ kāryam avaśyaṃ kāraṇaṃ nayet //*

60. *Parākhyantra* 2.11: *tena sāmānyatodṛṣṭād anumānena buddhimān / kāraṇaṃ sthūlakāryasya kṣitikāryādikasya saḥ //*

61. Cf., e.g., Nyāya sources such as Uddyotakara’s *Nyāyavārttika* and Vācaspatimiśra’s *Nyāyavārttikatātparyatikā* on *Nyāyasūtra* 4.1.19–21. Yet, for the Śaivas this kind of analogical inference cannot amount to the only source of knowledge of the Lord but must be corroborated also by revelation (*āgama*): cf. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.38–39 (quoted above, p. 555).

*They are existent and yet not existent in as much as they are not grasped by the man in the visible world.*

What is your means to know the fire which is present in wood? Why should something that is not seen be described as existent? As the wood is not burnt by that [fire,] so according to you it does not exist. [Yet] that [fire] comes out of the wood: that is your means to know about it. In what way will you acknowledge the factual existence of such [an event]? Similarly, butter comes out of milk. You can say that it exists. You can say that water alone is the nature of milk, and [butter] does not exist. But it exists! How can it be so? Even though it is a visible substance it is difficult to be clearly defined; it cannot be perceived in its concrete form. What, according to your proposition, is denoted as *viśeṣa*, is it anything less than a visible substance? As long as it can be compared to fire and butter, the holy *viśeṣa* is as such, it cannot be clearly defined, it is difficult to be perceived in its concrete form. What is your means to know it? It is just subtle, without external marks, extremely difficult to grasp. This is regarded as *viśeṣa*. For if [you would say that] the Lord exists [then] He can be grasped, and He is subject to the cycle of existence, and, according to your view, it is as if He is designated as non-existence, then how would this whole world exist, as well as your life? How would all this exist if the Lord is non-existence? This is the reason why your proposition is wrong.<sup>62</sup>

This difficult passage, the translation of which is not always beyond doubt,

62. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 48.2–5 and 49.1–14: *tan hanāvaknira / tan yogya ika vuvusən bhaṭāra / apan tan hana pramāṇa sumiddhākānya / nyapan tahan kva liṇanta / nyañ nihan makapramāṇa sumiddhākānya //*

*yad ghr̥taṃ payasi hariś ca yad dāruṣu kṣitaḥ jalaṃ nabhaḥsthitam sarvago 'nilaḥ / rajas tamo 'dṛśyamāno nareṇa sann asat tathā bāhye jagati tan nopalabhyate //*

49c 'dṛśyamāno nareṇa] *em.*; 'dṛśyaṃ mano nare Ed.; 'dṛśyamanas sa nareṇa AD; 'dṛśyamanas sa nareṇa BEF; vṛṣamana sa nareṇa CG

*apa kari panaṅguhanta riñ apuy yan haneñ kayu / umapeka tan katon sənguhən hana / apa ya tan gəsən ikañ kayu denya / tan hana liṇanta / mijil ta ya sañkeñ kayu / ndya panaṅguhanterika / mapa deyanta mastvi mañkana / mañkana tekañ miñak sañkeñ susu / hana liṇanterika / vvay juga ta lvir nikañ susu / taya liṇaterika / hana mata ya / ika ta umapa mañkana / vastu bāhya ika iva mañkana evəḥ yan linakṣaṇan / tan kəna vinastvan / ika pakṣanta pva sinaṅguh ta viśeṣa / apeka sor de niñ vastu bāhya / yāvat kady aṅgān ikañ apuy lavan miñak / yāvat mañkana ta sañ hyaṇ viśeṣa / tan kəna linakṣaṇan / mevəḥ vinastvan / apa kari panaṅguhanta ri sira / sūkṣma juga ya / alakṣaṇa / atyanta paramadurgrāhya / ya ta sinaṅguh viśeṣa nāranya / apan yan hana bhaṭāra kavənañ ta sikəpən / lavan kəna ta sira riñ sañsāra veh / yan saṅguhan taya kadi pakṣanta / kadi hana tekaṃ rāt kabeh / nihan huripta tuvi / ndah kadi hana teki yan taya bhaṭāra / ya ta mataṇyan salah ika pakṣanta /.*

upholds syllogistic arguments to reduce to an absurdity the opponent's propositions (either factual or implied) that unseen realities are non-existent; that the *Summum Bonum* is the *viśeṣa*; and that the Lord is non-existence. The refutation of these propositions is done by means of analogies, whose general validity is determined by direct perception. It may be pointed out that of the four similes mentioned in the śloka only two are taken up in the commentary, namely those of butter in milk and fire in wood. Nor is the syllogism mentioning the *guṇas* explained there. This leads me to suggest that the commentator was only familiar with the two examples, a fact that is supported by the appearance of the same illustrations in other Old Javanese texts. These metaphors appear to be an archaic defence of *satkāryavāda* or the doctrine upholding the existence of the effect in the cause. Exact counterparts of these illustrations are found in Sanskrit sources, where they usually serve the purpose of demonstrating the invisible presence of the Lord (or Brahman) in everything.<sup>63</sup>

That inference is required in order to prove the existence of the Lord who, although invisible, is omnipresent, is adumbrated in the following passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, occurring in the debate between the Lord and the opponent at the end of the text:

ДНПĀТ  
336.12–17

‘What is the distinctive mark of the *Summum Bonum*, which is the direct aim of the absorption of the yogin?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] The sentient: omniscient, who knows the whole universe; omnipotent, who is the author of the entire universe. ‘Where are His whereabouts?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] His whereabouts are the whole universe, although he is not seen, for He is without distinctive marks, without form, without a notion. ‘Impossible. What is the evidence of its existence?’ If you would speak thus, [I would reply:] As follows: the creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe. That is the wish of the Lord.

The invisibility and lack of distinctive marks of the Lord-*Summum Bonum* do not preclude His pervasive existence, which is proved by the sentient nature of that reality, characterized by the Powers of Knowledge and Action.<sup>64</sup>

63. Cf. above, pp. 381–383 and 401–402.

64. A similar argument is put forward by Śaṅkara in his commentary to *Taittirīyopaniṣad* 2.6.5, where the opponent points out that what exists, like a pot, is provided with specific characteristics (*viśeṣa*); since the Brahman is not perceived, nor are its properties, it follows that it does not exist. Śaṅkara replies that the world is an effect of Brahman, as no effect born from the non-existence is perceived in this world.

The reference to the activities of creation, maintenance and dissolution by the Lord may be intended here to affirm His causal efficiency, which, according to the materialists, could be denied on the ground that inherent efficacy (*svabhāva*) accounts for those activities.<sup>65</sup>

The argument in favour of theism—already hinted at in the above passage—revolving around the idea that sentience (*cetanā*) is required as the basis of reality is advanced in reply to the opponent's objection (200.6–7) that the Lord-*Summum Bonum* cannot be what serves as life for the universe since there is no such thing as His body:

What is, then, the reason why *Summum Bonum* is the designation of it? If it were something else than sentient—for sentient is the origin for life's existence—what is called *sentience* would be without distinctive characteristics, without a [definite] state, really it would be heavy, it would be standing lower than the *Summum Bonum*, and not omniscient. The sentient in such a way is what brings life into existence. Could that be anything different from the *Summum Bonum*?

DHPĀT  
200.7–202.2

Again, the Lord attempts at formulating a simple syllogism, corroborated by the axiom that sentience must be the origin of organized life. In the part of the debate following thereupon the Lord and an opponent adhere to, respectively, the existence and sentience of the *Summum Bonum*, and its non-existence and insentience:

Moreover, as follows could be my question to the opponent: if the *Summum Bonum* is sentient, it is non-existent, just impossible, [like] gleaming without a body.<sup>66</sup> That is designated as *void*; that is designated as *formless*.<sup>67</sup> Thus answers the opponent. [I reply:] where is the place of such a non-existence? At what moment will this whole universe suddenly cease to exist? The opponent answers: 'This universe will disappear suddenly in the future, for non-existence was its former cause. What is the reason why the universe exists in the end? It just exists without having a cause; existence exists without using as a former state something that has been created. Similarly, if it vanishes, there is nothing that causes it to disappear'; thus speaks the opponent. [I reply:] it is not possible at all that insentient matter creates the body of what exists and does not exist.

DHPĀT  
202.2–11

65. Cf. below, p. 590.

66. For a tentative explanation of this image, cf. p. 202, fn. 18.

The argument raised by the opponent concerning the origin and end of the visible universe recalls either the doctrine of non-causality (*nirnimittavāda*) or spontaneous origination (*svabhāvavāda*), according to which things can be born out of themselves without needing a former cause, and can also disappear without a reason. This concept, besides eliminating the need of a creator, undermines the very idea of causality, and was one of the most criticized tenets of the materialist school(s).<sup>67</sup>

As we have seen in *Parākhya* 2.11, the first of the coarse bodies usually taken as example of the Lord's effect is the earth.<sup>68</sup> This finds a counterpart in our text in the opponent's objection to the above statement of the Lord:

DHPAT  
202.11–204.2

'Take, for example, the earth (*lāmah*): there is no one who creates its body. Who is the one who creates its existence and disappearance?' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] According to me He is the Lord *Summum Bonum*. He can destroy and create, for He is the Almighty, being able to will into existence the whole universe.

After the Lord's assertive demonstration, the opponent reiterates the argument, already put forward in the passages quoted above (p. 580), pointing out the paradoxical character of Śaiva definition of the *Summum Bonum*:

DHPAT  
204.3–8

The opponent replies: 'According to you, the *Summum Bonum* exists. It exists, without any distinctive characteristics whatsoever. It has no body. It is not visible. It is ungraspable. It cannot be fathomed!' [I reply:] that [entity] is designated as *subtle*. The opponent replies: 'Your statement is not a response to my question.' [I reply:] 'Let it be as you wish.' 'Nevertheless, there would be a characteristic.' If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] Not visible is the *Summum Bonum*, but what is visible is its creation.

This—regrettably corrupt—passage defends the definition of the *Summum Bonum* by pointing out that it is only apparently paradoxical, for the epithets may apply to the description of a subtle (*sūkṣma*), yet existing, reality.<sup>69</sup> To

67. Cf. below, pp. 592–595.

68. Cf. also *Mrgendratāntra* VP 6.2a: 'The creator of the earth and other effects is the Lord' *kāryaṃ kṣityādikarteśas*.

69. Similar epithets are found in a passage of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* (ms. Mal. Pol. 161, f. 35v) to define the breaths: 'The subtleness of the breaths means that they do not have a body, do not have a form, do not have a colour; they cannot be touched, they cannot be grasped; the subtleness of the breaths means that they are invisible' *lit niñ bāyu nāranya, tan pāvak tan parūpa tan pavarna, tan kagamal tan kasikap, sūkṣma niñ bāyu nāranya tan katon*.

the Lord's point the opponent rightfully objects that, in this case, the *Summum Bonum* would be provided with a distinctive mark, namely subtleness, and this would result in an apparent contradiction with the previous attribution of the epithet 'devoid of distinctive marks' (*tan palakṣaṇa*, 200.9) to the *Summum Bonum*.<sup>70</sup> The point made by the Lord somehow escapes this contradiction and jumps to the conclusion that, even though the Lord/*Summum Bonum* is subtle and hence invisible, His effects are to be regarded as proofs of His existence. Unsatisfied by this reply, the opponent remarks that the Lord, who has created the universe, is not visible, and enquires about the valid means of knowledge in order to prove His existence. According to the Lord, the means is the power of knowledge (*jñānaśakti*), made of sentience (*cetanāmaya*), present in the Souls of the incarnated beings. Thus, the argument of the existence of the Lord's power of knowledge within the incarnated beings is considered to bear the force of evidence in order to prove the existence and (omniscient-cum-omnipotent) creatorship of the Lord.

The debate reaches its conclusion with the opponent's denying that the power of the Lord is sentient, adducing as a proof that what creates awareness in the men's bodies is merely the coming together of elements. The Lord replies by mentioning the example of the sleeping man who does not die even though he is unconscious—an example I shall discuss below (pp. 607–612), in connection with the materialist's denial of the Soul. What is interesting to mention here is that this example serves the purpose of corroborating the view that sentience is a qualification of the Lord and His power of knowledge within the human beings. The same example is found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, where it also appears in connection with the more general debate on the equation of the highest reality (called *viśeṣa*) with non-existence. The fact that the example of the Soul of a sleeping person is brought forward in both the *Dharma Pātañjala* and the *Vṛhaspatitattva* to demonstrate the existence of an omniscient agent and creator of all effects might have had its origin in the Sanskrit tradition. For instance, a similar illustration is used by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika author Śrīdhara (10th century AD) in his commentary

70. Another interpretation may be that the opponent, while admitting the Lord's objection that his observation is not pertinent, forces the adversary to concede that the *Summum Bonum* possesses certain distinctive marks, namely existence, lack of a body, invisibility, etc. The view that the *Summum Bonum* has no distinctive marks whatsoever is raised also in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, commentary ad śloka 8b (*anirdeśyam alakṣaṇam*), and in 49.8–12 (*sūkṣma juga ya / alakṣaṇa / atyantaparamadurgrāhya*, cf. p. 578).

to Praśastapāda's *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* to uphold the theistic view that what exists has the nature of effect and must therefore have been produced by a cause, namely an intelligent Supreme Being. However, he concedes to the opponent that (intelligent) agency needs not necessarily to be regarded as synonymous with embodiment. This view is defended by means of this same example, which proves that, in spite of the presence of a physical body, no intelligent activity is present (BHATTACHARYA 1961:83–85). Although both the Śaiva and the (classical) Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas agreed on the existence of God, this position on the disjunction of *karṣṭva* and *śarīratva* was in all likelihood perceived as untenable by the former group, who postulated the existence of a supreme body for the Lord. It may be concluded that the Javanese authors were familiar with this common cliché used by the Vaiśeṣikas and felt the need to include its critique in the debate. Of course, the critique of this example also served the purpose of criticizing the Vaiśeṣika (or materialist?) view regarding the insentience of the Soul and the state of liberation.

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| <p><i>Upholding<br/>Non-Existence<br/>as Origin and<br/>End of the<br/>Universe</i></p> | <p>Having negated the existence of the Lord and of the <i>Summum Bonum</i>, the opponent offers his own (somewhat paradoxical) alternative, which may be regarded as a kind of 'nihilist metaphysic'.<sup>71</sup> In particular, he upholds the view that what is before and after the visible reality is non-existence/non-being (<i>tayā</i>). Such a view is attested in various passages of the <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>.</p> |
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As we have seen above (p. 572), in 196.20–23 the opponent refuses to admit the existence of the *Summum Bonum* as an invisible and unthinkable reality, arguing that non-existence is the cause or origin (*saṅkan*) and end (*paran*) of human beings. This statement turns upside-down the idea, common among Śaiva theists, that the Lord and *Summum Bonum* is the origin and end of the universe,<sup>72</sup> arguing that the origin and dissolution of the universe is just non-existence. A similar view is put forward in 332.16–334.3 (discussed above, p. 571), where the opponent claims that the effects of the human actions will disappear, going back to the Holy Non-Existence they originated from,

71. As a matter of fact, anything resembling a Lokāyata metaphysic is not represented in Sanskrit sources. It is difficult to establish if the standpoint that figures in the *Dharma Pātañjala* is a genuine representation of the doctrines of certain strands of materialists which have not survived in Sanskrit literature, or a distorted interpretation of their positions.

72. Cf., e.g., *Kumāratattva* II f. 6v, where the Lord says: 'I am the origin, I am the end' *aku saṅkan / aku paran*, and *Arjunavivāha* 10.2, characterizing the Lord as 'the origin and end of the whole universe' *saṅkan paran in sarāt*.



which is also the place of dissolution of the universe, called unmanifest; and that animals such water-buffaloes, cows, dogs and pigs, as soon as they die, they return to that non-existence. This state of non-being is defined as an ontological principle, pure without obstruction—a characterization that occurs also in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.53–54, where Vṛhaspati describes the state of utter annihilation that is *viśeṣa*, corresponding to the state of unawareness or unconsciousness (*lupa*) entered by the Soul during sleep and after death.<sup>73</sup> Such a definition seems to be polemically intended as a parallel to the definition of *cetana* given in 6.1–3: ‘sentient is what has knowledge as its own nature, knowing without being affected by unconsciousness; it is constantly standing still, without obstructions’ *cetana nāranya jñānasvabhāva vruh tan kaneṇ lupa / nityomiḍaṇ sadākāla / tan kāvaraṇan*.

A further elaboration of the above ideas is found in the debate about the existence of the *Summum Bonum* (and liberation) occurring at the end of the *Dharma Pātāñjala*:

‘Only when one vanishes, that is *liberation*’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] When, then, does it (i.e. liberation) come? For there is not one who lives [after one is liberated]. How could what exists be permanent? When is the non-existence directly perceived? The opponent replies: ‘It is in the future, at the time that dissolution comes about, when the whole universe will be non-existence’. Thus speaks the opponent. [I reply:] What if the whole universe will arise once again? ‘That explains why the universe is dissolved into non-existence, for from non-existence is the origin from which it came forth formerly’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] If it is so, your view is contradictory. The reason why it is regarded as contradictory is that, as you say, the universe is dissolved in the non-existence. The universe arising now, it is regarded as arising from non-existence. ‘Wrong, non-existence does not mean the dissolution of the universe while it arises’. If the opponent would speak thus, [I would reply:] it is not possible that the *Summum Bonum* is like this.

DHPĀT  
334.7–16

The elliptic character of the passage makes it difficult to grasp the positions of the interlocutors. In the beginning, the Lord replies to the opponent’s view that liberation is not the acquisition of the Lord’s supernatural powers but just the disappearance of the body. The argument seems to be that it is impossible to establish the validity of such a proposition, for liberation

73. Cf. above, p. 571.

comes when there is at least a body or something that was previously living, while in the state of non-existence postulated by the opponent, how could there be liberation, and from what? The controversy then shifts from the individual to the ontological level. To the opponent's claim that non-existence is the origin and end of the universe the Lord replies that this fact is not normally perceived, thus forcing him to postulate that the non-existence of the existent reality will come at the time of the universal dissolution (*pralaya*).

The reader's need for further clarification of this difficult philosophical passage is anticipated through Kumāra's enquiry about the reason that the cause and effect of the universe is deemed by the opponent to be non-existence (334.18–19). In reply, the Lord equates this non-existence, which is also deemed to be liberation by the opponent, with the state of semi-liberation attained by the beings dissolved into unevolved matter (*prakṛtilīna*), concluding that the principle of unevolved matter is indeed the origin and end of the universe (334.20–336.5).<sup>74</sup>

To Kumāra's question following thereupon (336.7), i.e. why the principle of unevolved matter has been designated as non-existence by the opponent, the Lord replies that it is on account of the fact that there is no notion or distinctive mark of it; the opponent, however, is wrong: although unevolved matter is unmanifest (*niṣkala*) and the Lord is not seen and has no distinctive marks, form or notion, His existence may be inferred from the fact that creation, maintenance and dissolution of the universe come about due to His wish (336.9–17).<sup>75</sup>

The view that non-existence or nothingness is the origin and ultimate end of the universe as well as incarnated beings is found, besides in the *Dharma Pātañjala* and *Vṛhaspatitattva*, in a number of Old Javanese sources.

74. As it results from 336.10–11, where it is said that the origin of the universe, and of non-existence itself, is the Lord-*Summum Bonum*, unevolved matter is to be regarded as the material cause (*nimittakāraṇa*), whereas the instrumental cause (*upādānakāraṇa*) is the Lord: cf. above, pp. 387–389.

75. The opponent's main argument, i.e. that something without distinctive marks and inaccessible to the human intellect cannot exist, echoes the common Sāṅkhya representation of the *pūrvapakṣa* denying the view that unevolved matter is the origin and dissolution of the universe. *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 8 counteracts as follows: 'The non-perception of these [entities such as unevolved matter] is due to their subtlety, not to non-existence, for they are known from their effects. These effects are intellect (*mahat*) and so forth, which are similar or dissimilar to unevolved matter' *saukṣmyāt tadanupalabdhir nābhāvāt kāryatas tadupalabdheḥ / mahadādi tac ca kāryaṃ prakṛtisarūpaṃ virūpaṃ ca ||*.

The *Koravāśrama* (94.25–26) hints to the non-being as a reality characterized by void (*śūnya*): ‘The Lord Umāpati, He wished to perform yoga on the peak of the Rājaparvata; the reason was in order to go back to the Void, non-existent’ *bhaṭṭāra umāpati, sira arəp maṇanakən*<sup>76</sup> *yoga riṇ pucak saṇ hyaṇ rājaparvata, karaṇanira mulya mariṇ śūnya taya*.<sup>77</sup>

A less ‘metaphysical’ and purely negative characterization of non-existence as the origin and end of the beings is found in the Kakavin *Smaradaha-na*. It appears to reflect a genuinely materialist standpoint as it is illustrated by Vṛhaspati, to whom the role of promulgator of materialist doctrines is traditionally ascribed (cf. above, p. 561). The teacher of the Gods, as an attempt to comfort Rati after the loss of her husband Kāma, burnt by the fire of Śiva, makes the following statement:

The non-being (*taya*) is the origin of what is in the three worlds. For a moment it is being (*bhāva*), then it goes back again into non-being (*abhāva*). What is the [usefulness of the] way of being attached to life? It is truly un-

76. I understand *maṇ(h)anakən*, against OJED 96, according to which *maṇanakən* is a separate form attested only once in *Uttarakāṇḍa* and whose translation is dubious: ‘*maṇanakən*? (corr. to *maṇan-aṇan*?)’.

77. A similar definition of non-existence is echoed in Kakavin *Pārthayajña* 36.2, where a particular yogic process resulting in the ‘taking as abode non-existence, void and annihilation’ is enacted: ‘The King became silent and concentrated his mind on a single point; He squeezed out the quintessence of the inconceivable, He joined together the excellent Five Holy Springs, taking as a support the non-being, the eternal Void’ *humənən ta narendra maṇekacitta / patitis niṇ acintya tēlas pineh ya / pinasaṇ nira taṇ vara pañcatīrtha / mak-agəgvan ikaṇ taya śūnya laṅgəṇ*; and Kiduṇ *Harṣavijaya* 1.17b, in which a yogin is ‘constantly occupied with non-existence with visualization, void, unfathomable, subtle without material consistence’ *ginuṇ riṇ taya sasṃṛti śūnyācintyānūḷṣma tan kavastu*; cf. also Kiduṇ *Vanbaṇ Videya* 3.187b (version A), where a virtuous King who embodies the Supreme Śiva (*paramaśivātmaka*) is said to look down from the subtleness of the non-existence (*mulat sakiṇ suḷṣma niṇ taya*). Perhaps it is to this idea that we must relate the mention of the ‘plain of non-existence’ (*abhāvapada*) above the world of Śrīkaṇṭha in *Dharma Pātāñjala* 280.2. A special meditation upon Śiva as non-existence (*abhāva*) is described in *Guhyasūtra* 8.85cd–87, which constitutes the Lord’s reply to the Goddess’ question about how Śiva, who is without distinctive marks (*alakṣa*), beyond mantras (*mantrātīta*) and unfathomable by means of direct perception and inference, is to be visualized. Although the passage is so problematic that it is hardly worthwhile to quote it here, its main intent appears to be the description of a meditative procedure, which involves the imagination of Śiva as having non-existence as support, resulting in the attainment of the plain of non-existence (*abhāvaṃ padam*). Similarly, in *Niśvāsanaya* 4.17b the yogin is exhorted to ‘meditate constantly upon non-existence’ *abhāvaṃ bhāvayet sadā*.

natural, for it is plain that [life] is transitory.<sup>78</sup>

A similar view is found in the Kakavin *Sumanasāntaka* 103.1c: '[Among] those who have become incarnated beings from the non-being, there is none who is like your majesty' *sañ dadi janma sakeñ taya taya kadi rakryan*. See also *Sārasamuccaya* 382.4: 'in this way are the entities which exist: it is sure that they will end in non-existence only' *mañkana tañ vastu hana / niyata makāvasānan tayā juga ya*. A somewhat different standpoint emerges from śloka 494 and exegesis, referring to one's dead relatives:

*They have fallen from out of the invisible and again they are gone into the invisible. They do not belong to you, you do not belong to them. What is [the use of] lamenting about it?*

They have come from the non-being, and again they go back to the non-being. In short: do not regard them as your own [property]; they have nothing to do with you. This being so, what could one possibly say? What could one possibly do?<sup>79</sup>

There is no indication that the above śloka from the *Mahābhārata* specifically represents a materialist standpoint; it is more likely that it conveys a sort of mainstream (*laukika*) view, which could sound acceptable to the orthodox Brahmanic world-view insofar as it is not *abhāva* 'non-being' that is spoken of but *adarśana* 'the invisible'. Why the Old Javanese commentator glossed the latter term as *tayā*, which is usually used as a synonym of *abhāva* or *asat* to indicate 'non-being' or 'non-existence',<sup>80</sup> cries for an explanation.

A possibility is to assume that the Old Javanese gloss is not the result of the commentator's carelessness but it reflects the Indic usage of glossing *adarśana* 'invisible' as *asat*, lit. 'non-existent'. For instance, it has been argued by OERTEL (1938–39) that in Vedic prose the word *asat* must be understood not in the sense of non-existent but rather in the sense of 'formless, without distinct shape'; 'invisible to the senses' (as an epithet of *antarikṣa*), 'without

78. *Smaradahana* 19.15–17: *taya mūla nikiñ haneñ triloka / sakarəñ bhāva muvah mareñ abhāva / ndya ta mārga nikiñ hurip katṛṣṇan / tuhu yāvat kṛtakān katon anitya //*

79. *Sārasamuccaya* 494 (śloka from *Mahābhārata* 12.168.17):

*adarśanād āpatitāḥ punaś cādarśanam gatāḥ /  
na te tava na teṣāṃ tvaṃ kā tatra paridevanā //*

*təka sakeñ taya marika / mvah ta ya mulih riñ taya / sañkṣipta / tan akunta ika / ika tan sapa lavan kita / an mañkana / apa tojara / apa polaha / • təka ] em. ; kəta Ed.*

80. Cf., e.g., *Sārasamuccaya* 502a, rendering *bhavābhavau* as *hana lavan tayā*.

marks' (*alakṣaṇa*). That author (p. 320), on the basis of several passages of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas, excluded the possibility that in the Brahmanic cosmogony *asat* meant non-existence, except in the following passage of the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, which 'expressly objects to the idea of "some" that the existent (*sat*) could be derived from the non-existent (*asat*)' (trans. OLIVELLE 1998:247):

'In the beginning, son, this world was simply what is existent—one only, without a second. Now, on this point some do say: "In the beginning this world was simply what is nonexistent—one only, without a second. And from what is nonexistent was born what is existent". But, son, how can that possibly be?' he continued. 'How can what is existent be born from what is nonexistent? On the contrary, son, in the beginning this world was simply what is existent—one only, without a second.'<sup>81</sup>

The passage is usually referred to by Śaṅkara in his commentaries (e.g., ad *Taittirīyopaniṣad* 2.6.5) as an example to dispel an opponent's objection pointing at the absurdity of the view that non-existence is the origin of the existent, which is found in connection with other Upaniṣadic passages in which that idea would seem to be implied.<sup>82</sup> Śaṅkara, besides citing the above passage, replies that *asat* must be interpreted in the sense of unmanifest, inaccessible to name and form—which are characteristics of the *brahman*.<sup>83</sup>

81. *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 6.2.1–2: *sad eva somyedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṃ, tad dhaika āhur: asad evedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṃ, tasmād asataḥ sad ajāyate kutas tu khalu somyaivaṃ syād iti hovāca katham asataḥ saj jāyeta, sat tv eva somyedam agra āsīd ekam evādvitīyaṃ.*

82. Cf., e.g. *Taittirīyāranyaka* 8.7.1 (= *Taittirīyopaniṣad* 2.7.1): *asad vā idam agra āsīt tato vai sad ajāyata*; *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 3.19.1: 'This world was non-existing in origin; it is from it that the existent was born' *asad evedam agra āsīt tad sad āsīt / tato vai sad ajāyata*. Cf. also the famous *Rgveda* 10.72.2–3: *asataḥ sad ajāyata*.

83. Śaṅkara's interpretation, therefore, appears to be along the lines of that advanced by OERTEL on the basis of other Upaniṣadic passages understanding the term *asat* in the sense of 'unmanifest'. This state of affairs finds a remarkable parallelism in the gloss of *adarśana* as *tayā* provided by the *Sārasamuccaya*. That such an interpretation may be implied in other Old Javanese texts besides the *Sārasamuccaya* is suggested by the following passages: *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan* p. 65 lines 20–21, containing a 'praise' of *tayā* as an aspect of Akṣobhya: *ikaṇ tayasvabhāva, ya ākāśa naranya* 'What has the nature of non-existence is that which is called atmosphere'; *Bhuvanakośa* śloka 2.16, characterizing Śiva as omnipervasive and subtle (*sarvagataḥ sūkṣmaḥ*), encompassing the beings as the atmosphere (*bhūtānāṃ antarikṣavat*) and commentary thereof, which explains the latter metaphor as 'He is like the space, not being grasped by the mind-stuff and the senses' *kady aṅgān in ākāśa sira, tan*

Now, do the ‘some’ mentioned by the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* refer to the materialists? If so, it would be possible to identify their views with those of the nihilist *pūrvapakṣins* in philosophical Tattvas, where the term *taya* seems to be used in the technical way of ‘non-existence’. Echoes of this standpoint can be detected in rare Sanskrit textual passages. The earliest passage documenting nihilist views is perhaps *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 1.2, which refers to the various views of some *brahmavādins* according to whom the origin of the universe is to be sought in, respectively, time (*kāla*), nature or inherent efficacy (*svabhāva*), fate (*niyati*), chance (*yadṛcchā*),<sup>84</sup> elements (*bhūtāni*), the womb (*yonī*) or the spirit (*puruṣa*).<sup>85</sup> A similar list mentioning *kāla*, *svabhāva*, *niyati* and *yadṛcchā* as the causes of the universe is found in one of the earliest Śaiva sources, i.e. the *Guhyasūtra* of the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, 7.59–68. A more analytic, and yet early, account is that of the *Yuktidīpikā*, which criticizes the theories postulating, respectively, the atoms (*paramāṇu*), spirit, Lord (*īśvara*), karma, destiny (*daiva*), nature, time, chance and non-existence (*abhāva*) as the origin of the universe (cf. CHEMPARATHY 1965:122). The refutation of the last item of the list is only briefly taken up by the commentator, a fact suggesting that its upholders must have been held in low esteem and that the argument itself somewhat appeared as self-defeating. The passage runs as follows:

Now also non-being is [shown to be] not the cause [of the universe], because evolution etc. is observed. Indeed it is not admissible that the evolution of products comes from it, and therefore logical succession [is] also [not admissible], because the difference between what possesses individual existence and what does not possess it is beyond birth. And further, no powers [arise], because of the non-existence of that. There is no advantage, because of instability. There is no distinction, because of the lack of individual exis-

*kagr̥hīta de nīṇ manah mvaṇ indriya*. The Old Javanese passages appear to stand in parallel with the Brāhmaṇa fragments quoted by OERTEL (1938–39:317), which imply the meaning of *asat* as ‘unaccessible to the senses’ and synonym of *antarikṣa*, defined as a sort of ‘void’, hollow and without form.

84. Both *svabhāva* and *yadṛcchā* represent the view of the materialists, according to whom an event, like creation, may happen by itself, without the need of positing a cause or creator. On *nirnimitta* applied to the universe, cf. *Dharma Pātāñjala* 202.7–10, 332.16–334.19, and above, p. 581.

85. Cf. also other early textual passages, e.g. *Mahābhārata* 16.9.33: *kālamūlam idaṃ sarvaṃ jagadbijam dhanāñjaya / kāla eva samādatte punar eva yadṛcchayā //*; *Buddhacarita* 9.52–63, mentioning *kāla*, *niyati*, *svabhāva*, *yadṛcchā*, *ātman* and *īśvara*.

tence.<sup>86</sup>

In *Nyāyavārtika* 4.1.14 we find the examination of the theory that the things of the world are produced out of the void. Giving as an example the destruction of the seed and appearance of the sprout, the commentator argues that, if mere negation were the cause of the production of the sprout, then anything would be produced out of anything and everything. In 4.1.25 the same text refers to some who hold that the universe is non-eternal, for everything is produced and destroyed: that is, nothing exists before the production nor after the destruction. Hence, everything is non-eternal.<sup>87</sup> This view has been traditionally ascribed to Buddhists rather than Lokāyatas. For example, the view of 'some' denying the existence of unevolved matter as the cause of the universe, referred to by Vācaspatimiśra's *Sāṅkhyatattvakaumudī* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 8, according to which passage the existent emanates from the non-existent (*tathā hi kecid pradāhuḥ asataḥ sat jāyate iti*) has been interpreted as a Buddhist position. This might, however, not necessarily be the case, for such a position can also be ascribed to the materialists.<sup>88</sup> According to CHATTOPADHYAYA (1990:447–448) this view can be referred to as *anupakyotpādavāda* or an event happening from something which is not real, which in Udayana's *Nyāyakusumañjali* is referred to as one of the five forms of *ākasmikatvavāda* upheld by the materialists. According to CHATTOPADHYAYA, that 'is evidently some form of *Śūnyavāda* in which a product is said to appear from a pre-existing Void or Nothing. In this view of causality, the reality of both *upādāna* and *nimitta* is denied'. Since the view reported by Udayana is not traced in the extant Lokāyata sources, we may suppose that either the author had first-hand knowledge of texts that are lost to us, or he drew this illustration from another (also lost) secondary source.

One last piece of evidence pointing to the materialist provenance of such a view is constituted by the Lokāyata fragment (comm. 16) of Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa, a pre-8th century figure who commented upon the (lost) *Cārvākasūtra* in

86. *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 15d (p. 162.8–11): *abhāvo 'py akāraṇam / parimāṇā-didarśanāt / na hi tata utpannānāṃ parimāṇam upapadyata ity ato nāpy anvayaḥ sāt-makanirātmakayor atyantajātibhedāt / nāpi śaktis tadabhāvāt / nopakāro 'navasthānāt / na vibhāgo nirātmakatvāt /*

87. I refer to this Sanskrit passage again below, p. 595, in relation with the materialist denial of causality found in the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

88. The sentence quoted by Vācaspatimiśra is indeed similar to that found in the Vedic sources cited above, fn. 82.

a manner relatively close to Nyāya doctrine (cf. BHATTACHARYA 2002:624). According to this commentator,

The word *iti* (at the end of the list in the *sūtra* illustrating the existing principles admitted by the materialists, i.e. the five elements) does not denote the end, [but] it is illustrative. There are other principles such as consciousness, sound, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, impression and others. There are also prior non-existence of the earth, etc., posterior non-existence, the mutual difference which are quite apparent and distinct (from the principles, viz., earth, etc.).<sup>89</sup>

It is possible that the prior and posterior non-existence of the principles (*pr̥thivyādiprākpradhvaṃsa*) may refer to a materialist (either genuine or distorted) ontological position.

The frequent discussion of the views about the origination from and the dissolution into the non-existence of the universe ascribed to the *pūrva-pakṣin* in Tattvas suggests that this philosophical position was considered controversial by the ancient Śaiva authors. The appearance of echoes of such views in Old Javanese sources belonging to other literary genres confirms that such positions were known also in the mainstream.

*Denying Causation* It is known that certain materialist positions not only denied the view that the Lord was the cause of the universe, but went as far as denying the process of causality altogether. To the opponent's view reported in *Dharma Pātañjala* 236.13–16 denying the existence of the fruits of karma on account of their non-perceptibility, the Lord replies that inference is a fitting means of knowledge to establish them (236.16–238.3). Having defended the validity of inference, the Lord goes on stating that, in order to account for the variety of the characteristics of the incarnated beings, either humans or animals, and of the varieties of pleasures and suffering they experience, the existence of karma has to be necessarily admitted. The opponent replies thus:

DHPAT 240.3–4 Those ones happen to be just fortunate or unfortunate. And as for the fact that the incarnated beings are not similar, they are [so] just accidentally (*ka-hadaṇadaṇ juga*)'.

89. Fragment Comm. 16, from Vālidevasūri's *Syādvādaratnākara* (trans. BHATTACHARYA 2002:607): *iti śabdaḥ pradarśanaparo na punaḥ samāptivacanaś caitanyaśabdaskhaduḥkhecchādveṣaprayatnasamśkāraṇām tattvāntaratvāt pr̥thivyādiprākpradhvaṃsāpekṣānyonyābhāvānām cātyantaprakāṣatvād uktatvavilakṣaṇatvāc ceti* (I have corrected the printing error °pradhavṃsā° to °pradhvaṃsā°).



The Lord points out that, if the causal process of karma is challenged, it may well be the case that a man would eat without satisfaction, while another one is satiated without having eaten; paddy may—just by chance—give millet as crop, and vice-versa.<sup>90</sup> The absurd corollary of this state of affairs will be a world dominated by casual rather than causal laws:

In this way the whole world will transform, if one subscribes to the view of accidentality, [and] if [the view of the human beings being randomly] fortunate or unfortunate is subscribed to. If so, it may be possible for a thing to come into existence without a cause, like a hermaphrodite who may become pregnant and give birth to a child, like extracting milk out of excrements.<sup>91</sup> If one subscribes to the doctrine of the [randomly] being fortunate or unfortunate, the whole world will transform likewise. By no means any certain fact come about; that is the reason why [that which is] subscribed to by the opponent is not right.

DHPĀT  
240.8–12

The concept of ‘accidentality’ is conveyed in the text by the expression *ka-hadaṇadaṇ*.<sup>92</sup> This appears to occur in the passage as a technical term echoing, or even literally translating, the Sanskrit *kādācitkatva* ‘occasionalness’, *ākasmika* ‘causeless, unforeseen, unexpected, sudden, accidental, casual’ and *yadṛcchā* ‘spontaneous, accidental, unexpected’. These expressions occur in contexts of logical debates on causation, where the *svabhāvavādins* maintain that the occasionalness of an event is explained as not being determined by any cause but by its own nature (BHATTACHARYA 1961:8–9). The standard

90. A similar illustration taking seeds of different species as example is found in several Sanskrit sources, for instance the commentaries of Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha ad *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 9, mentioning barley-seeds and paddy seeds (the latter only in Gauḍapāda); cf. also the Pāli *Milindapañha* 3.4.65–67, explaining the diverse fortunes of the incarnated beings with the example of different seeds giving rise to different plants—none of which, however, exactly corresponds to the example given in the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

91. The simile of the eunuch begetting children appears to be a masculinized version of the one, commonly found in Sanskrit Brahmanical and Buddhist sources, of a sterile woman’s son. That cow-dung is made of milk (*gomayapāyasīyanyāya*) is another common metaphor denoting an absurd statement (cf. *Yogasūtrabhāṣya* and *Yogavārtika* 1.31; *Sarva-darśanasamgraha*, *Bauddhadarśana* 237). A comparable simile is found in *Rāmāyaṇa Ka-kavin* 8.124a, where the squeezing milk out of sand (*susun pamā hānī*) is used to illustrate an impossible eventuality. Cf. Gauḍapāda and Paramārtha on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 9, mentioning the (impossible) example of the production of oil from sand (TAKAKUSU 1904:14).

92. Unattested as such in OJED, but cf. *ibidem* s.v. *haḍaṇ* (*aṇhaḍaṇ* = *hadaṇ*) ‘to lie (stand) ready, stand by, lie in wait (for); etc.; *kahaḍaṇ* ‘just, just then, it just happened that’ (compare with modern Indonesian *kadang-kadang* ‘occasionally’).

denomination for the doctrine of negation of causal origination is *yadṛcchāvāda*, defined by Śaṅkara in his commentary to *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 1.2 as *ākasmikaprāptiḥ* or ‘coincidence’, a doctrine upholding that any regularity in experience and birth is due to mere chance. In an early Brahmanical source such as the *Yuktidīpikā* on *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 15d (p. 162.4–7) we find a refutation of the *pūrvapakṣin* accounting of *yadṛcchāvāda* as the cause of the universe (and of *avyakta* in the specific context). These are likely to be the same as the heretics called *adhičcasamuppannikas* ‘fortuitous originists’ in Pāli Buddhist canonical texts, who held that the Soul and the world came into being without a cause.<sup>93</sup> The deniers of the theory of causality known as *yadṛcchāvādins* at a certain time came to be named also *svabhāvavādins* in Buddhist, Sāṅkhya, Nyāya and Vedānta sources (BHATTACHARYA 1961:84–85). Although the *svabhāvavādins* hold a somewhat different position, namely that each existing thing originates and undergoes transformation according to its own intrinsic nature only, it is often difficult to distinguish between them and those who adhere to *yadṛcchāvāda*. As a matter of fact, both views have come to represent a Lokāyata standpoint regarding the theory of causality.<sup>94</sup> It is most likely the materialists that Guṇaratna had in mind when commenting on the *maṅgala* verses of *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*:

According to the views of the *yadṛcchāvādins*, the word *yadṛcchā* means the obtainment of objects without any prior deliberation. But, then, who are these *yadṛcchāvādins*? The answer is as follows. The *yadṛcchāvādins* are those who, in this world, do not admit to any fixed cause-effect relation in respect to objects, but (hold such a relation to be due to) accidentality.<sup>95</sup>

93. Cf. *Brahmajālasutta* 1.30.34; *Milindapañha* 1.443. *adhiicca* = fortuitous, opposed to *abhin̄ha* = habitual, *Milindapañha* 1.442, or *paticca* = having a cause. The same nihilist view as adumbrated in association with the Lokāyatas is found in the statement uttered by the materialist Saṅjaya in *Sāmaññaphalasutta* 2.23: ‘and if you ask me whether or not beings are produced spontaneously [...], whether there is the ripening of the fruits of good and bad actions’ *atthi ca natthi ca sattā opapātikā ’ti iti ce maṃ pucchasi [...]* *atthi sukaṭadukkaṭāṇaṃ kammāṇaṃ phalaṃ vipāko*.

94. Cf., for instance, Mādhava’s mention of the *svabhāvavādins* in the Cārvāka section of the *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* (104–108), and, among the Śaiva sources, Rāmakaṇṭha’s *anvaya* to *Mokṣakārikā* 11, where the opponent propounding *svabhāvavāda* is introduced by the words *lokāyatabhūmikayā paraḥ* ‘another [opponent] who takes the part of a materialist’ (the preceding verse 10 criticizes the view of *ākasmikatva*).

95. *Tarkarāhasyadīpikā* 25.4–8: *yadṛcchāvādināṃ mate / yadṛcchā hy anabhisam̄dhipūrvikārthaprap̄tiḥ // atha ke te yadṛcchāvādināḥ / ucyate / iha ye bhāvānāṃ saṃtānāpekṣayā na pratiniyataṃ kāryakāraṇabhāvaṃ icchanti kiṃ tu yadṛcchayā te yadṛcchāvādināḥ /*.

Having illustrated this view through a set of examples not found in any Old Javanese sources, Guṇaratna concludes by citing a verse explaining that ‘the variety of pleasures and suffering experienced by people come about only unexpectedly’ *atarkitopasthitam eva sarvaṃ citraṃ janānāṃ sukhaduḥkha-jātam*.<sup>96</sup>

It is to the views of the Lokāyata that *Nyāyasūtra* 4.1.19–24 most probably refers when exposing the *pūrvapakṣin*’s *nirnimittavāda*, i.e. the doctrine of the absence of cause. There we find the view that the world, containing beings of particular shapes, is the result of chance only, which goes against the *siddhānta* previously put forward in 3.2.60, namely that the production of the body is due to the influence of previous deeds. It might therefore be argued that *nirnimittavāda* is ultimately a form of *svabhāvavāda*.

Judging from the widespread echoes found in both Old Javanese and Sanskrit sources, the negation of karma and its fruits must have been a fundamental tenet of the materialist school, and one that is a direct corollary of their negation of entities inaccessible to direct perception. The *Sārasamuccaya*, for example, devotes several ślokas to the definition of the Nāstikas in these terms, elaborating on this theme in the Old Javanese exegesis even when it was not touched upon in the Sanskrit. For instance, the word *nāstikaṃ* in śloka 120 is commented upon in the following terms: ‘the Nāstika does not recognize the existence of the fruits of good and bad karma, doing what is forbidden by the sacred scriptures’ *vvañ nāstika / tan pamituhu ri hana niñ śubhāśubhakarmaphala / umambah ikañ senuhutakən sañ hyaṇ āgama*; similarly, śloka 116a<sup>97</sup> glosses *nāstikyam vedanindā* as ‘not accepting the exis-

96. A similar, although by no means identical, example mentioning the fruit of people involved in service, agriculture, etc. (the *ādi* presumably standing for the people involved in commerce) is found in the *Nyāyakumudacandra* by Prabhācandra, who answers to the materialist’s challenge to the Nyāya concept of the ‘invisible’ *adr̥ṣṭa* as an explanation of the variety of the fortunes and characteristics of the incarnated beings: ‘As a result, without *adr̥ṣṭa*, the variety of pleasure, pain, etc., or the variety of body, etc., cannot be logically explained. Otherwise how is it that out of so many people engaged in service, agriculture, etc., who put in the same amount of effort, or who are devoted in the same degree, only some achieve results while others fail to do so?’ (transl. in CHATTOPADHYAYA 1990:330). Unlike in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, where the different qualities of the results are associated with different classes of workers, the point here is rather about the different quantity of results obtained by each of them.

97. Corresponding to *Mahābhārata* Citraśālā ed., 13.104.36 (cf. Suppl. 14 to the critical edition, 4.2537).

tence of the other-world and of the fruits of good and bad karma, despising the holy Veda' *tan pamituhu ri hana niñ paraloka / lavan phala niñ śubhāśubhakarma / kanindān sañ hyaṇ veda*. The words of the materialists are reported in 117.1–4: 'Karma does not<sup>98</sup> exist, along with everything that is prohibited by the masters. The masters are just dishonest. The revealed scriptures are false about the existence of heaven and hell. [...] The good and bad karma bears no fruits' *siñ hana ikaṇ karma senuhutakən sañ paṇḍita / lāñoka pva rakva sañ paṇḍita / advā sañ hyaṇ āgama / ri hana niñ svarganaraka / [...] tan paphala ikaṇ śubhāśubhakarma*.<sup>99</sup>

The *Dharma Pātañjala* devotes a section (234.13–236.12) to the explanation of the mechanism of karma, whose fruits may come into effect within one's own lifespan or, if they are too numerous, in another lifetime. The Lord illustrates this causal process by means of the following example: the actions of farmers, servants and traders will produce, respectively, paddy, a land-grant and a retribution as their fruit, each one different according to its own characteristics. As long as there are fruits to be experienced by the Soul, life exists; when the whole karmic lot attached to the Soul has been experienced, death arises—as when a piece of wood is completely burnt by fire. The opponent questions the validity of such a state of affairs in the following terms:

DHPĀT  
236.13–16

'How is it possible that the fruits of karma themselves bring into existence life? And furthermore, they are surely not the cause of pleasure and pain experienced by human beings. The reason for this being the case is that the fruits of karma are not seen in the incarnated beings. The reason why the so-called *fruits of karma* do not exist is that they are not proved.'

Here too, the materialist's objection revolves around perceptibility to the senses as the only valid criterion to admit the existence of a given entity. The Lord, in reply, details the respective domains of the three valid means of knowledge, specifying that inference is capable of ascertaining entities which are subtle, hence invisible to human sight. As a way to dispel the opponent's criticism, He provides the example of the course of the sun, which in Sanskrit sources illustrates the inference of the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* kind (cf. above, pp. 564–570). Similarly sceptic statements about the existence of actions and

98. The word *siñ* is likely to be a Balinism here: cf. BED (447 s.v. *siṅ* 1) 'not' and contrast OJED (1775 s.v. *siñ*) 'whoever, whatever'.

99. Cf. also śloka 122, quoted below, p. 612.

their fruits are reported in the concise materialist manifesto that is 332.16–334.3 (quoted above p. 571). There the opponent seems to refute the karmic bearing of actions, insofar as concepts such as the *Summum Bonum* and release are equated to non-existence, and concludes : ‘What is the reason of doubting about all the acts? What is the reason of causing suffering [to one-self]? Let there be the enjoyment of the objects of pleasure!’ *ndya ta matañnyan sañśaya riñ ulah kabeh, apa matañnyan pamuhāra lāra, kabhuktya niñ viṣaya* (334.1–2). While the refutation of karma is a widespread theme in the stock of Lokāyata fragments retrieved from Sanskrit literature, the (apparently ironical) mention of the Holy Non-Existence (*sañ hyaṇ tayā*) as the origin of human actions and their ultimate end is original. Also striking is the argument that the effect of actions do not exist as a consequence of there not being a factual existence of all the actions. An analogous view may be extrapolated from another passage in the text:

The *Summum Bonum* is non-existence: this is the reason why all the actions will not have any consequence, for this body comes [to exist from nothing] and goes away [into nothing].<sup>100</sup> One who is said to do good deeds, he is wrong. Who sees the fruits of doing good deeds? [...] Likewise [it is wrong that] one who does bad deeds is regarded to be a sinner. [...] This is the reason why your acts should aim at pleasing yourself, for in any case your acts are with regard to the Holy Non-Existence.

DHPāt  
198.1–9

The point seems to be that any invisible entities that are held by Brahmanical schools to be associated with the body, such as the fruits of good and bad actions, will cease to exist as soon as the body will cease to exist. The Sanskrit compound *yātāyāta* ‘come and passed by’ seems to express the materialist view that the body just comes to exist from nothing and, when he dies, disappears into nothing. In the last lines of the passage the point seems to be that, since non-existence is the *Summum Bonum* and the origin and end of creatures, it is useless to do good actions, for neither punishment nor reward can be distributed by a supreme entity that is non-existing.<sup>101</sup>

100. For an alternative interpretation of this clause, cf. p. 198, fn. 7.

101. A similar point, i.e. that merit and demerit in the Soul need an efficient cause or ‘supervisor’, is treated in an untraced passage quoted in *Nyāyavārtika* 4.1.21, where the *Tātpārya* speaks of it as *smṛti*: ‘The ignorant creature, not master of his own pleasure and pain, may go to heaven or to the nethermost hole, only as he is urged by God’ (also quoted in Kamalaśīla’s *Tattvasaṅgrahapañjikā* 46) *ajñāḥ jantuh anīśaḥ ayam ātmanaḥ sukhaduḥkhaḥ / īśvaraprēritaḥ gacchet svargam vā svabhram eva vā* //.

The denial of the existence of the fruits of actions is found in several of the Sanskrit verses attributed to the Lokāyatas, e.g. *naiva varṇāśramādīnāṃ kriyāś ca phaladāyikāḥ* ‘nor do the actions of the four castes, orders, etc., produce any real effect’;<sup>102</sup> *dharmo na kāryaḥ* ‘meritorious action is not to be performed’.<sup>103</sup> A verse in the *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya* echoes the exposition in the above passages of the *Dharma Pātañjala* insofar as it puts on the same consequential level the negation of the fruits of actions and their positive or negative connotation and the negation of God and liberation:

The Lokāyata say thus. There is neither god nor liberation. Merit and demerit also do not exist. Nor is there any fruit of virtue and vice.<sup>104</sup>

[...] So, also, *there is no final bliss*, i.e. there is no liberation. Moreover, *merit and demerit*, i.e. the so-called dyad of merit and demerit, *do not exist*, and virtue and vice [too] are absolutely non-existent. Further, there is absolutely *no fruit of virtue and vice*, such as heaven, hell, etc. If merit and demerit are non-existent, wherefrom, indeed, can their fruit be produced?<sup>105</sup>

The striking similarity between these Sanskrit passages and the Old Javanese ones suggests that the Archipelago sources drew either on Sanskrit Lokāyata materials or other Brahmanical works dealing with Lokāyata positions to characterize the opponent’s views on karma.

102. Śloka 1cd, cf. BHATTACHARYA (2002:609, 616).

103. Fragment v.1, cf. BHATTACHARYA (2002:605, 613).

104. *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya* 80: *lokāyatā vadanty evaṃ nāsti jīvo na nirvṛtiḥ / dharmādharmāu na vidyate na phalaṃ puṇyapāpayoḥ* // That this fragment was remarkably early and widespread is suggested by the fact that we find it, in a slightly different shape, in the Buddhist *Pāyāsi Suttanta* 3, where the skeptic Kumāra Kassapa maintains that ‘there is no Other-world; there is no being born spontaneously (viz. no divine being and no inhabitant of hell); there is no maturation for the fruits of good or bad deeds’ *iti pi nātthi paraloko, nātthi sattā opapātikā, nātthi sukaṭadukkaṭāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti*; this in its turn echoes the exposition of Ajita Kesakambala known from *Sāmaññaphalasutta* 2.23 (quoted below, p. 605).

105. Guṇaratna’s *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* 557 (p. 452): *tathā na nirvṛtir mokṣo nāstīty arthaḥ / anyac ca dharmāś cādharmāś ca dharmādharmāu na vidyate puṇyapāpo sarvathā na sta ity arthaḥ / na caiva puṇyapāpayoḥ phalaṃ svarganarakādirūpam asti, dharmādharmayor abhāve kutastyaṃ tatphalaṃ iti bhāvaḥ* //.

*Denying Heaven and Hell* The negation of karmic bearing of human actions as well as the causality of the mechanism of karmic retribution propounded by the opponent leads to the corollary that neither reward nor punishment exist for human beings in the afterworld. This conclusion is found in the following passage of *Dharma Pātañjala*, in which a materialist negates the existence of heaven and hell on account of their being beyond direct perception:

Who sees the fruits of doing good deeds? Who [has come] from heaven?<sup>106</sup> Who knows about the abode of the gods by means of direct perception?' So he says. 'His knowledge of the abode of the gods, and of the cause of [going to] heaven, is by no means based on direct perception. This is the reason why all of that is wrong. Likewise [it is wrong that] one who does bad deeds is regarded to be a sinner. Who [has come] from hell?—whose knowledge of the Great Raurava[-hell] was based on evidence? [And who knows] the reason why the man who does bad is a sinner? There is no direct evidence whatsoever for one's knowledge of hell.

DHPĀT  
198.2–8

The *Vṛhaspatitattva* conveys substantially the same ideas, in a slightly different wording, while elaborating on the characteristics of the intellect characterized by Unrighteousness (*adharma*), one of the eight *buddhibhāvas*:

*Unrighteousness* means the intellect that does not possess *dharma*. Its thoughts are: 'Who knows about heaven? Who [has come] from hell? It is said that one who does bad is marked out for hell<sup>107</sup> while one who does good attains heaven. These are the words of thieves—fie upon them! The men of religion who teaches these [views] are people who wish for gifts.<sup>108</sup> The cause of their undertaking the career of religious people is their fear of the immediate repayment [that they owe to people whom they have robbed].<sup>109</sup> The

106. An alternative translation, following the interpretation of *saṅka* as 'cause' instead of 'from', may be: 'Who [sees] the cause of [going to] heaven?

107. For this meaning of *pāpa* (lit. 'sin'), cf. OJED (1271) and above, p. 198 fn. 7. Compare the similar usage of *naraka* 'hell' in the sense of 'one destined to hell', already attested in the *Rāmāyaṇa Kakavin* (8.113, 10.70).

108. In my translation I render *punya* 'merit' as 'gift' on account of what seems to me a sarcastic use of the term in the present context, for the very concept of 'meritorious deed' cannot be accepted by a materialist. Conversely, the Lokāyata Sanskrit fragments depicting the venial and greedy nature of cunning religious people are common.

109. The form *takṛ hopan*, attested only in the present passage, is commented on by OJED 1903 as follows: 'forced immediate repayment? cf. Bal. *nakṛ* (क[न]w): to demand imme-

views of the sacred teachings are without evidence, for what they teach is not seen.’<sup>110</sup>

The *Dharma Pātañjala* defines the item Unrighteousness as the attitude of one who denies the karmic results of meritorious deeds:

DHPĀT  
244.9–12

*Unrighteousness* means: the mind that considers righteousness as non-existent. It thinks: ‘The gifts of the liberal men, to organize food-feasts, to give away as alms rice and wealth [until] all of one’s possessions are finished, it is not true that have heaven as result. Likewise, building temples, erecting *liṅgas* and performing sacrifices [is fruitless].’

Echoes of the same nihilistic standpoint are found in the *Tattvajñāna*, where the opponent says: ‘How could it be logically admissible to [say that] *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are what causes one to become [incarnated], revolving back and forth, in heaven, hell, as a human being or as an animal?’<sup>111</sup> Compare the following statement of the *Sārasamuccaya*: ‘The other world has never been seen by means of direct perception [...] the knowledge of the learned about the existence of the other world, of heaven and hell is not based on direct perception.’<sup>112</sup>

The Old Javanese passages quoted above are comparable to similar ones belonging to the stock of materialist quotes from Sanskrit literature. For instance, as reported in the Lokāyata verse 1ab (BHATTACHARYA 2002:609, 616) the materialists maintain that ‘there is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world’ *na svargo nāpavargo vā naivātmā pārālaukikaḥ*. Mañibhadra’s commentary ad *Śaḍdarśanasamuccaya* 81, a verse stating

diatē repayment from a person, to force the fulfillment of a promise. Vṛh 28.10: (people who do not observe *dharma*) [...] (the *vikū*’s rob the people and have invented heaven not to be forced to repay immediately). For the same accusation against the Brahmans in Sanskrit Lokāyata quotes, cf. below, p. 615.

110. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 28.6–11: *adharmā nāranya ikaṁ buddhi kinatayan de niṁ dharma / liṅnya / syapa kariḥ vruḥ riṁ svarga nāranya / [syapa saṅkanya /] syapa saṅka niṁ naraka / pāpa magave hala / kasvargan rakva magave hayu / dēh adoh ika vuvus niṁ maliṁ / vvaṁ maharəp punyan ana saṁ viku majarakən ikāna / ri vādinya riṁ takər hopan hetunyan lumakva viku / ika tatan byakta vuvus niṁ aji / apan tan katon vinarahakən / • [syapa saṅkanya /] ]* only in B against all mss. (spurious?).

111. *Tattvajñāna* 16.1–2: *mapa kari yukti nikaṁ sattva rajah tamah / an patəmahtəmahān maputəra riṁ svarga naraka mānuṣa triyak //*.

112. *Sārasamuccaya* 118a and commentary: *na dṛṣṭapūrvam pratyakṣam paralokaṁ ... tan pratyakṣa kəta paṇavruḥ saṁ paṇḍita ri hana niṁ paraloka / svarganaraka /*.



that ‘this world consists of only as much as is within the scope of the senses,’ comments:

[...] However, others have spoken of heaven, hell, etc., which can be achieved by virtue and vice. They are also unproved on the same ground that they can never be perceived.<sup>113</sup>

The Śaiva author Kumāradeva introduces an analogous materialist view while commenting on verse 72 of the *Tattvaparakāśa*:

Certainly the so-called liberation is not the aim of human life, and also the so-called heaven, for there is no right means of knowledge to ascertain their real existence. [...] Therefore, only direct perception is the right means of knowledge, and it does not recognize heaven and hell.<sup>114</sup>

The main point in the materialist’s argumentation in the Old Javanese passages, i.e. that nobody has come back from heaven or hell to relate his experience as based on direct perception,<sup>115</sup> finds a counterpart in the Cārvāka fragments IV.1–2: ‘There is no other-world, for there is no means of knowledge for determining the other-world, and because there is the absence of any other-worldly being’ *paralokasiddhau pramāṇābhāvāt / paralokino ’bhāvāt paralokābhāvaḥ*.<sup>116</sup> Similarly, Guṇaratna in his *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* 81 attributes to a materialist the following words:

113. *Laghuvṛtti* p. 74: *tathā pare puṇyapāpasādhyam svarganarakādy āhuḥ / tad apramāṇam pratyakṣābhāvād eva //*.

114. *Tattvaparakāśatātparyadīpikā* p. 108: *na mokṣākhyāḥ puruṣārtho ’sti, nāpi svargākhyāḥ, tayoḥ sadbhāve pramāṇābhāvāt [...] tasmāt pratyakṣam eva pramāṇam / tac ca svargāpavargau nāvagamayatīti*.

115. A similar argument is used by an opponent questioning the cosmological account referred to by the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* (2.12–16): ‘For it is said that seven are the world below and above. Who ever came from [the worlds] below, and from [those] above, who knew [about them] on the basis of factual evidence and not of such kinds of holy scriptures and stories? They are certainly wrong. You should ignore them; do not accept them!’ *apan pitu ikaṇ bhuvana i sor ta mvaṇ i ruhur ta rakva / syapa ta ya sakeṇ sor / mvaṇ sakeṇ i ruhur anuṇ vruh byakta / lena sakeṇ kalpa ata ya / lavan carita maṅkana / yeka adva rakva manavasta ṇa / tiṅgalaknanika denta / hayva pinituhu //*.

116. The word ‘other-worldly being’ has been interpreted by BHATTACHARYA (2002:605) as indicating the transmigrating self; however, it is possible to take it, as the Old Javanese sources seem to do, as referring to the absence of any creature from the other-world. The motif of the absence of persons coming back from heaven to report is also found in the Pāli *Pāyāsi Suttanta* 12–13 (*Dīghanikāya* 23), reporting a dialogue that occurred after the death of the Buddha between the master Kumāra Kassapa and the evil King Pāyāsi, upholder

In spite of the fact that no entity capable of travelling to the other world, distinct from consciousness produced by matter [...] is ever apprehended by perception, [the Brahmanical opponents] claim [...] that there are things like merit and demerit which are the causes of a living being's pleasure and pain, heaven and hell which are abodes for the enjoyment of fruits of the most intense forms of merit and demerit, and liberation which results from the destruction of virtue and vice.<sup>117</sup>

*Denying Soul  
and Liberation*

If the retributive force of karma does not exist and the other world does not exist either, what is, then, the destiny of human beings? The Lokāyatas say: total annihilation. For, according to that system, the Soul is no separate entity but it consists, just as the body, of the four elements only. The doctrine maintaining that the body is identical with consciousness (*bhūta-caitanyavāda*) is a well-known Cārvāka tenet, which is often attacked in Sanskrit scholastic texts: cf. the fragments I.2–4 (BHATTACHARYA 2002:603–604, 612): *pr̥thivy āpas tejo vāyur iti tattvāni* 'earth, water, fire and air are the principles'; *tatsamudāye śarīrendriyaviśayasamjñāḥ* 'their combination is called the "body", "sense" and "object"'; *tebhyaś caitanyam* 'consciousness (arises or is manifested) out of these'.

Definite echoes of this view are to be found in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, in

of materialistic doctrines (trans. RHYS DAVIS, reprinted in CHATTOPADHYAYA 1994:12): 'If what those reverent wanderers and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, come to me and tell me, saying: "There is another world, there is rebirth not of parents, there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable and what you say you have seen will be even so, just as if myself had seen it." They have consented to do this, saying, "Very good". But they have neither come themselves, nor dispatched a messenger. Now this, master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth not by human parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well done and ill'. A speech of analogous contents is found in the Jaina version of this story, i.e. the *Paesikahāṇḍyaṃ*, 750 (cf. BOLLÉE 2002:106–107, who also refers to the occurrence of a similar motif in the story of the skeptic teacher Aśādhyā narrated by the Jaina Nemicandra in his commentary on the *Uttarajjhāyāsutta*).

117. *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* 559 (p. 543): *yāvatā ca bhūtodbhūtacaitanyavyatiriktaś [...]* *parikalpyamānaḥ paralokayāyī jīvaḥ pratyakṣeṇa nānubhūyate, tāvatā jīvasya sukhaduḥkhanibandhanau dharmādharmau tatprakṛṣṭaphalabhogabhūmī svarganarakau puṇyapāpakṣayotthamokṣasukhaṃ copavarṇyamānāni*. Cf. verse 8 in the section on the Cārvākadarśana of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* (1.124–125): 'If he who departs from the body goes to another world, how is it that he does not come back again, restless for love of his kindred?' *yadi gacchet param lokaṃ dehād eṣa vinirgataḥ / kasmād bhūyo na cāyāti bandhusnehasamākulaḥ //*.

a passage where the Lord and the materialist opponent are debating over the existence of the *Summum Bonum*:

The reply of the opponent is as follows: ‘How could it be that the sentient is the power of the Lord, for the coming together [of elements] of the body creates awareness (*hiḍap*). That is designated as *sentient*’.

DHPĀT  
206.7–8

Let us compare this somewhat elliptic statement to a similar one in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*:

There is another position which has been heard by your son: ‘Life exists because there is the coming together of [the elements forming] the body. That is what causes it to exist. The evidence of this is: look at the human beings who suffer, who are injured by weapons or poisoned. These are their sufferings. Their body is different from the suffering of their body. That is regarded as what causes death. Death means to just dissolve, without anything which is carried along. This is the evidence that the body is capable of making life possible [without postulating a Soul]. That is the *Summum Bonum*. Anything which lives only suffers, and death is liberation, for it is complete dissolution without experiencing suffering’. These are the statements of another position.<sup>118</sup>

The passage adumbrates the concept that the physical aspect of the body only is capable of making life possible, without the need of postulating a Soul. Since several points expounded by the opponent recall Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika positions, one is tempted to identify the ‘other view’ (*pakṣa vaneh*) exposed by Vṛhaspati with that school of thought.<sup>119</sup> For instance, certain Vaiśeṣikas denied the existence of the Soul, arguing that the body and consciousness is the result of the combination of physical elements—a standpoint that clearly emerges from the beginning of the passage, attributing life to an ensemble of bodily elements, and explaining that death amounts to complete dissolution

118. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.14–22: *hana ta pakṣa vaneh rinəṇṇə rānak bhaṭāra / ikaṇ hurip mataṇyan hana papupul nikaṇ śarīra / ya ta humaṇun ikān hana / vyaktinya / nyaṇ vvaṇ malara / api tuvi pinəraṇ / rinacun kunaṇ / ikaṇ kalaranya / bheda ika śarīranya lavan laranika śarīranya / ya ta magave pati ṇaranya / ikaṇ pati ṇaranya hilaṇ juga tar pahamban / nahan vyaktanyan śarīra vənaṇ humaṇun ikaṇ hurip / paramāṛthanya / ikaṇ mahurip ya juga saṇsāra / ikaṇ māti ya mokṣa ṇaranya / apan hilaṇ tuhutuhu tan paṇhiḍəp lara / maṇkana liṇ niṇ pakṣa vaneh /*.

119. As done by ZIESENIS (1958:188–190), who regarded this passage as an exposition of the Vaiśeṣika *pūrvapakṣa*.

(*hilañ juga*), ‘without anything which is carried along’ (*tar pahamban*). On the other hand, Vṛhaspati’s statement that ‘their body is different from the suffering of their body’ *bheda ika śarīranya lavan laranika śarīranya* seems to echo a Nyāya position, according to which the existence of the Soul can be inferred from the fact that consciousness, pleasures and pains do not directly belong to the body or the senses but to some other unseen substratum. It is possible that here the author of the *Vṛhaspatitattva* mixed the two points of view. The equation of liberation to complete dissolution—a state devoid of any experience of pain (and pleasure too)—advocated by Vṛhaspati is a well-known Vaiśeṣika tenet, along with the consideration of the Soul as insentient (*jaḍa*).

Thus, whereas the standpoint of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, namely that the coming together of the elements only causes life and its sentient dimension, which is not separated from the body, reflects an exquisitely materialistic position, the *Vṛhaspatitattva* appears to present a more nuanced standpoint. However, that the latter was held in as a low esteem as the materialist position is suggested by the following statement of the Lord:

Do not teach it in the assembly [of the Gods]! Such a position is shameful.  
How far is the limit for the eyes to see? If everything that is seen is shown,  
why then [you maintain that] death means not being reborn? What is to be  
done with the good and bad karma? Your statements are without any proof  
whatsoever.<sup>120</sup>

This cannot but reflect the view exposed by the heretical school of deniers of invisible realities represented by the Lokāyatas. A blatant contempt also results from several passages in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, for example where the Lord points out to Kumāra that views such as admitting only direct perception and the denial of karma are evidence of wrong knowledge, which is the label used throughout the text to define the materialist standpoint.

Statements equating death with emancipation that are analogous to those found in the Old Javanese sources are part and parcel of the Lokāyata stock in Sanskrit texts. For instance, *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* 1.53 has *dehacchedo mokṣaḥ* ‘liberation is the dissolution of the body’; and the widespread Lokāyata fragment *maraṇam evāpavargaḥ* ‘death indeed is emancipation’, or

120. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 52.23–26: *hayva kita mājarakən ika riñ sabhā / kerañirañ ikañ pakṣa mañkana / pira ta hiñana nikañ mata mulat / yan ikañ sakatonan pinintonakən / mapa kari kañ mati naranyan tan pañjanma muvah / apekañ śubhāśubhakarma ginavenya / tan kapva pramāṇa liñta /*.

the variant *mṛtyur evāpavargaḥ*.<sup>121</sup> The materialist stance is illustrated by the statement uttered by a Lokāyata *pūrvapakṣin* in Rāmakaṇṭha's *Vṛtti* to Sadyojyotiś' *Paramokṣanirāsakārikā*:

Consciousness arises from the elements alone, and vanishes with those same [elements]; hence, because of the destruction of the body, the destruction of everything (*sarvanāśa*) [comes about].<sup>122</sup>

Instances of the doctrine of *sarvanāśa* are already found in earlier sources, such as the Buddhist *Sāmaññaphalasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, which in 2.23 reports the words of the heretic Ajita Kesakambala: 'Both fools and wise, after the dissolution of the body, are cut-off, annihilated; after death they do not exist [anymore]' *bāle ca paṇḍite ca kāyassa bheda ucchijjanti vinassanti / na honti param maraṇā ti*.

Other instances of *bhūtacaitanyavāda* bearing slightly different doctrinal nuances may be found in the Old Javanese sources. For instance, a statement of an opponent in the *Dharma Pātañjala* (cf. above, p. 571) upholds that death means to return into non-existence, for the body of the living beings visibly disappears, then negates the Śaiva idea of liberation, namely the obtainment by the Soul of the Lord's powers of omniscience and omnipotence:

When one obtains the state of supernatural prowess, that is not *liberation*.  
Only when one vanishes, that is *liberation*.

DHPāt  
334.6–7

The Lord criticizes this viewpoint by pointing out that 'the heart and mind do not know about that [state of liberation]' *jñānanya lāvan cittanya tan*

121. BHATTACHARYA (2002:618–619) considers both fragments—deriving, respectively, from the *Advaitabrahmasiddhi* and the *Prabodhacandrodaya*—spurious on the ground that, as the Cārvākas denied the very idea of rebirth and emancipation, the use of such a term may not be considered as a genuine representation of the Cārvāka position but rather as an aphorism framed by a Brahmanical opponent. Although conscious distortion or misunderstanding of their positions are common, I find the validity of BHATTACHARYA's criterion questionable for, in the context of debate, a certain flexibility might have been allowed as to adapt one's own concepts to the opponent's categories.

122. *Paramokṣanirāsakārikāvṛtti* 5: *bhūtebhya eva vijñānam utpadyate, tāny evānuvinaśy-atīti śarīravinaśād eva sarvanāśa ity /*. Cf. also Aghoraśiva's commentary on *Sarvajñānottara* VP 1–3, referring to the Lokāyata's view seeing the Soul as having the form of the body, and hence being unconscious (*jaḍa*).

*avruḥ irikā*,<sup>123</sup> which amounts to say that the state of liberation advocated by the opponent consists in utter dissolution, without a sentient entity (be it mind or Soul) that experiences it—a standpoint that again recalls the one adhered to by Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. In 334.4–6 He further points at the fact that the opponent's equation of the *Summum Bonum* with non-existence grants neither favour (*upakāra*) nor supernatural powers (*siddhi*) to man—unlike the Śaiva one; this recalls the argument put forward in *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* (11.108–109) by an opposer of the Nyāya view that liberation amounts to the total annihilation (non-existence) of the Soul, i.e. that nobody provided with intelligence would strive to reach such a goal. There is even closer similarity with the statement of a Vaiśeṣika in the same text (10.181) pointing out that if one would raise the objection that non-existence (*abhāva*, i.e. the seventh category admitted by that system) can never be a fitting object of human pursuit (*na cāsyā puruṣārthaupāyikatvaṃ*) the answer would be that *abhāva* is the very *Summum Bonum* (*paramapuruṣārtha*), consisting in final beatitude devoid of pain.

Further below, the Lord seems to attune the materialist view of the *Summum Bonum*—intended as both final liberation and Supreme Reality—to Śaiva categories, describing that state as a hierarchically lower kind of liberation:

DHPāt  
334.20–22

What has been designated by the opponent as non-existence and *Summum Bonum*, that is designated as [being] dissolved into unevolved matter: there is no union of the mind [and] the *sattva*, *rajas*, *tamas*. Its characteristic is darkness without sentience, for the state of insight is not found in it.

According to the Lord, the characteristics attributed by the opponent to non-existence and liberation indeed correspond to the characteristics of the state of quasi-liberation where the mind is untainted by the *guṇas*, namely the one attained by the categories of beings called *prakṛtilīna*. These beings, as described in the Yogapāda of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, are dissolved into unevolved matter, devoid of any kind of subtle body and 'sleeping' in the sort of limbo existing between the end of a universal life-cycle and the beginning of a new one.<sup>124</sup>

An interesting argument of the Lord against the *bhūtacaitanyavāda* put forward by the opponent in 206.7–8 (quoted above, p. 603) is found in the

123. This clause can also be translated as 'in that state, the heart and mind do not know'.

124. I have discussed these categories of yogins above, pp. 492–493.

following passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala*:

How could it be that the man dies while dreaming? His body exists without damage! How could he not be aware of [anything]? Only when [the body] will be rotten it will have an end. Thus is the evidence of the wrong knowledge, my son.

DHPĀT  
206.9–10

According to the Lord, the Soul not being aware of anything (*tan pañetanā*) amounts to death—like when, for example, the Soul ceases to be aware of the breaths (cf. 234.9). If the person who sleeps does not die, however, it is because he is provided with a sentient element that must be identified with the Soul. This argument is also found in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, where it assumes a role of primary importance, being discussed throughout an extensive debate forming a large section of the text. In order to better understand the philosophical context of the debate, I shall therefore turn to the analysis of the motif in the *Vṛhaspatitattva*. From 47.43 onwards, the Lord sets about dispelling His son's doubts about the ontological status of the *Summum Bonum*, called *viśeṣa* by Vṛhaspati, and of such states as awareness or consciousness (*tutur*) and unawareness or unconsciousness (*lupa*).<sup>125</sup> The debate starts after the Lord's explanation of the well-known Upaniṣadic doctrine of the four states of human being, viz. waking (*jāgrapada*), sleep (*svapnapada*), deep sleep (*suṣuptapada*), and the 'fourth' (*tūryapada*).<sup>126</sup> The third state of deep sleep *suṣuptapada*, also known as *śrīpada*, is characterized as being darkness (*timira*, *andhakāra*), having the form of *śūnya*, *acetana* and *nirvāṇa*, when nothing is desired, seen or experienced (*niṣprakāmya tan katon kaḥiḍap*)—a definition that clearly resembles that of non-existence as found in the *Dharma Pātañjala*. To the Lord's account Vṛhaspati objects by pointing out that the Soul vanishes during sleep and forgets about the whole world. For the Soul in such a state it would be possible to disappear without awakening again. The state of annihilation is called *viśeṣa* by Vṛhaspati, who compares it to the *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*) previously described by the Lord:

125. It is apparent that these are the appropriate translations of the two terms when used in this philosophical context, even though they bear the primary meaning of, respectively, 'remembering' and 'forgetting'; cf., e.g., KBNW (II, 657), considering *tutur* to be a synonym of *cetanā* and *smaraṇa*; OJED (2084) 'memory, recollection, consciousness'. Furthermore, cf. *Dharma Pātañjala* 214.17–17: 'Sentience means consciousness, unevolved matter means unconsciousness' *cetanā nāranya tutur, pradhāna nāranya lupa*.

126. Cf. Vṛh 47.1–22. This doctrine, which figures in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and especially in the *Tattvajñāna*, where it is pervasive, is altogether absent from the *Dharma Pātañjala*.

The Soul is in the waking state. Then it falls asleep and it vanishes, forgetting about the whole world. The sleeping [Soul] is as dead, for it is unconscious (*viparīta*). It is indeed very admissible [to say] that it could die thereupon. It will vanish, without awakening again. For, being vanished, the Soul ceases to experience again. What is meant by your Lord's son is [this]: since all that experiences is regarded by the Lord to be sentient, in that case it is not admissible that the sentient will be the nature of the Soul, for it sleeps and then lives again. What is the explanation of this fact?<sup>127</sup>

Vṛhaspati expresses his doubts concerning the fact that during deep sleep a person loses his consciousness and that it would therefore be possible for him to disappear without awakening again. The Lord (30–34) explains that the Soul's obfuscation during sleep is due to the fact that the sentient principle is permeated by the insentient unevolved matter, thus becoming *viparīta*. Being unsatisfied by this explanation, Vṛhaspati counters:

This is verily the doubt of the Lord's son, concerning the Soul becoming mixed up with unevolved matter. To my mind, the unconsciousness (*lupa*) is the unmanifest [state] of the Soul, for the consciousness (*tutur*) arises from the unconsciousness. Consciousness means the experiencing of pleasure and pain. Pleasure and pain, they constitute the cycle of existence. The cycle of existence is to experience. Therefore, it is not appropriate to call the experiencing *viśeṣa*. On the contrary, the unconsciousness, that is the *viśeṣa*, for it does not experience pleasure and pain.<sup>128</sup>

Here we have another syllogism: since consciousness involves the experience of pleasure as well as pain, it would be absurd to say that the *Summum Bonum* (*viśeṣa*) is consciousness; indeed, the experience of pain is no advantage to man. Hence, Vṛhaspati's initial position, i.e. that the unconscious is

127. Vṛhaspatitattva 47.23–29: *ikañ ātmā hana riñ jāgrapada / maturū pva ya hilañ ta ya malupa riñ rāt kabeh / tulya māti ikañ maturū / apa viparīta / atyanta yogya nikan manəhər amātya / hilaña tan patañhya muvah / apan hilañ mari mañhiḍəp muvah ikañ ātmā / kaliñanya vuvus rānak bhaṭāra / apan asiñ mañhiḍəp ya sinañguh bhaṭāra cetana / ñkān tan yogya ikañ cetanāvaka niñ ātmā / apan mahurip ikañ maturū muvah / ndya ta kaliñanika //*

128. Vṛhaspatitattva 47.35–41: *ya teka sañsaya rānak bhaṭāra təməntəmən / ri kadadinyan ivəñivəñ ikañ ātmā lavan ikañ pradhānatattva / ikañ lupa yeka niškala niñ ātmā ri hiḍəp rānak bhaṭāra / apan mətu sakeñ lupa ikañ tutur / tutur ñaranya ikañ mañhiḍəp sukhaduḥkha / ikañ sukhaduḥkha yeka sañsāra / sañsāra pva mañhiḍəp / ya ta matañyan tan yogya ikañ hiḍəp sañguhən viśeṣa kunañ ikañ lupa ya viśeṣa ñaranya / apan tan pañhiḍəp sukhaduḥkha /*



both the origin of the conscious and the redemption for the Soul, is demonstrated to be true. The equation of final release with a state of insentience devoid of both pain and pleasure was upheld in the Sanskrit tradition by the Vaiśeṣikas. This atomistic school of thought, at least in its early period, was atheistic. No place for a supreme being could be found in the system, attributing to the invisible and unexplainable force called *adr̥ṣṭa* the explanation of all phenomena. It is only at a later date, probably because of the influence from the Pāśupatas or other theistic groups, that the school admitted the existence of a supreme being (Śiva) and became, in practice, affiliated with the theistic Nyāya (cf. CHEMPARATHY 1965). As already pointed out by ZIESENISS (1958:106–107; 188–190), the utterly unconscious non-existence termed *viśeṣa* by Vṛhaspati and equated with the *Summum Bonum* of the Śaiva seems to correspond to the Vaiśeṣika view on final release. According to this system, the liberated Soul is insentient, as though non-existing, free from pain and pleasure as well as from knowledge. Now, the Soul of a person who is in deep sleep does not experience pain and pleasure; this indicates that the consciousness can, if only temporarily, become separated from the Soul, which is non-consciousness. The only difference between deep sleep and liberation lies therefore in the fact that the latter is a permanent condition. This view is attested already in the *Nyāyasūtra*:

In the case of deep sleep, in absence of dreams, there is [a state like] release, for there are no defilements.

As the connection with attachment and the end of the connection with pleasure and pain of someone who is sleeping disappear, when there is deep sleep, so also in release there is also [the end of such connections]. In fact people who know the *brahman* describe the condition of the released Soul as being such.<sup>129</sup>

Has such a definition of liberation possibly been known to the author of the *Vṛhaspatitattva*? This seems plausible, also on account of the fact that, as pointed out by ZIESENISS (1958:106), Vṛhaspati's description of the insentient in the exegesis ad śloka 6 as being 'like a stone' closely echoes a Vaiśe-

129. *Nyāyasūtra* (with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*) 4.1.63: [sūtra] *suṣuptasya svapnādarśane kleśābhāvād apavargaḥ* // [Comm.] *yathā suṣuptasya khalu svapnādarśane rāgānubandhaḥ sukhaduḥkḥānubandhaś ca vicchidyate tathāpavarge 'pīti / etac ca brahmavido muktasyātmano rūpam udāharantīti* //.

ṣika formulation of *jaḍa*.<sup>130</sup> However, it is not possible to determine if the above views genuinely reflect Vaiśeṣika positions or are the result of either a conscious or unconscious misrepresentation along materialistic lines. Be this as it may, it will still be worthwhile to investigate further the old idea of JACOBI (1923:40–43) that the early Vaiśeṣika, before assuming its classical contour of orthodox (and theistic) system, could have arisen as an offshoot from the Lokāyata school. Or one may suggest that, conversely, some materialists eventually assumed positions close to the non-theistic Vaiśeṣika and borrowed the doctrines, such as the one concerning the insentience of the Soul, that they felt to be close to their world-view.<sup>131</sup>

After an excursus illustrating the example of the pot and the potter concerning the sentience of the Soul and the Lord (quoted above, p. 573), the debate about the status of the Soul in a sleeping person in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* finally reaches its conclusion, as follows:

O poor you, Vṛhaspati, your view has been answered. Why do you state again and again the same view? According to you, the sentience of one who sleeps has completely vanished, and that [state] is liberation. Thereupon he will never experience again, for non-existence is the highest reality (*viśeṣa*). If non-existence is the nature of the highest reality, then, how does it happen that one [before sleeping] is, then [during sleep] ceases being and becomes not-being again; then [when he is awake] he ceases not being and again becomes being? [To uphold] that what is regarded as highest reality and what is regarded as *Summum Bonum* (*paramārtha*) is such, that is a perverse knowledge, [of a] bewildered, giving instructions at random.<sup>132</sup> That

130. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 6.3–4: *acetana nāranya ikaṇ tan pajñāna / kady aṅgān in vatu* / ‘insentient is that which does not possess knowledge, like a stone’. A critique to the view that the liberated Soul is insentient like a stone is found in *Sarvasiddhāntasaṅgraha* 6.41–43 and *Naiṣadhacarita* 75. The Vaiśeṣika argument of *jaḍatva* is frequently criticized also by Śaiva commentators: cf., e.g., *Mṛgendravṛtti* ad VP 2.6 and the Tamil *Śivajñānasiddhyār* 11.5, according to which the school of the *paśāṇavādins* (*paśāṇa* = ‘stone’) holds that the liberated Soul is like a stone, remaining unconscious and experiencing neither suffering nor happiness (cf. PARANJOTI 1954:107).

131. An interesting example of this is provided by the figure of Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa (ca. 8th century AD), who commented upon the lost *Cārvākasūtra* in order to bring it closer to Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika positions.

132. Against OJED 2044 s.v. *tuduhtuduhi*: ‘to point in all directions’ (hapax), which in the present context does not make much sense. Cf. *tuduh* (2044) ‘instruction, direction, directive, order, guidance’ and *pati* (1322)s: ‘practice denoting continuation [...] in the case of action, usually with the connotation that it is lacking purpose, order or a definite object

is contravened by the knowledge of the learned.<sup>133</sup>

The Lord's reconstruction of the example upheld by Vṛhaspati, according to which the sleeping person enters in a state of non-existence that is [similar to] liberation, aims at showing that, if accepted, it would entail the undesired corollary that one may attain liberation during sleep, and completely vanish. That, however, this does not happen is confirmed by common experience, hence the example is refuted.

To Vṛhaspati's question in the *Vṛhaspatitattva* about what is, then, the *Summum Bonum*, the Lord replies by means of a śloka and commentary outlining its characteristics. The *siddhānta* putting an end to the controversy appears at the conclusion of that passage:

As to the vanishing of the Soul when he sleeps: [in reality] it just enters the principle of unevolved matter, for the principle of unevolved matter causes the unconsciousness of the Soul. If you would possibly ask, 'what is the reason that one who sleeps does not die—for he forgets about his body?' [I reply:] that is the purpose of the five winds which I have taught before; they act as bonds for the Soul. That is why one who sleeps does not die.<sup>134</sup>

A similar point is made by the Lord in the *Dharma Pātañjala*:

The reason why one who is sleeping does not die is that the Soul is constantly

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234.4–7

(at random, haphazardly, aimlessly, unthinkingly, indiscriminately) [...] often followed by the verb in the form of the base word, either single [...] or duplicated [...], with or without suffix *-i*; cf. *pati śasambahi* (OJED 1734) 'to worship everywhere, to make a "śembah" in every direction (at random)' and *pati taṇḍaktaṇḍaki* (OJED 1929) 'to dance around (without purpose or order, as in trance, blindly)', also used in *Vṛhaspatitattva* 4.15 after *vulaṇun* 'bewildered' to characterize men without knowledge.

133. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 47.57–64: *hemanku sinahuran pakṣanta kamuṇ vṛhaspati / mapa teku punahpunah denta mavuvus ikaṇ pakṣa / huvus hilaṇ cetana nikaṇ maturū / mokṣa ta ya / matəhər hayva maṇhiḍəp muvah / apan taya ikaṇ viṣeṣa liṇta / an taya lvir nikaṇ viṣeṣa vih / umapa təkān hana / huvus hana / umaluy taya / huvus taya / umaluy hana / maṇkana karikaṇ sinaṅguh viṣeṣa ṇaranya / maṇkana karikaṇ sinaṅguh paramārtha ṇaranya / yateka sinaṅguh jñāna viparita ṇaranya / vulaṇun pati tuduhtuduhi / ya tika inuhutakən jñāna saṇ paṇḍita //*.

134. *Vṛhaspatitattva* 49.15–20: *kunaṇ ri hilaṇ nikaṇ ātmā ri kālanyan paturū pih / kapasuk riṇ pradhānatattva teka juga / apan gumave lupa niṇ ātmā ikaṇ pradhānatattva / mapa pva mataṇyan tan təhər amāti ikaṇ aturū / apan malupa ya riṇ śarīranya / nyapan tahan kva liṇanta / ya don ikaṇ pañcavāyu inajar nūni / yeka pinakāpusapus niṇ ātmā / ya dumehnya tan təhər amāti ikaṇ maturū //*.

conscious of the breaths. If the Soul ceases to be aware of them, the breaths as such, that is designated as dying.

*Upholding Hedonism* It is natural that the consequence of the materialists' denial of a Soul separate from the body, of the effects of actions in terms of merit and demerit, of the existence of any form of retribution or state of being after death, is that the pursuit of pleasure is regarded by this system as the principal aim of human life. This theme figures in a number of Sanskrit fragments attributed to the Cārvākas: *arthakāmau puruṣārthau* 'wealth and pleasure are the two aims of life';<sup>135</sup> *yāvajjīvaṃ sukhaṃ jīven nāsti mṛtyor agocaraḥ* 'while life remains let a man live happily; nothing is beyond death'.<sup>136</sup> Kumāradeva's commentary on *Tattvaprakāśa* 72 has:

Only pleasure is the foremost end of human life, and wealth too because it is capable of bringing it about. As it has been declared, happiness is the goal of human life, to be brought about through activity. That is pleasure, and not other things such as liberation, etc.<sup>137</sup>

The stress on the material aspect of life and the unconcernedness with metaphysics and soteriology is reflected in śloka 122 of the *Sārasamuccaya* (from *Mahābhārata* 12.309.9), whose ideas are attributed to the *nāstikas* in the Old Javanese exegesis:

*The utter nihilists aim at what belongs to this world, [merely] causing [their] flesh and blood to increase. They are insensible to the acts aiming at the other world.*

The nature of the nihilists is as follows: they only take care of their bodies, they strive after the increase of their blood and flesh. Whatever action that bears fruit here [in this world] is practiced by them. On the contrary, actions that bear fruit with respect to heaven or emancipation in the future, they are insensible towards them, they are not concerned at all with them.<sup>138</sup>

135. Also in this case, BHATTACHARYA (2002:618) expresses serious—albeit, to my mind, unjustified—doubts concerning the originality of these fragments since they contain the typically Brahmanical concept of *puruṣārtha*.

136. Śloka 7ab (cf. BHATTACHARYA 2002:600, 610, 616).

137. *Tattvaprakāśatātpāryadīpikā* p. 108: *kāma eva mukhyaḥ puruṣārthaḥ, arthaś ca tatsā-dhanatvād iti / taduktam—vṛttisādhyaḥ prītiḥ puruṣārthaḥ, sa kāma eva nānyo mokṣādīḥ //*.

138. *Sārasamuccaya* 122:

According to the *Dharma Pātañjala*, a hedonistic attitude characterizes a mind affected by dullness (*taṃas*):

*Dullness* means: the mind that desires to enjoy the objects of enjoyment. [It thinks:] ‘Since you will find enjoyment in the objects of pleasure, that is the reason why you should strive for wealth in the form of gold, vestments, slaves and beautiful women, for there is nothing which is superior to the pleasure of becoming a human being!’

DHPĀT  
252.3–6

As we have seen above (p. 571 and 597), the view that in this life one should strive after pleasures only was already attributed to a materialist opponent:

A hundred shall be the number of pleasures enjoyed by the man; he will not experience suffering if he knows about the true state of the Lord. [...] What is the point of causing suffering [to oneself in this life]? Let there be the enjoyment of the objects of pleasure!

DHPĀT  
332.16–334.2

In the above passage a hedonistic stance goes together with an allusion to a critique of ascetic self-mortification. This results even more clearly from a passage of the *Dharma Pātañjala* containing a scornful depiction of religious people performing observances. When elaborating on the first item *avidyā* ‘ignorance’ in the list of the afflictions as the cause of an altered or ‘upside-down’ mind, the Lord attributes to the opponent the following words:

‘The Soul, that is not lasting, it is good for nothing that its true nature has vanished. But the earth, water, fire, wind, space,<sup>139</sup> those are beautiful! Thus, they are designated as *pure*. A man of religion performing the observance

DHPĀT  
304.20–306.3

*aihalaukikam ihante māmśaṣaṇitavarddhanāḥ /  
pāralaukikakṛtyeṣu prasuptā bhṛśanāstikāḥ //*

*nihan ta krama nikaṇ nāstika / kevalāvaknya juga ininunya / yatna ri vṛddhya niṇ rah dag-  
iṇnya // sāsiṇ pravṛtti maphala maṇke linakasakanya / kunaṇ ikaṇ pravṛtti maphala svargā-  
pavarga dlāha / aturū ya irika / tan vava rāṇāḥ viḥ //*

139. The presence of space (*ākāśa*) among the elements enumerated by the opponent seems to be at odd with the materialist position, for the (mainstream) Lokāyatas did not admit the existence of the fifth element on account of its non-perceptibility, accepting only four. Yet, I believe, this is no conclusive proof for dismissing the identification of this passage as exposing materialist doctrines, for we know that in the Indian Subcontinent itself there existed differences of opinions and philosophic tenets among the Lokāyatas themselves. That five elements were admitted by certain materialists is suggested by fairly widespread textual evidence, such as Guṇaratna on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* (555): ‘Some sections of the Cārvākas, considering space as the fifth form of matter, declare that the

of a leader among yogins, he is designated as *pure*. That is just wrong, for he is impure. What is the cause of his being impure? Because his mind-stuff is suffering because of the observances; he does not notice the worldly pleasures. Thus is the reason why he is impure. A beautiful woman—she is pure!'

The above passage, besides criticizing the Śaiva view of an everlasting Soul whose original nature has been obliterated, inverts the concept of purity related to accomplished ascetics by attributing it to any element of the outside world, and—irreverently—to objects of pleasure such as beautiful women. We encountered a definition of purity earlier in the text (310.11–15), in correspondence with the treatment of the item *śauca* in the list of the particular commandments (*niyama*), as denoting purity in one's behaviour, and in eating and drinking.

The uselessness of disregarding the pleasures of this world, performing painful acts such as the practice of ascetic observances in view of the enjoyment of pleasures in the other world, is expressed in the Lokāyata śloka 15ab (BHATTACHARYA 2002:611, 617): *tapāṃsi yātanāś citrāḥ saṃyamo bhogavañcanā* 'penances are only various forms of torments, and abstinence is only depriving oneself of consuming (the pleasures of life)'. Cf. also Guṇaratna on *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* 85:

The main point of the [Lokāyata] contention is: people have their critical judgement baffled by the verbosity of knaves. Leaving aside worldly pleasures which are within their easy reach, they strive (with a desire for obtaining pleasures like heaven and liberation) by practising penance, muttering spells, sitting in meditation, offering oblations, etc. The only cause for such acts is their ignorance.<sup>140</sup>

world consists of five forms of matter' *kecit tu cārvākaikadeśīyā ākāśaṃ pañcamam bhūtam abhimanyamānāḥ pañcabhūtātmakam jagad iti nigadanti*; the anonymous (10th century?) Jain religious poem in Tamil *Nilakeci* (vv. 856–857), in which the materialist debatant expounds five elements (cf. MIYAMOTO 2007:104–105); the Tamil Vaiṣṇava work *Paramatapankam* by Vedānta Decikar (14th century), in which it is stated that the Lokāyatas admit also *ākāśa* among the elements (MIYAMOTO 2007:106). Among the Buddhist sources, cf. *Sāmaññaphalasutta* (*Dīghanikāya*) part 1, pp. 48–49. Of course, it is also possible that their doctrines were often slightly misrepresented by their opponent.

140. *Tarkarahasyadīpikā* 570 (p. 459): *yo hi loko vipratārakavacanopanyāsatrāsitasamjñāno hastagatam ihatyaṃ sukhaṃ vihāya svargāpavargasukhaprepsayā tapojapadhyānahomādaḥ yad yatate, tatra tasyājñānataiva kāraṇam iti tanmatopadeśaḥ* //.

In *Vṛhaspatitattva* 28.6–11 (quoted above, p. 599), the opponent's denial of the orthodox doctrine of heaven and hell results in the ridiculing of the authority of cunning men of religion, which is held for nothing more than a means to earn their livelihood. This theme, again, is common in Sanskrit fragments attributed to the Lokāyatas; cf., e.g., *Rāmāyaṇa* 2.100.15 'These books composed by wise men [containing precepts as] perform ritual, bestow, perform initiation, perform austerities, renounce, are means to draw forth gifts' *dānasamvnanā hy ete granthā medhāvibhiḥ kṛtāḥ / yajasva dehi dīkṣasva tapas tapyasva samtyaja*; *Sarvadarśanaśaṅgraha* 1.126–127 (śloka 9): 'It is only as a means of livelihood that brahmans have established here all these ceremonies for the dead—there is no other fruit anywhere' *tataś ca jīvanopāyo brāhmaṇair vihitas tv iha / mṛtānām pretakāryāṇi na tv anyad vidyate kvacit*.





## APPENDICES



## A: Parallel Synopses of Three Tattvas

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>   | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>  |
|---|--|---|
| Kumāra approaches the Lord on the peak of the Kailāśa, enquiring about the <i>tattva viśeṣa</i> (194.2–7) | Vṛhaspati approaches the Lord on the peak of the Kailāśa, enquiring about the essence of the sacred teachings (1)  | Definition of <i>tattvajñāna</i> , the knowledge of which liberates (1) |
| Definition of <i>samyajñāna</i> (194.7–14)  | Different teachings in the Śaivismār-ga: Śaiva, Pāśupata, Alepaka (2) cf. 11–13  | cf. 4.1–5   |
| Characteristics of <i>paramārtha</i> ( <i>prabhū, vibhu, sarvajña, sarvakārya-kartā</i> ) (194.15–196.14) |  |   |
| Definition of <i>mithyājñāna</i> (196.15–198.11); debate with an opponent adhering to it (198.12–208.2)   |  |   |
| The three <i>pramāṇas</i> (208.3–210.7)   |  |   |
| Origin of <i>mala</i> and its end, when one becomes one with the Lord (210.8–212.5)                       | Different varieties of <i>yonis</i> and <i>vāsanās</i> (3.1–3)   |   |
| cf. 272.17–274.18   | Karma and its fruits; <i>vāsanās</i> explained through the example of the pot containing perfume, which sticks to it even after the pot has been washed (3.4–10) |   |
|   | Effects of the <i>karmavāsanās</i> on the <i>ātman</i> (3.10–15)   |   |
|   | Different kinds of <i>yonis</i> and (re)births explained (3.15–25)   |   |
| cf. 298.2–12  | <i>sambega</i> in the yogin is the result of the Lord's love and of the painfulness of life; need of instruction in the <i>viśeṣa</i> by a teacher (3.25–35)     |   |
|   | No difference of status in the knowledge resulting from the way of Śaivas, Pāśupatas and Alepakas; those who uphold the contrary are <i>bhrānta</i> (3.36–48)    |   |
|   | Explanation of <i>bhrānta</i> through the story of the blind men and the elephant (4.1–20)   |   |
|   | Doubt of Vṛhaspati about the <i>tattvajñāna</i> ; instruction of the Lord about the Śāstras (5.1–9)  |   |
|   | Dichotomy <i>cetanā/acetanā</i> at the origin of all the <i>tattvas</i> (6.1–5)  |   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>   |
|--|--|--|
| Definition of Soul and listing of the <i>tattvas</i> : <i>śivatattva</i> , <i>māyā</i> °, <i>kalā</i> °, <i>rāga</i> °, <i>vidyā</i> °, <i>pradhāna</i> °, <i>triguṇa</i> °, <i>buddhi</i> °, <i>ahaṅkāra</i> °, <i>manah</i> °, <i>daśendriya</i> °, <i>pañcatanmātra</i> °, the <i>pañca-mahābhūtas</i> (212.8–25) | The <i>tattvas</i> listed: <i>pradhānatattva</i> , <i>triguṇa</i> °, <i>buddhi</i> °, <i>ahaṅkāra</i> °, <i>bāhyendriya</i> °, <i>karmendriya</i> °, <i>pañcamahābhūta</i> ° (6.5–8)                   |  |
|  | Three <i>tattvas</i> of the <i>cetana</i> : <i>paramaśivatattva</i> , <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , <i>śivatattva</i> (6.9–11)   | Definition of <i>cetana</i> and <i>acetana</i> , corresponding to, respectively, <i>śivatattva</i> and <i>māyātattva</i> ; <i>śivatattva</i> is divided into <i>paramaśivatattva</i> , <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , <i>ātmikatattva</i> (2) |
|  | <i>paramaśivatattva</i> (7–10)   | <i>paramaśivatattva</i> (3)  |
|  | <i>sadāśivatattva</i> as <i>savyāpāraḥ</i> ; <i>padmāsana</i> with <i>caduśakti</i> : <i>vibhuśakti</i> , <i>prabhuśakti</i> , <i>jñānaśakti</i> , <i>kriyāśakti</i> (11–13)                           | <i>sadāśivatattva</i> : <i>sarvajña</i> , <i>sarvakāryakartā</i> , <i>jñānaśakti</i> , <i>prabhuśakti</i> , <i>kriyāśakti</i> (4.1–5)  |
| The <i>ātman</i> pervades the <i>tattvas</i> lengthwise and crosswise ( <i>ūtaprota</i> ), like butter within milk or a string and pearls (214.4–5)  | Explanation of the <i>tattvas</i> being <i>ūtaprota</i> as butter within milk and as a necklace of pearls; <i>ūtaprota</i> = <i>vibhuśakti</i> and <i>prabhuśakti</i> (14.1–5)                         | <i>vibhuśakti</i> , <i>prabhuśakti</i> (4.8–10), <i>kriyāśakti</i> (4.10–16)   |
| cf. 282.18–284.16  | Description of the <i>padmāsana</i> with <i>caduśakti</i> ; the mantric body of the Lord ( <i>iśāna</i> , <i>tatpuruṣa</i> , <i>aghora</i> , <i>bāmadeva</i> , <i>sadyojāta</i> ) (4.6–10)             |  |
|  | Powers of <i>dūraśravana</i> , <i>dūrasarvajña</i> , <i>dūradarśana</i> (14.11–15)   | <i>jñānaśakti</i> : <i>dūradarśana</i> , <i>dūraśravana</i> , <i>dūrātmaka</i> (4.5–8)   |
| cf. 328.15–330.15  | The <i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i> s of the Lord: <i>aṇimā</i> , <i>laghimā</i> , <i>mahimā</i> , <i>prāpti</i> , <i>prākāmya</i> , <i>iśitva</i> , <i>vaśitva</i> , <i>yatrakāmāvasāyitva</i> (14.15–18)          | <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , which is Bhaṭṭāra Guru, is the author of the śāstras and the holy scriptures (4.1–24)  |
|  | <i>māyāśirastattva</i> is below <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , abode of the <i>aṣṭavidyeśas</i> : Ananta, Sūkṣma, Śivatama, Ekarudra, Ekanetra, Trimūrti, Śrīkaṇṭha, Śikhaṇḍī (14.19–26)                      |  |
| cf. 280.4–20   | Śrīkaṇṭha as the teacher in the <i>brahmāṇḍa</i> ; legend of the incineration of Kāma and marriage with Umā, who begot Sanatkumāra. Śrīkaṇṭha is elevated, then Śikhaṇḍī takes his position (14.26–33) |  |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>  |
|--|--|---|
| <i>ātma prota</i> : the <i>ātman</i> looses its original omniscience and omnipotence because of <i>mala</i> ; it is enveloped by <i>kalā</i> , <i>vidyā</i> and <i>rāga</i> . Example of the young bee (214.5–216.14)  | <i>māyātattva</i> : same as <i>śivatattva</i> , but <i>acetana</i> ; permeated by <i>śivatattva</i> , which is <i>cetana</i> ; relationship Śiva-Māyā explained as <i>ūtaprota</i> (14.34–39); <i>mala</i> = <i>acetana</i> ; <i>śivatattva</i> , which is pure, looses its power ( <i>śakti</i> ) and becomes <i>acetana</i> , impure (14.40–43); <i>śakti</i> means: <i>sarvajña</i> and <i>sarvakāryakartā</i> . It is of <i>śivatattva</i> and of the <i>ātman</i> (s), which are many. Example of the young bees (14.44–50)   | <i>ātmikatattva</i> : <i>ūtaprota</i> ; example of the fire within wood and the gem assuming different colours; <i>sadāśivatattva</i> permeates <i>māyātattva</i> (5.1–11)  |
| The <i>ātman</i> and <i>pradhāna</i> are caused to meet by the Lord's will; <i>cetanā</i> is remembering, <i>pradhāna</i> is forgetting. From this union, the three <i>guṇas</i> originate, in their turn followed by <i>buddhi</i> and <i>ahaṅkāra</i> (212.25–216.6) | <i>māyātattva</i> is set into action by the power of the Lord: <i>pradhānatattva</i> arises. The Lord brings together <i>ātmātattva</i> and <i>pradhānatattva</i> : the former becomes <i>acetana</i> ; <i>pradhānatattva</i> is set in motion by <i>kriyāśakti</i> , generating the three <i>guṇas</i> (14.51–57)<br>Concise definition of <i>sattva</i> , <i>rajas</i> , <i>tamas</i> when characterizing <i>citta</i> (15) <i>citta</i> as the cause of liberation, heaven and hell (16)<br><i>citta</i> characterized by <i>sattva</i> (17), <i>rajas</i> (18), <i>tamas</i> ; the three <i>guṇas</i> fetter the <i>ātman</i> (19)<br><i>citta</i> dominated by extreme <i>sattva</i> (20), by both <i>sattva</i> and <i>rajas</i> (21), by <i>sattva</i> , <i>rajas</i> and <i>tamaḥ</i> in equal measure. Bhaṭāra Vidhi remembers the actions of human beings, who need to be purified in the place between heaven and hell (22); <i>citta</i> dominated by extreme <i>rajas</i> (23) and <i>tamas</i> . Incarnation of the <i>ātman</i> in the six kinds of animals (24.1–14)<br>From the three <i>guṇas</i> arises <i>buddhi</i> (24.15) | <i>māyātattva</i> is characterized by <i>mala</i> ; <i>cetanā</i> looses its power of <i>sarvajña</i> and <i>sarvakāryakartā</i> (5.11–18); <i>ātmikatattva</i> is the same as Bhaṭāra Dharma; it is like the sun pervading the universe and giving life to all the creatures (5.18–29)<br><i>māyātattva</i> is forgetting, <i>pradhānatattva</i> is sleep; the <i>prakāśa</i> , which is remembering, of the <i>ātman</i> meets with <i>pradhānatattva</i> , giving rise to <i>pradhānapuruṣa</i> ; the three <i>guṇas</i> now taint the <i>citta</i> (6)<br><i>citta</i> means: the <i>cetana</i> of the <i>puruṣa</i> is tainted by the three <i>guṇas</i> ; <i>citta</i> characterized by <i>sattva</i> (7), <i>rajas</i> (8), <i>tamas</i> (9)<br>Fruits and incarnations resulting from the various combinations of <i>sattva</i> , <i>rajas</i> and <i>tamas</i> in the <i>citta</i> (10.1–15)<br>From the meeting of the three <i>guṇas</i> with <i>citta</i> originates <i>buddhi</i> and <i>ahaṅkāra</i> (10.15–24) |
| cf. above  |  |   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>  |
|--|--|---|
| cf. 240.13–242.8   | The eight states of <i>buddhi</i> : <i>dharma</i> , <i>jñāna</i> , <i>vairāgya</i> , <i>aiśvarya</i> and their opposites: <i>adharma</i> , <i>ajñāna</i> , <i>avairāgya</i> , <i>anaiśvarya</i> ; the <i>pañcaviṣayā</i> yas, the <i>tuṣṭis</i> , the <i>aṣṭasiddhis</i> . Such are <i>vṛttis</i> of the <i>buddhi</i> (24.16–20)  |   |
| cf. 242.9–244.16   | Definition of <i>dharma</i> as <i>śīla</i> , <i>yajña</i> , <i>tapa</i> , <i>dāna</i> , <i>pravrajyā</i> , <i>bhikṣu</i> , <i>yoga</i> (25); definition of <i>jñāna</i> as the three <i>pramāṇas</i> : <i>pratyakṣa</i> , <i>anumāna</i> , <i>āgama</i> . These constitute <i>samyag-jñāna</i> (26); def. of <i>vairāgya</i> (27), <i>aiśvarya</i> (28.1–4), <i>adharma</i> , <i>ajñāna</i> , <i>avairāgya</i> , <i>anaiśvarya</i> (28.4–24) |   |
| cf. 246.1–15   | Fruits of <i>buddhi</i> dominated by <i>dharma</i> (29), <i>jñāna</i> (30), <i>vairāgya</i> (31), <i>aiśvarya</i> (32.1–3)   |   |
| cf. 246.16–250.9   | Fruits of <i>buddhi</i> dominated by <i>adharma</i> , <i>ajñāna</i> , <i>avairāgya</i> , <i>anaiśvarya</i> (32.4–11)   |   |
| cf. 250.10–252.16  | The <i>pañcaviṣayayas</i> : <i>tamas</i> , <i>moha</i> , <i>mahāmoha</i> , <i>tāmisra</i> , <i>andhatāmisra</i> (32.12–19)   |   |
| Cf. 252.17–256.9   | Definition of the <i>tuṣṭis</i> and their division according to <i>bāhya</i> and <i>ādhyātmika</i> (32.20–40)  |   |
| Cf. 256.10–260.7   | The <i>aṣṭasiddhis</i> ( <i>bāhyasiddhi</i> ); <i>trayoduḥkhavighātas</i> ( <i>ādhyātmikasiddhi</i> ) (33.1–8); the three kinds of pain ( <i>ādhyātmikaduḥkha</i> , <i>ādhi-daivika</i> °, <i>ādhibhautikaduḥkha</i> ) (33.8–20)   |   |
| Three kinds of <i>ahaṅkāra</i> : <i>vaikṛta</i> , <i>taijasa</i> , <i>bhūtādi</i> (216.7–14)   | Three kinds of <i>ahaṅkāra</i> : <i>vaikṛta</i> , <i>taijasa</i> , <i>bhūtādi</i> (33.21–28)   | The Lord senses the <i>ātman</i> , which senses the <i>citta</i> , which senses the <i>ahaṅkāra</i> , which is permeated by <i>kriyāśakti</i> ; <i>ahaṅkāra</i> and <i>buddhi</i> are called <i>pramāṇaviśeṣa</i> |
| Difference between the three internal organs (216.15–218.8)<br><i>daśendriyas</i> derives from the <i>vaikṛta ahaṅkāra</i> (218.8–220.3) | from the <i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the <i>vaikṛta</i> type the <i>manas</i> and <i>daśendriya</i> originate (33.23–24)  | Three kinds of <i>ahaṅkāra</i> : <i>vaikṛta</i> , <i>taijasa</i> , <i>bhūtādi</i> , characterized by, respectively, <i>sattva</i> , <i>rajas</i> , <i>tamas</i> (11)<br>cf. 40.17–22                              |
|  |  | Definition of <i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the <i>vaikṛta</i> type, from which <i>manas</i> and <i>daśendriya</i> come forth (12.1–5)   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>  | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>   |
|--|---|--|
| <p>From the <i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the <i>bhūtādi</i> type the <i>pañcatanmātras</i> originate; the <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> are listed along with their respective characteristics and qualities. The lower elements are pervaded by the upper ones and combine their qualities, which are described in detail (220.3–224.1)</p> <p><i>aṇḍabhuvana</i>; vertical pervasion of <i>tattvas</i>: Lord, Soul, Māyā, <i>pradhāna</i>, <i>buddhi</i>, <i>ahaṅkāra</i>, <i>manas</i>, <i>daśendriyas</i>, <i>pañcatanmātras</i>, <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> (224.1–226.11)</p> | <p>From the <i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the <i>bhūtādi</i> type the <i>pañcatanmātras</i> originate (33.25–28); description of <i>pañcatanmātras</i> (33.29–40); the <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> are listed along with their respective characteristics and qualities (33.41–44); combination of the elements and their qualities (33.45–49)</p> <p>cf. 16–24</p> <p>cf. 35.17–23</p> | <p><i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the type <i>bhūtādi</i>, from which the <i>pañcatanmātras</i> (12.6–17) and <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> (13.1–4) originate. Combination of the elements and their characteristics (13.4–18)</p> <p><i>aṇḍabhuvana</i> (14)</p> <p><i>ahaṅkāra</i> of the type <i>taijasa</i> joins the other two in originating <i>ekādaśendriyas</i> and <i>pañcatanmātras</i>. Explanation of Saṅ Hyaṅ Pramāṇa and <i>pramāṇaviśeṣa</i> (15)</p> <p>Incarnations of the <i>buddhis</i> dominated by <i>sattva</i> (16), <i>rajas</i> (17) and <i>tamas</i> (18) in various degrees; further elaborations on the above (19)</p> <p>Incarnations of the <i>ātmans</i> whose bad actions were small (20), middle (21) or great (22)</p> <p><i>tattvajñāna</i> aims at putting an end to the incarnations through <i>brata</i>, <i>tapa</i>, <i>yoga</i>, <i>samādhi</i> (23)</p> <p><i>kriyāśakti</i> permeates <i>ahaṅkāra</i>, which permeates the winds, which permeate the <i>nāḍī</i>. The body experiences <i>pañcagatisaṃsāra</i>; example of the ironsmith (the Lord) and the swords (the <i>ātmans</i>), whose characteristics differ according to their functions (24)</p> <p>The Lord creates the beings; the <i>ātmans</i> are in the three stages (<i>tūryapada</i>, <i>jāgrapada</i>, <i>sūptapada</i>) and experience <i>pañcagatisaṃsāra</i> (25.1–6)</p> <p>The <i>ātmans</i> get separated from the <i>sakala</i> by virtue of the Lord's desire to behold the latter. The <i>ātmans</i> are <i>vyāpāra</i> and not-<i>vyāpāra</i>; explanation of <i>vyāpāra</i> (25.6–13)</p> <p>Non-<i>vyāpāra</i> is <i>ātmaviśeṣa</i> or <i>Bhātara Dharma</i>; <i>vyāpāra</i> is <i>pramāṇa</i>. The non-<i>vyāpāra</i> <i>ātman</i> resides in <i>tūryapada</i>, while the <i>ātman</i> that is <i>cetana</i> resides in <i>jāgrapada</i>; the coarse part of it is the <i>citta</i>, tainted by the three <i>guṇas</i>; <i>citta</i> is <i>vyāpāra</i> (26.1–17)</p> |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>      | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i> | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>  |
|------------------------------|------------------------|---|
| cf. 218.8–220.3, 220.3–224.1 | cf. 33                 | <p>The <i>ātman</i> that resides in <i>jāgrapada</i> is called <i>ahankāra</i>: the <i>vaikṛta</i> produces the <i>daśendriyas</i>; the <i>bhūtādi</i> type produces the <i>pañcatanmātras</i>, <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> and <i>manas</i> (26.17–23)</p> <p>The <i>manas</i> is reflected in the <i>ātman</i>, which becomes <i>ātmaparivāra</i>, i.e. <i>ātmā</i>, <i>parātmā</i>, <i>nirātmā</i>, <i>antarātmā</i>, <i>sūkṣmātmā</i> (26.17–28)</p> <p>Śloka: parable of the chart about the relationship among <i>puruṣa</i>, <i>pradhāna</i>, the Lord and the world (27); Old Javanese exegesis (28)</p> <p>Even though the Lord serves as life for all creatures and permeates the <i>saṃsāra</i>, it does not experience pleasure and pain. The relation is explained in terms of <i>ūtaprota</i>; <i>vyakta-avyakta</i>; fire and wood (29)</p> <p>The Lord is not in all beings, for they lack in remembering and gnosis; those who know <i>prayogasan-dhi</i> and have gnosis attain the <i>ādhyātmika</i> status, seen by the Lord. The relationship is <i>prota</i>. <i>samādhi</i> is <i>īśvarapraṇidhāna</i>; without it, men incarnate in lower creatures (30)</p> <p>Different kinds of men, i.e. <i>kaṇiṣṭha</i>, <i>madhya</i>, <i>uttama</i> and their combinations, caused by <i>śubhāśubhakarma</i> (31)</p> <p>Further speculations on the above. Even though some are knowledgeable in the Śāstras, they may not have the gnosis (32)</p> <p>Some are really endowed with gnosis and the <i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i>s. Bhaṭṭāra Ādipramāṇa, who is <i>sadāśivatattva</i>, resides in that <i>ātman</i> (33)</p> <p>The <i>ātmans</i> that reside in <i>jāgrapada</i> and <i>tūryapada</i> incarnate and begin to perform <i>śubhāśubhakarma</i>; example of the pure gem that becomes coloured by reflecting light (34). Such <i>ātmans</i> are not affected by good and bad actions. But the <i>ātmans</i> that are in <i>sūptapada</i> and <i>svapnapada</i> experience <i>ātmasaṃsāra</i>; they are like young bees. The differences between the <i>ātmans</i> in these states of being are explained (35)</p> |
|                              | cf. 34.1–6             |   |



| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>  | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>   |
|--|---|--|
| Incarnation of the <i>ātman</i> into a human being; process of generation of the <i>śaḍrāsa</i> through copulation (226.12–228.10) | <i>śaḍrāsa</i> (33.50–55); generation of human beings through copulation; definition of <i>śaṭkośas</i> (33.56–67)  | The three <i>pramāṇas</i> in relation with the above states are explained (36)<br>The <i>ātman</i> permeates <i>pṛthivī</i> and the <i>śaḍrāsa</i> ; these give rise to a new life when man and woman meet. The process of generation and its outcomes according to the various combinations of male and female elements is described; mention of <i>pañcagolaka</i> ; correspondences between <i>pañcamahābhūtas</i> , <i>pañcatanmātras</i> , <i>bhuvanas</i> , <i>pātālas</i> and parts of the body ( <i>bhuvanaśarīra</i> ) (37) |
| The <i>golakas</i> are different from the <i>daśendriyas</i> ; example of the deficient organs of sense (228.11–230.2)             | The <i>buddhindriyas</i> and the <i>golakas</i> ( <i>daśendriyas</i> ) (33.68–87)<br>Question of Vṛhaspati about the difference between the <i>golakas</i> and the <i>indriyas</i> and explanation of the Lord by means of the example of the deficient organs of sense. The <i>ātman</i> is addicted to the enjoyment of the senses through the body (33.88–105)<br>Parable of the chart to explain the relationship among <i>pradhāna</i> , <i>puruṣa</i> , <i>īśa</i> and <i>jagat</i> (34.1–6)<br>The <i>ātman</i> meets <i>rāga</i> , <i>moha</i> , <i>dṛmbha</i> , <i>lobha</i> , <i>mātsarya</i> , <i>prihati</i> , <i>lapa</i> , <i>vālakaṇ</i> , <i>panasbhāran</i> and becomes <i>viparīta</i> , incarnating in lower forms of existence (34.7–18)<br>Means of avoiding hell through awareness of the <i>ātman</i> of pleasures and pains of the body (34.19–26)<br>The parable of regalia (35.1–8); example of the different workers enduring suffering to satisfy the ten senses (35.9–16)<br>Difference between <i>citta</i> and <i>ātman</i> ; <i>kriyāśakti</i> enters <i>ahankāra</i> , in its turn entering the <i>bāyus</i> , which ties the <i>ātman</i> to the body (35.17–23)<br>Origin of the <i>nāḍīs</i> (36); ten <i>nāḍīs</i> explained (37–38) | cf. 27–28<br>cf. 42?<br>cf. 24<br>Further correspondences with <i>saptapārvatas</i> , <i>saptārṇavas</i> , <i>saptadvīpas</i> ; ten <i>nāḍīs</i> explained (38)  |
| cf. 230.6–234.9  | The ten <i>vāyus</i> are listed (39–40) and explained one by one: <i>prāṇa</i> (41), <i>apāna</i> (42), <i>samāna</i> (43), <i>udāna</i> (44), <i>vyāna</i> (45); <i>nāga</i> , <i>kūrmāra</i> , <i>kṛkara</i> , <i>devadatta</i> , <i>dhanañjaya</i> —the winds have many functions and names but are one (46)   | The <i>daśabāyus</i> explained: <i>prāṇa</i> , <i>apāna</i> , <i>samāna</i> , <i>udāna</i> , <i>vyāna</i> ; then <i>nāga</i> , <i>kūrmāra</i> , <i>kṛkara</i> , <i>devadatta</i> , <i>dhanañjaya</i> . They are eleven (sic) but they are called ten because their activities are ten (39)   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>   | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>  |
|---|--|---|
|   | The five states: <i>jāgrapada</i> , <i>svapna-pada</i> , <i>suṣuptapada</i> , <i>tūryapada</i> , <i>tūryāntapada</i> (47.1–22)   | The five <i>ātman</i> s: <i>ātmā</i> , <i>parātmā</i> , <i>antarātmā</i> , <i>sūkṣmātmā</i> , <i>nirātmā</i> (40.1–7)   |
| cf. 218.8–220.3   | cf. 33, 35, 52   | <i>daśendriyas</i> explained (40.7–18)  |
| cf. 218.8–220.3   |  | <i>buddhi</i> , <i>manah</i> , <i>ahaṅkāra</i> plus the <i>daśendriyas</i> form the <i>trayo-daśakaraṇas</i> (40.18–22)   |
|   |  | Correspondences between deities and parts of the body (41)  |
|   |  | The mind ( <i>ambāk</i> ) and the body are called <i>aṅgapradhāna</i> ; pleasure and pain are experienced through the <i>daśendriyas</i> . By retracting them, through <i>prayogasandhi</i> , into the mind, and then into <i>pramāṇa</i> , into <i>pramāṇaviśeṣa</i> , into <i>dharmaviśeṣa</i> , into <i>antaviśeṣa</i> , into <i>anantaviśeṣa</i> , the <i>ātman</i> is released. Example of the arrow kept in track by <i>samyag-jñāna</i> . A further reincarnation in heaven, hell or as a human being is possible (42) |
|   |  | The three <i>guṇas</i> should be burnt by <i>samādhi</i> in order to acquire <i>samyag-jñāna</i> . The <i>prayogasandhi</i> is the arrow, <i>samyagjñāna</i> the feather, <i>brata</i> , <i>tapa</i> , <i>yoga</i> and <i>samādhi</i> the bow (43)  |
| Doubt of Kumāra: the <i>ātman</i> of one who sleeps still lives in spite of the fact that the nature of sleep is <i>acetanā</i> (230.3–5) | Doubt of Vṛhaspati about the <i>ātman</i> during sleep becoming <i>acetana</i> , thus like death; therefore <i>cetana</i> is not the embodiment of <i>ātman</i> , because a sleeping person comes to life again. Reply: <i>ātman</i> is in <i>pradhānatattva</i> during sleep (47.23–34)                 |   |
|   | Question about the relation between <i>ātman</i> and <i>pradhānatattva</i> in connection with remembering and forgetting. Reply: <i>acetana</i> is made by <i>cetana</i> , like the potter, the pot and the clay (47.35–52); debate over existence and non-existence applied to <i>viśeṣa</i> (47.53–68) |   |
|   | <i>paramārtha</i> as existent and not non-existent, though invisible (48); its existence proved through the example of invisible things that yet exist (milk in butter, fire in wood, water in clouds, wind in space, <i>guṇas</i> in the body) (49.1–18)  |   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i> |
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| <p>Explanation: the <i>daśabāyus</i> keep the body alive, operating through the three main <i>nāḍis</i> (230.6–234.9)<br/>cf. (288.11–288.18), 328.15–330.15</p> <p>A person die when the fruits of <i>dharmādharma</i> have expired (234.10–236.12)<br/>Objection: the fruits of karma are not seen by means of direct perception (236.13–238.3)<br/>Reply: example of the course of the sun illustrating something that is true in spite of not being seen. Validity of the three <i>pramāṇas</i>; refutation of random causation (238.3–240.12)<br/>Explanation of the beings' engagement in <i>dharmādharma</i>; the connection of the <i>ātman</i> with the body is due to the enjoyment of pleasures through the intellect; fifty <i>vṛttis</i> of the mind; the variety of beings. The <i>vṛttis</i> are listed: these are the <i>caturaiśvāryas</i> along with their opposites; the <i>pañcaviṇṣṭi</i>; the twenty-eight <i>aśaktis</i>; the nine <i>tuṣṭis</i>; the <i>aṣṭasiddhis</i> (240.13–242.8)</p> | <p>The <i>pañcabāyus</i> act as bond for the <i>ātman</i>, so that a person who sleeps does not die (49.18–26)<br/><i>prayogasandhi</i> (50.1–6)<br/>Doubt of Vṛhaspati about the division of <i>cetana</i>, which is <i>jñānasvabhāva</i>, into two, i.e. knower and known (50.7–14)<br/><i>cetana</i> is of three varieties: <i>para-maśivatattva</i>, <i>sadāśivatattva</i>, <i>śiva-tattva</i>. The knowledge of men is limited. <i>ātmatattva</i>: <i>cetana</i> experiences, <i>māyātattva</i> is experienced (50.15–34); <i>Māyā</i> covers the powers of the <i>ātman</i>, i.e. <i>sarvajña</i> and <i>sarvakāryakartā</i> (50.35–36); <i>pradhāna</i> is a product of <i>māyātattva</i>. <i>puruṣa</i> interpreted as <i>puruṣe</i>. The <i>ātman</i> becomes <i>puruṣa</i>. Definition of <i>viśeṣa</i> as <i>alakṣaṇa</i> (50.36–68)<br/>Question about the right means to attain <i>viśeṣa</i> (51)<br/>Liberation is obtained through <i>jñānābhyudreka</i>, <i>indriyayogamārga</i>, <i>tṛṣṇadoṣākṣaya</i>. Characteristics of <i>cetana</i> (52.1–13)<br/>Objection: death and liberation from suffering of life means release (52.14–22)<br/>Reply: example of the course of the sun illustrating something that is true in spite of not being seen. Validity of the three <i>pramāṇas</i> (52.23–42)<br/>cf. 24.16–20</p> | <p>cf. 42–44</p>   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>  | <i>Tattvajñāna</i> |
|--|---|--------------------|
| <p>Explanation of the <i>caturaiśvarya</i> (242.9–244.6) and their opposites (244.7–244.16); fruits of the former (246.1–246.15) and of the latter (246.16–250.9); <i>pañcaviṇṣṭyāyā</i> (250.10–252.16); the nine <i>tuṣṭis</i> (252.17–256.9); eight <i>siddhis</i>, the three kinds of pain (256.10–260.7); twenty-eight <i>aśaktis</i> (260.8–268.13)</p> <p><i>trikāya paramārtha</i>; devotion towards the Lord; false masters; misery of incarnated beings; opportunity to get released applies only to humans, not to animals (268.14–272.14)</p> <p>Explanation of the <i>vāsanās</i> and the outcomes in low or high incarnations; example of the perfume sticking to the pot even after it has been washed (272.15–274.18)</p> <p>The Lord experiences <i>saṃsāra</i>; account of His former incarnations as Nīllohita (276.1–276.13); as Pātañjala, the eldest among the five Ṛṣi-brothers (276.13–280.4); as Śrīkaṇṭha (280.4–280.20)</p> <p>Unpleasantness of the life of incarnated beings; liberation is the supreme pleasure, which means being one with the Lord Paramakāraṇa (280.21–282.4)</p> <p>Paramakāraṇa and His Powers: <i>vi-bhūśakti</i>, i.e. <i>avaśya</i>, <i>anāvaśya</i>; <i>jñānaśakti</i>, i.e. <i>dūradarśana</i>, <i>dūra-śravaṇa</i>, <i>durāt manana</i>, <i>durāt ma-sarvajñāta</i>; <i>kriyāśakti</i>, i.e. <i>manojavi-tvaṃ</i>, <i>vikaraṇadharmitva</i>, <i>kāmarū-pitvaṃ</i>; <i>prabhuśakti</i>, i.e. <i>abhītaḥ</i>, <i>a-kṣayaḥ</i>, <i>ajaraḥ</i>, <i>amaraḥ</i>, <i>apratihata-gatiḥ</i> (282.5–284.16)</p> <p>A yogīśvara manifests the powers of the Lord within himself; affection of the Lord causes <i>mala</i> to disappear from the yogin; <i>prayogasandhi</i> and <i>samādhi</i> cause the manifestation of such powers (286.1–288.18)</p> | <p>cf. 25–33</p> <p>Condition of the <i>ātman</i> at the time of death, united with the three <i>guṇas</i>, the lower <i>tattvas</i> and the <i>vāsanās</i>; <i>citta</i> attached to the body is the cause of rebirth. <i>sūkṣmaśarīra</i> goes to hell if the karma is bad; if good, it goes to heaven; if neutral, it incarnates in a human being, possibly an ascetic (52.42–69)</p> <p>cf. 3.6–9</p> <p>cf. 14.26–32 (not mentioning Pātañjala and his brothers)</p> <p>Asceticism consists in <i>karma</i>, <i>jñāna</i>, <i>yoga</i>. Knowledge is of three kinds: <i>gurutaḥ</i>, <i>śāstrataḥ</i>, <i>svataḥ</i> (52.70–88)</p> <p>cf. 14 (only <i>jñānaśakti</i>)</p> |                    |

Śloka 2: definition of yoga as *citta-vṛttinirodha* (290.3–8)

*vṛttis* of the mind (290.9–292.12); *samprajñāta*- and *asamprajñāta-samādhi*, with their intermediary stages and the characteristics of the mind (292.13–294.13); entities called *videha* and *prakṛtilīna* (294.14–296.7); marks of purity (296.8–298.1). Quarter of śloka 3: supernatural prowess resulting from three kinds of *sambega* (298.2–12)

Efficacy of *īśvarapraṇidhāna* (298.13–18)

Śloka 4: the yogin is untouched by *kleśas*, karma, fruition or latent deposits; hence, he becomes *sarvajña* and *sarvakāryakartā* (298.19–300.12); debate with the opponent about the *ātman* and the universe (300.16–19)

An easy means to obtain the body of the Lord is the murmuring of the syllable OM (302.1–302.8)

Śloka 5: the *vighnas* and the *saṃskāras* (302.9–304.15)

The *kleśas*, stemming from ignorance (304.16–306.10); their cure is (*brata*, *prāṇāyāmayoga* or *asamprajñātasamādhi*; *mala* is burnt (306.11–308.12)

*aṣṭāṅgayoga*: *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *pratyāhāra*, *prāṇāyāma*, *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi* (308.13–17)

Detailed explanation of *yamas* (308.18–310.9) and *niyamas* (310.10–312.3). The two are only one series; fruits of *yamas* (312.4–17); fruits of *niyamas* (312.18–314.2)

The places for performing yoga; the *āsanas* (*padmāsana*, *bhadrāsana*, *svastikāsana*); brief definition of *prāṇāyāma* (*recaka*, *pūraka*, *kumbhaka*), *pratyāhāra*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi* (314.3–320.3)

Liberation is caused by constant practice of *samādhi*, not by initiation (320.3–10)

*ṣaḍaṅgayoga* (53): *pratyāhāra* (54), *dhyāna* (55), *prāṇāyāma* (56), *dhāraṇa* (57), *tarka* (58), *samādhi*, which is the end of *caturkalpanā* (59)

*daśaśīla*, i.e. one series constituted by *yamas* and *niyamas* (60–61.1–14)

*prayogasandhi*: *āsana*, *prāṇāyāma*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāraṇa*, *dhyāna*, *tarka*, *samādhi*. *sandhi* means *caturdhyāna*, i.e. *tiṣṭhan*, *bhojan*, *gacchan*, *sup-tan* (44.1–9)

*āsanas* listed: *padmāsana*, *vajrāsana*, *paryāṅkāsana*, *svastikāsana*, *vidyāsana*, *daṇḍāsana* (44.9–11); explanation of *prāṇāyāmayoga* (*recaka*, *pūraka*, *kumbhaka*) (44.11–30); brief definition of *pratyāhārayoga*, *dhyānayoga*, *prāṇāyāmayoga*, *dhāraṇayoga*, *tarkayoga* (45.1–13)

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>   |
|--|--|--|
| Description of <i>saṁyama</i> applied to various elements to obtain specific <i>siddhis</i> (320.11–326.7)   | cf. 64   |  |
| Various kinds of <i>upasargas</i> (326.8–328.3)  | cf. 74   | cf. 46–47  |
| A means to achieve the end of suffering is to separate the unevolved matter from the Soul, or the mind from the Soul; by means of <i>prayogasandhi</i> the yogin cuts <i>dharmādharmā</i> and enter another man; <i>saṁyama</i> applied towards the <i>ekādaśendriyas</i> bestows the <i>aṣṭaiśvaryas</i> , i.e. <i>aṇimā</i> , <i>laghimā</i> , <i>mahimā</i> , <i>prāpti</i> , <i>prākāmya</i> , <i>īśitva</i> , <i>vaśitva</i> , <i>yatrakāmāvasāyitva</i> (328.4–330.15) | cf. 66–74  | cf. 59   |
| <i>vighnas</i> (332.1–15)  | cf. 59   | The division into <i>caturkalpanā</i> ends, the <i>ātman</i> is pure like a gem and all the <i>tattvas</i> , along with the good and bad karma, are burnt. This is explained as <i>dhāraṇayoga</i> (45.13–28)                  |
|  | Through <i>samādhi</i> guarded by the <i>daśaśīla</i> the yogin attains the gnosis known as <i>tūryapada</i> ; when free from the body and <i>māyātattva</i> , it is called <i>tūryāntapada</i> , i.e. <i>jīvanmukta</i> . The <i>karmavāsanās</i> that have not yet been destroyed are burnt by yogic fire, as well as <i>mala</i> (61.14–20) | The ॐ that is in the heart dissolves into <i>śivatattva</i> ; <i>citta</i> is released from <i>aṅgapradhāna</i> , concentrated into the <i>sūkṣma</i> . That is in the <i>tūryapada</i> (46.1–8)                               |
|  | When <i>jāgrapada</i> comes together with <i>tūryapada</i> , there appear the <i>saptāṅga</i> , <i>saptāgni</i> , <i>saptāmṛta</i> (61.20–23); <i>saptāṅga</i> : <i>pañcamahābhūta</i> , <i>buddhi</i> , <i>manah</i> (62)   | When <i>tūryapada</i> and <i>jāgrapada</i> meet, there occurs <i>abhisandhi</i> , i.e. the separation of <i>pradhāna</i> from <i>puruṣa</i> (46.8–13); <i>saptāṅga</i> , <i>saptāmṛta</i> and <i>saptāgni</i> arise (46.13–20) |
|  | <i>saptāgni</i> : <i>ghrātā</i> , <i>rasayitā</i> , <i>draṣṭā</i> , <i>spraṣṭā</i> , <i>śrotā</i> , <i>mantā</i> , <i>boddhā</i> (63)  | cf. above  |
|  | <i>saptāmṛta</i> : <i>śabda</i> , <i>sparśa</i> , <i>rūpa</i> , <i>gandha</i> , <i>saṅkalpa</i> , <i>boddhavya</i> . When <i>saṁyama</i> is applied to these, and the yogin's attention is fixed upon the Lord, he obtains His body (64)   | cf. above  |
|  | <i>śivāgni</i> burns all the sins and <i>vāsanās</i> left in the yogin, who attains the <i>aṣṭaiśvaryas</i> (65)   | The yogīśvara acquires supernatural faculties here in this world. But the <i>upasargas</i> , i.e. <i>vāsanās</i> of the three <i>guṇas</i> , still stick to the body (46.20–29)  |
|  | <i>aṣṭaiśvaryas</i> (66), consisting in <i>aṇimā</i> (67), <i>laghimā</i> (68), <i>mahimā</i> (69), <i>prāpti</i> (70), <i>prākāmya</i> (71), <i>īśitva</i> (72), <i>vaśitva</i> (72), <i>yatrakāmāvasāyitva</i> (73)  | cf. 49   |

| <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>  | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>   | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>   |
|--|--|--|
| cf. 326.8–328.3  | If <i>samādhi</i> is sharp, all the <i>tattvas</i> up to the three <i>guṇas</i> are burnt. The yogin then encounters the <i>upasargas</i> of <i>sattva</i> , i.e. the powers of <i>darśana</i> , <i>śravaṇa</i> , <i>prajñā</i> , <i>bodhdhavya</i> , <i>gandha</i> ; those of <i>rajaḥ</i> ; those of <i>tamaḥ</i> . The remedies are listed, and practice of <i>samādhi</i> is recommended (74.4–35) | Descriptions of the various kinds of <i>upasargas</i> . These are burnt by <i>samādhi</i> , and the <i>yogīśvara</i> remains with a spotless mind. That is <i>tarkayoga</i> (47)<br><br>He becomes like <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , he is <i>sarvajña</i> , <i>sarvakāryakartā</i> , and is endowed with <i>jñānaśakti</i> , <i>vibhuśakti</i> , <i>prabhuśakti</i> , <i>kriyāśakti</i> . He is freed from <i>karmavipākāśaya</i> (48.1–11); <i>cetana</i> is in <i>viśeṣa</i> , <i>antaviśeṣa</i> , <i>tūryāntapada</i> ; the <i>ātman</i> leaves behind all dichotomies, such as <i>vyāpāra</i> and <i>nirvyāpāra</i> , being and non-being, omniscience and omnipotence; it is just <i>niṣprayojana</i> . That is <i>samādhi</i> (48.11–20) |
| cf. 328.4–330.15   | cf. 66–72  | The yogin obtains the <i>aṣṭaiśvarya</i> s, which are explained (49)<br><br>Also the <i>vāsanās</i> of the <i>sattva</i> are consumed: the yogin remembers and returns to <i>sadāśivatattva</i> , being released from the five elements through <i>prayogasandhi</i> , using <i>brata</i> , <i>tapa</i> , <i>yoga</i> and <i>samādhi</i> (50)  |
| Elaborate debate with an opponent on non-existence as origin and dissolution of the Universe; stages of creation from phonemic emanation: <i>niṣkala</i> , <i>nāda</i> , <i>vinḍu</i> , <i>ardha-candra</i> , <i>om-kāra</i> , <i>tryakṣara</i> , <i>pañcākṣara</i> ; continuation of the debate on ontology (332.16–338.13) |  |  |





## B: Parallel Synopses of the Yogapāda of the DhPāt and the YS[Bh]

Dharma Pātāñjala

Yogasūtra / [Yogasūtrabhāṣya]

Śloka 2: definition of yoga as *cittavṛttinirodha*; the Soul only shines forth. The true nature of the Soul obtained through yoga is the supreme pleasure (290.3–8)

When yoga is not performed, the Soul is experienced; but that is only *citta* (and not the Soul), because it has one object. The Lord replies listing the functions (*vṛtti*) which are the causes of the mind: *grahaṇa*, *viparyaya*, *vikalpa*, *nidrā*, *smṛti* (290.9–14)

*Grahaṇa* is *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama* (290.15–16)

cf. 196.15–198.11

Deliberation is when one acts on account of the word of others or of the holy scriptures, which, for example, attribute motion to the Soul. To explain this, the example of the arrow coming to a standstill is employed (290.17–292.4)

*Nidrā* is when the consciousness is like totally vanished; when there is *svapnajñāna*, the object of the thoughts is another, and the mind remembers about that (292.4–9)

Memory is remembering about something that was formerly experienced (292.10–12)

When the five functions are obstructed, one enters *samādhi*, which is *samprajñāta* and *asamprajñāta*. *samprajñāta* is restrained by either one or more elements of a series of four, namely *śavīrkaśamādhi*, *śavīcārasamādhi*, *śamītasamādhi*, *ānandasamādhi*. *asamprajñātasamādhi*, which follows *samprajñātasamādhi*, is when none of those is present (292.13–294.4)

The mind has five characteristics: *kṣīpta*, *vikṣīpta*, *vimūḍha*, *nīrodha*, *ekagraha*; of these, only the *akāgra* and *nīrodha* constitute stages of *samādhi* (294.5–13)

According to an opponent, when the mind is pure, that is *samādhi*, and hence yoga; the Lord replies referring to the existence of the categories of yogins called *videha* and *prakṛtilīna*; these desire to obtain release and will eventually return to the cycle of existence. They still enjoy the objects of enjoyment, though their minds are no more perceiving. Faith etc. (*śraddhā*) denotes the purity of mind, and it is not in the above categories of beings; a yogin obtains purity of mind by practicing yoga with zealousness (294.14–296.7)

Yoga is *cittavṛttinirodha* (1.2); in that state, for nothing becomes an object of consciousness, the Soul abides in itself (1.3)

At other times (when yoga is not performed) the Soul takes the same form as the functions (of mind) (1.4), which are of five kinds and hindered and unhindered (1.5); they are *pramāṇa*, *viparyaya*, *vikalpa*, *nidrā*, *smṛti* (1.6)

*Pramāṇa* is *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama* (1.7)

*Viparyaya* characterized as *mithyājñāna* (1.8)

Deliberation is without any object and follows as a result of perceptions or of words (1.9). [YSBh: mention of the problem of the thinking that the Soul (*puruṣa*) has only intelligence (*caitanya*) as its property, while it does not have any property because it is intelligence; mention of the example of the arrow coming to a stop, improperly attributing the cessation of motion to the arrow]

*Nidrā* is a function supported by the cause/experience (*pratyaya*) of the negation [of the waking and dreaming functions] (1.10). [YSBh: sleep is a *pratyaya* because there exists memory of it]

Memory is not adding surreptitiously to a once experienced object (1.11)

[Absorption] is *samprajñāta* when it assumes the form of *vitarka*, *vicāra*, *asmitā*, *ānanda* (1.17). The other (*asamprajñāta*) consists of only *śamīskāras*, and follows after the cessation [of the functions] (1.18)

[YSBh 1.1: the mind has five stages, viz. *kṣīpta*, *mūḍha*, *vikṣīpta*, *ekāgra*, *niruddha*; *ekāgra* corresponds to *samprajñātasamādhi*]

[This kind of absorption characterizes] the *videhas* and *prakṛtilayas*, who still have an inclination toward becoming (1.19). [YSBh: these do not obtain a full state of isolation but are bound to return to the world; their minds experience only latent impressions]. The yogin attains [*asamprajñātasamādhi*] through *śraddhā*, *vīrya*, *smṛti*, *samādhi*, *prajñā* (1.20)

Marks of purity of mind: *maitri, karuṇā, mudītā, up-ekṣā*. The yogin's pure mind generates *vīrya, tutur* (= *smṛti*), *prajñā, samādhi* (296.8–298.1)

The yogin's mind is left behind and through absorption he attains oneness with the Lord, thereby attaining also His state of prowess. This state may be low, middle and high according to the three kinds of intensity that characterize the yogin's practice, viz. *mṛdusambega, madhyasambega, tibrasambega* (298.2–12); the *tibrasambega* is superior because it involves *īśvarapraṇidhāna* (298.13–18)

Śloka 4: the yogin obtains the Lord's body, which is eternally untouched by *kleśas*, karma, *vipāka* and *āśaya*, becoming *sarvajña* and *sarvakāryakartā*; the Lord's sovereignty is unsurpassed (298.19–300.12). The *ātman* perceives in a sentient way and is free from the *kleśas* (300.16–19)

An easy means to obtain the body of the Lord is the continuous murmuring of the syllable om; by way of it, all the hindrances disappear (302.1–8)

Śloka 5: The *vighnas* to the performances of yoga and five *saṃskāras* are mentioned (302.9–304.15)

The five *kleśas*: *avidyā, asmitā, rāga, dveṣa, abhiniveśa* (304.16–306.10)

Their cure is (*brata, prāṇāyāmayoga, samprajñāta* or *asamprajñātasamādhi*; suffering endured by beings provided with a body, and desire of the yogin to escape; *mala* is burnt through the above stages of practice and the Lord's body is obtained (306.11–308.12)

*aṣṭāṅgayoga*: *yama, niyama, āsana, pratyāhāra, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi* (308.13–17)

Explanation of *yamas*: *ahiṃsā, satya, asteya, brahmacarya, aparigraha*; one who does never kill, irrespective of the circumstances is one who follows the *mahāvratā* (308.18–310.9)

Explanation of *niyamas*: *śauca, santoṣa, tapas, svādhyāya, īśvarapraṇidhāna* (310.10–312.3)

The two are to be regarded as one series of ten. Fruits of *yamas* (312.4–17); fruits of *niyamas* (312.18–314.2)

The right places for performing yoga and the *āsanas* (*padmāsana, bhadrāsana, svastikāsana*) (314.3–316.3)

The yogin's posture being comfortable, he performs *pratyāhāra*, withdrawing the organs from their domains, and achieves tranquillity of mind and one-pointedness (316.4–12)

Definition of *prāṇāyāma* as *recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka* (316.12–318.8)

The yogin attains the undisturbed calm of the mind by cultivating *maitri, karuṇā, mudītā, upekṣā* (1.33). Cf. also 1.20

[Absorption] is attained by *tīvra*- (1.21) and *mṛdu*- or *madhya*- (1.22) *saṃvega*; or by *īśvarapraṇidhāna* (1.23)

Not touched by *kleśas*, karma, *vipāka* and *āśaya*, the Lord is a special kind of Soul (1.24). [YSBh: Īśvara's relation to isolation is not bound to time but eternal; His sovereignty is unsurpassed]. In the Lord the germ of omniscience is at its outmost excellence (1.25)

The word expressing the Lord is the mystic syllable (*praṇava*) (1.27), which should be reflected upon and repeatedly recited by the yogin (1.28)

The hindrances (1.29) and their five accompaniments (1.30)

[≈ YSBh 1.8]

*aṣṭāṅgayoga*: *yama, niyama, āsana, prāṇāyāma, pratyāhāra, dhāraṇā, dhyāna, samādhi* (2.29)

Explanation of (the same list of) *yamas* (2.30) [and YSBh]; one who does never kill, irrespective of the circumstances follows the *mahāvratā* (2.31) [and YSBh]

Explanation of (the same list of) *niyamas* (2.32) [and YSBh]

Fruits of *yamas* and *niyamas* (2.35–45)

Stable and easy posture (2.46); *padmāsana, bhadrāsana, svastikāsana, daṇḍāsana* [YSBh]

cf. 2.49 and 2.54 (*pratyāhāra*)

The yogin's posture being comfortable, he performs *prāṇāyāma* (2.49), which is characterized as *recaka, pūraka, kumbhaka* [YSBh]

Definition of *dhāraṇā* as fixation of the mind on a single point, resulting in *ekāgra* (318.9–12)

Mention of *dhyāna*, brief characterization of *samādhi* as *dhyāna* transforming the mind into its object (i.e. the Lord) (318.13–16)

The eight subsidiaries of yoga constitute external subsidiaries of *samprajñātasamādhi*, hence they do not lead directly to liberation; that is when *sahajamala* vanishes by way of constant practice of *samādhi*, and not by initiation (318.16–320.10)

*dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* joined together are *saṁyama*, which serves the purpose of realizing the state of supernatural prowess; the way the yogin should apply *saṁyama* is from below and not directly to the upper *tattvas* (320.11–322.7)

If the yogin wishes to obtain specific *siddhis* he should apply *saṁyama* upon various elements or beings, e.g.: a lion or an eagle, thereby obtaining their power; his own karmic lot of good and bad deeds, thereby knowing the moment of his death; the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*) below the soft palate, thereby obtaining insensibility to hunger and thirst; the *udāna* wind, thereby being able to see the Siddhas and the Gods and obtaining invincibility against his opponents; the *samāna* wind, thereby transforming his body into fire; the eye of other beings, thereby becoming invisible to them; *kapok*, thereby becoming able to fly on account of his lightness; the five gross elements (whose respective 'conquest' is described), thereby obtaining eternal youth (322.7–326.7)

Various kinds of *upasargas* are met by the yogin; these are the *vāsanās* of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, characterized, respectively, by insight, quickness, heaviness; description of their outcomes, which are supernatural (*sattva* and *rajas*) or causing sickness (*tamas*); remedies to cure the latter situation (326.8–328.3)

A means to achieve the end of suffering is to separate either the unevolved matter or the mind from the Soul; by means of *prayogasandhi* the yogin cuts *dharmādharmā* and enter another man (328.11–19)

*saṁyama* applied to the *ekādaśendriyas* bestows the *aṣṭaiśvaryas*, i.e. *aṇimā*, *laghimā*, *mahimā*, *prāpti*, *prākāmya*, *iśitva*, *vaśitva*, *yatrakāmāvasāyitva* (328.19–330.15)

The *vighnas* arise: the yogin should refuse invitation of celestial beings to follow them to heaven and enjoy pleasures, for they ultimately lead to the suffering of reincarnation; he should continue his meditation (332.1–15)

*dhāraṇā* is fixing the mind on a single place (3.1)

Description of *dhyāna* (3.2) and then *samādhi* (3.3), which is *dhyāna* shining forth as the contemplated object only, emptied of itself

The three in one are called *saṁyama* (3.4), which should be applied by stages (3.6)

If the yogin wishes to obtain specific *siddhis* he should apply *saṁyama* upon various elements or beings, e.g.: the three *guṇas* (3.16); the distinction between word, object and presented idea (3.17); latent impressions (3.18); a presented idea (3.19); the outer form of the body (3.21); the karmic lot, resulting in knowledge of the moment of his own death (3.22); friendliness (3.23); powers, like that of an elephant (3.24), or of Garuḍa [YSBh]; sense-activity (3.25); the sun (3.26); the moon (3.27); the pole-star (3.28); the *cakra* of the navel (3.29); the well of the throat, thereby obtaining insensibility to hunger and thirst (3.30); the *kūrma*-vessel (3.31); the radiance of the head (3.32–33); the heart (3.34); that which exists for it sown sake (3.35–36); [...] the *udāna* wind (3.39); the *samāna* wind, resulting in radiance (3.40); the organ of hearing and the space (3.41); the relation between the body and the air, or the lightness of the cotton-fibre, resulting in the ability to fly (3.42)

In *samādhi* the supernatural powers are *upasargas* (3.37)

As a result of the dwindling of the bondage of karma, the yogin penetrates into the body of another (3.38) [and YSBh 3.43]

*saṁyama* applied on the gross, the essence, the subtle and purposefulness results in subjugation of the elements (3.44); that is followed by the powers such as *aṇiman*, etc. (3.45) [explained one by one in the YSBh]

The yogin, being invited by celestial beings, should resist attachment and pride, for undesired consequences will follow (3.51)



## C: Transliteration Tables

### Vowels (including *visarga* and *anusvāra*)

| Roman     | Akṣara | Vocalizations |                     |                             |           |
|-----------|--------|---------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
|           |        | Superscript   | Parallel            |                             | Subscript |
|           |        |               | Before<br>consonant | After consonant<br>/ Akṣara |           |
| a         | अ      |               |                     |                             |           |
| ā         | आ      | ँ or ॠ        |                     | ँ or ॠ                      |           |
| i         | इ      | ि             |                     |                             |           |
| ī         | ई      | ि +           |                     | ँ or ॠ                      |           |
| ə         |        | ॢ             |                     |                             |           |
| ē         |        | ॢ +           |                     | ँ or ॠ                      |           |
| u         | उ      |               |                     |                             | ॣ         |
| ū         | ऊ      | ॣ + ँ or ॠ    |                     | ँ or ॠ +                    | ॣ         |
| e         | ए      |               | ॥                   |                             |           |
| ai        | ऐ      | ँ or ॠ +      | ॥                   |                             |           |
| o         | ओ or ॡ |               | ॥ +                 | ँ or ॠ                      |           |
| au        |        | ँ or ॠ +      | ॥ +                 | ँ or ॠ                      |           |
| ṛ (> rə)  | ॠ      |               |                     |                             |           |
| ṛ̥ (> lə) | ॠ      |               |                     |                             |           |
| ṁ (> ṇ)   |        | ं             |                     |                             |           |
| ḥ (> h)   |        |               |                     | ः                           |           |

## Consonants

| Roman | Akṣara | Sub-script | Roman | Akṣara | Sub-script | Parallel | Superscript |
|-------|--------|------------|-------|--------|------------|----------|-------------|
| Ka    | क      | का         | Pa    | प      |            | प        |             |
| Ga    | ग      | गा         | Pha   | फ      |            | फ        |             |
| Gha   | गघ     | गघ         | Ba    | ब      | ब          |          |             |
| Ña    | ङ      | ङ          | Bha   | भ      | भ          |          |             |
| Ca    | च      | च          | Ma    | म      | म          |          |             |
| Ja    | ज      | ज          | Ya    | य      | य          |          |             |
| Ña    | झ      | झ          | Ra    | र      | र          |          | र or र      |
| Ṭa    | ट      | ट          | La    | ल      | ल          | ल        |             |
| Ṭā    | Ṭ      |            | Va    | व      | व          |          |             |
| Ṇa    | ण      | ण          | Śa    | ष      |            |          |             |
| Ta    | त      | त          | Ṣa    | स      | स          |          |             |
| Tha   | थ      | थ          | Sa    | ह      |            | ह        |             |
| Da    | ड      | ड          | Ha    | ह      | ह          | ह        |             |
| Na    | न      | न          |       |        |            |          |             |

## Other signs

| Roman | Akṣara | Function / (Name)                              | Roman | Akṣara | Function            |
|-------|--------|--|-------|--------|---------------------|
| .     | ॠ      | vowel-killer<br>( <i>virāma</i> )              | ◌     | ◌      | punctuation<br>mark |
| ,     | ॡ      | standard punctua-<br>tion mark ( <i>pada</i> ) | ◌     | ॢ      | punctuation<br>mark |
| §     | ॣ      | line-filler                                    | oṃ    | ॐ or ॐ | the syllable oṃ     |

SIGLA





## General

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| BEFEO  | <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient</i>  |
| BG     | Bataviaasch Genootschap  |
| BKI    | <i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>  |
| BSOAS  | <i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>  |
| C      | Consonant  |
| Ca     | Consonant with inherent vowel <i>a</i>   |
| CP     | Caryāpāda  |
| E      | ENSINK   |
| EFEO   | École Française d'Extrême Orient   |
| GOML   | Government Oriental Manuscript Library of Madras   |
| H      | HOOPYKAAS  |
| IAIC   | International Academy of Indian Culture  |
| IFP    | Institut Français de Pondichéry  |
| K      | Kirya (Singaraja)  |
| KITLV  | Koninklijke Instituut for Taal-, Land- end Volkenkunde   |
| KP     | Kriyāpāda  |
| LOr    | Leiden Oriental  |
| MS     | Manuscript   |
| NAK    | Nepal Archives Kathmandu   |
| NGMPP  | Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project   |
| OJ     | Old Javanese   |
| OJO    | Oud Javaanse Oorkoonde (cf. BRANDES 1913)  |
| PNRI   | Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia   |
| PusDok | Pusat Dokumentasi Budaya Bali (Denpasar)   |
| Skt    | Sanskrit   |
| StSt   | Stuti and Stava (cf. GOUDRIAAN and HOOPYKAAS 1971)   |
| TBG    | <i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i> |
| V      | Vowel  |
| VP     | Vidyāpāda  |
| YP     | Yogapāda   |

## Dictionaries

|      |  |
|------|--|
| BED  | <i>Balinese-English Dictionary</i> (cf. SHADEG 2007)                       |
| JED  | <i>Javanese-English Dictionary</i> (cf. ROBSON and WIBISONO 2002)          |
| KBNW | <i>Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek</i> (cf. v.D. TUUK 1896–1912) |
| MW   | MONIER-WILLIAMS' (1899) <i>Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i>                 |
| OJED | <i>Old Javanese-English Dictionary</i> (cf. ZOETMULDER 1982)               |

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| PSW    | Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (cf. BÖTHLINGK and ROTH 1855–75)        |
| TĀK I  | <i>Tāntrikābhīdhānakōśa</i> I (cf. BRUNNER, OBERHAMMER and PADOUX 2000)  |
| TĀK II | <i>Tāntrikābhīdhānakōśa</i> II (cf. BRUNNER, OBERHAMMER and PADOUX 2004) |

### *Titles*

|         |                                     |        |                                 |
|---------|-------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------------|
| AgPar   | <i>Agastyaparva</i>                 | RSS    | <i>Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha</i>     |
| AV      | <i>Arjunavivāha</i>                 | SBSS   | <i>Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha</i> |
| BhPitu  | <i>Bhuvana Pitu</i>                 | SHH    | <i>Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu</i>            |
| DhPāt   | <i>Dharma Pātañjala</i>             | SHK    | <i>Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan</i>   |
| Gaṇ     | <i>Gaṇapatitattva</i>               | SiGu   | <i>Sikṣa Guru</i>               |
| GauḍBh  | Gauḍapāda's <i>Bhāṣya</i> on the SK | SJñUtt | <i>Sarvajñānottara</i>          |
| JS      | <i>Jñānasiddhānta</i>               | SK     | <i>Sāṅkhyakārikā</i>            |
| KK      | <i>Kuñjarakarṇa</i> (prose)         | SKK    | <i>Sikṣa Kandaṅ Karāṣian</i>    |
| MatPār  | <i>Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama</i>       | Sut    | <i>Sutasoma</i>                 |
| Mṛg     | <i>Mṛgendratāntra</i>               | SvT    | <i>Svacchandatantra</i>         |
| MVUt    | <i>Mālinīvijayottaratantra</i>      | TĀdh   | <i>Tutur Ādhyātmika</i>         |
| NBG     | Notulen van de BG                   | TanKām | <i>Tantri Kāmaṇḍakan</i>        |
| NiGuhya | <i>Niśvāsaguhya</i>                 | TigaJñ | <i>Tiga Jñāna</i>               |
| NiKār   | <i>Niśvāsakārikā</i>                | TJ     | <i>Tattvajñāna</i>              |
| NiMukha | <i>Niśvāsamukha</i>                 | TK     | <i>Tutur Kamokṣan</i>           |
| NR      | <i>Navaruci</i>                     | VraŚā  | <i>Vratīśāsana</i>              |
| NT      | <i>Netratāntra</i>                  | Vṛh    | <i>Vṛhaspatitattva</i>          |
| PS      | <i>Pāśupatasūtra</i>                | YD     | <i>Yuktidīpikā</i>              |
| PBh     | <i>Pañcārthabhāṣya</i>              | YS     | <i>Yogasūtra</i>                |
| RCar    | <i>Rasa Carita</i>                  | YSBh   | <i>Yogasūtrabhāṣya</i>          |

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(With Aghoraśiva's *Vṛtti*) cf. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*.

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*Ratnaṭīkā* of Bhāsarvajña cf. *Gaṇakārikā*.*Ratnatrayaparīkṣā* of Śrīkaṇṭha cf. *Aṣṭaprakaraṇa*.*Rājamārtanḍa* of Bhoja cf. *Yogasūtra* (3).*Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki

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### Other Languages

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## INDEX OF SELECTED WORDS



This index covers the most important and interesting words (in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese) that appear in the *Dharma Pātañjala*, and/or that have been discussed in Part III. It does not include those words that appear in the philological commentary of Part I (pp. 53–81), in the Diplomatic Edition and in the Translation—these last can be easily found by consulting the relevant entries referring to the Critical Edition, which faces the Translation on even-numbered pages). Proper names are not italicized and appear with initial capital. Italicized page numbers refer to occurrences in the Critical Edition.

- abhiniveśa* ‘obsession’ 300, 306, 482, 498, 506, 507.  
*abhivivakti* ‘manifestation’ (of the divine qualities of the Lord in the yogin) 286, 288, 366, 410, 411, 413, 547, 570; (of right knowledge) 411.  
*āgama* ‘reliable testimony of scripture’, ‘revelation’ 29, 208, 210, 236, 348, 552, 555, 578, 622, 633.  
*Agastya* 339, 372, 373.  
*ahaṅkāra* ‘self-awareness’ 30, 212, 216, 220, 226, 316, 329, 395, 409, 425–429, 439, 448, 450–453, 462, 463, 620–626.  
*aiśvarya* ‘Sovereignty’ (a Power of *buddhi*) 244, 246, 250, 364, 441, 444, 449, 622; (property of the Lord) 361, 362; *kaiśvāryan*, ‘supernatural prowess’ 286, 300, 359, 498, 528.  
*ākasmika* ‘accidental’ 593.  
*ākasmikatvavāda* ‘doctrine of accidentality’ 594.  
*ānandasamādhi* ‘blissful absorption’ 37, 292, 494, 633.  
*aṇḍabhuvana* ‘Egg-World’ 31, 204, 206, 222, 224, 226, 330, 429, 431, 623.  
*aṇiman/aṇimā* ‘miniaturization’ 41, 328, 330, 362, 444, 483, 533, 535, 537, 543, 620, 630, 634, 635.  
*anumāna* ‘inference’ 25, 29, 208, 210, 236, 238, 244, 290, 444, 468, 552, 554, 567, 577, 578, 622, 633; of the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* kind 468, 555, 567–570, 578, 596.  
*aśakti* ‘disability’ 33, 242, 260, 262, 264, 268, 378, 441, 442, 445, 627, 628.  
*asamprajñātasamādhi* ‘non-cognitive absorption’ 37, 292, 294, 306, 318, 482, 490, 495, 629, 633.  
*āsana* ‘yogic posture’ 39, 40, 308, 314, 316, 482, 511, 512, 519, 629, 634; ‘throne’ 352, 357, 360, 361, 364, 426, 542, 620.  
*asmitā* ‘egoicity’ 38, 300, 304, 306, 482, 489–491, 498, 506, 633, 634.  
*asmitāsamādhi* ‘egoic absorption’ 37, 292, 494, 633.  
*aṣṭaguṇas* ‘eight supernatural powers’ 257, 418, 419, 482, 534, 535, 536; ‘eight qualities’ (of *buddhi*) 442.  
*aṣṭaiśvarya* (= *aṣṭaguṇa*) 41, 246, 252, 328, 330, 418, 445, 447, 534, 543, 620, 624, 630.  
*aṣṭāṅga yoga* ‘yoga of the six ancillaries’ VII, 39, 318, 510, 477, 482, 511, 512, 629, 634.  
*aṣṭaśaktis* ‘eight powers’ 362.  
*aṣṭasiddhis* ‘eight perfections’ (among the *pratyayas*), 33, 242, 256, 262, 264, 442, 622, 627.  
*avidyā* ‘ignorance’ 38, 300, 304, 306, 482, 486, 498, 505, 558, 559, 613, 634.  
*bhāvas* ‘qualities, predispositions’ (of *buddhi*) 441–444, 448, 449, 515, 557, 599.  
*Bhṛṅgiriṭi* 35, 280, 369, 370.  
*bhūtacaitanyavāda* ‘doctrine of the identity between the body and consciousness’ 602, 605, 606.  
*bhūtādi* ‘origin of the gross elements’ (type of *ahaṅkāra*) 30, 216, 220, 451, 452, 622–624.  
*buddhi* ‘intellect’ 30, 212, 216, 218, 220, 226, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250, 252, 256, 260, 268, 316, 364, 403, 406–409, 425–429, 437–443, 448–451, 462–464, 493, 506,

- 520, 529, 542, 599, 620–623, 626, 630;  
'concept' 268, 570.
- caduśakti* 'Four Powers' (of the Lord) 35,  
62, 282, 356–358, 361, 414, 419, 620.
- Cārvāka* cf. *Lokāyata*.
- caturaiśvarya* 'Four Sovereign Powers' (of  
*buddhi*) 32, 242, 244, 364, 468, 476, 627.
- citta* 'mind' 196, 212, 268, 274, 280, 288,  
290, 292, 294, 296, 298, 300, 304, 306, 308,  
316, 318, 326, 328, 334, 353, 395, 407,  
408, 425, 428, 437–440, 443, 450, 451,  
481, 484, 485, 490–495, 499–503, 520–  
525, 539, 545, 605, 621–625, 628–630,  
633.
- daśabāyu/daśavāyu* 'ten bodily breaths'  
460, 625, 627.
- daśaśīla* 'ten rules of conduct' 514, 629,  
630.
- dīkṣā* 'initiation' 13, 320, 465, 528, 615.
- dūradaśana* 'seeing from afar' 35, 284,  
362, 363, 535, 536, 620, 628.
- dūrasarvajña* 'knowing everything from  
afar' 620.
- dūraśravaṇa* 'hearing from afar' 35, 284,  
362, 363, 536, 620, 628.
- dūrāt manana* 'thinking from afar' 35, 284,  
363, 620, 628.
- dūrāt masarvajñatā* 'knowing everything  
from afar' 35, 284, 628.
- ekagraha/ekāgra* 'single-minded' 37, 292,  
294, 318, 490, 633.
- golaka* 'organs' 31, 228, 230, 454–458, 625.
- grahaṇa* 'perception' 37, 290, 633.
- guṇasaṅkrānti* 'transfer of the powers' (of  
the Lord to the worshipper) 410, 412.
- īśitva* 'sovereignty' 41, 328, 330, 535, 538,  
620, 630.
- īśvarapraṇidhāna* 'fixing one's mind upon  
the Lord' 38, 39, 298, 310, 312, 314, 497,  
507, 512, 513, 624, 629, 634.
- jñāna* 'mind/heart' 32, 622, 210, 242, 258,  
292, 304, 306, 312, 314, 316, 326,  
328, 334, 525, 544, 557, 605; 'knowl-  
edge/cognition/doctrine/holy scripture'  
9, 206, 208, 210, 218, 254, 290, 354, 470,  
502, 543, 554, 557, 558, 562, 563, 611,  
622, 628; 'Knowledge' (one of the *catur-  
aiśvaryas*) 622, 242, 244, 364, 441, 443,  
444, 449, 551, 622.
- jñānaśakti* 'Power of Knowledge' 35, 206,  
282, 284, 344, 347, 356–364, 419, 500,  
574, 583, 620, 628, 631.
- kahadañhadañ* 'accidentality' 240, 593.
- kalā* 'activation' (*kañcuka*) 30, 212, 214,  
403, 404, 425–428, 620, 621; 'part' 349,  
354, 424.
- kāmarūpitva* 'ability to assume any form at  
will' 36, 284, 360, 363, 628.
- kañcukas* 'shrouds' 403, 462.
- karmasāmya* 'equality of karma' 473–475.
- kriyāśakti* 'Power of Action' 35, 282, 284,  
336, 356–364, 395, 419, 450, 500, 620–  
625, 628, 631.
- kṣipta* 'scattered' (stage of *citta*) 37, 294,  
482, 490–492, 633.
- kumbhaka* 'retention' (yogic technique) 40,  
316, 318, 521, 522, 634; name of a hell  
434.
- kuñci* 'key, bolt' (yogic technique) 316,  
521–523, 547.
- Kuśika* (one of the five *pañcarṣis*) 34, 276,  
278, 371–377; as the five *kuśikas* VII, 16,  
195, 371.
- laghiman/laghimā* 'weightlessness' 41, 328,  
330, 535, 537, 620, 630, 635.
- Lakuliśa* 371–377, 501.
- Lokāyata* 'materialist' 561, 564, 570, 584,  
591, 594–605, 610, 613–615.
- lupa* 'forgetting', 'unconscious(ness)' 214,  
230, 232, 292, 326, 407, 416, 543, 544,  
573, 574, 585, 607, 608, 611.
- mahiman/mahimā* 'enlargement' 41, 328,  
330, 535–537, 620, 630, 635.
- mala* 'maculation' 30, 40, 212, 214, 226,  
282, 286, 288, 308, 320, 391, 396–401,  
407–409, 419, 438, 470, 475, 476, 498,  
526, 619, 621, 629, 630, 634, 635.
- manas* 'mind-stuff' 30, 212, 216, 218, 220,  
226, 230, 268, 274, 316, 318, 425–429,  
439, 450–453, 462–464, 491, 520, 526,



- 529, 542, 590, 620, 623–626, 630; ‘mind, heart, thought’ 242, 248, 252, 258, 284, 306, 330, 332, 407, 446, 470, 499, 549, 551.
- manojavitva* ‘swiftness as of thought’ 36, 284, 363, 628.
- mithyājñāna* ‘wrong knowledge’ 29, 196, 198, 200, 206, 208, 306, 505, 551, 557, 559, 561, 572, 619, 633.
- nāḍī* ‘vessels’ 32, 230, 234, 450, 459, 623, 625, 627.
- Nilalohita* (incarnation of Śiva) 20, 34, 276, 367, 368, 628.
- Nilarudraka* (a Daitya) 35, 280, 368, 369, 376.
- nirṇaya* ‘determination’ 24.
- nirodha* ‘cessation’ 20, 36, 290, 480, 482, 484, 629, 633; ‘restricted’ (characteristic of *citta*) 37, 294, 490, 491, 508, 633.
- nirnimittavāda* ‘doctrine of non-causality’ 582, 590, 591, 595.
- niyamas* ‘particular commandments’ 15, 39, 308, 310, 312, 314, 450, 482, 511–515, 614, 629, 634.
- niyati* ‘necessity’ 427, 474, 590.
- pañcabāyu/pañcavāyu* ‘five breaths’ 32, 230, 232, 460, 463, 611, 627.
- pañcaśakti* ‘five powers’ 362.
- pañcaviṣyaya* ‘five kinds of error’: cf. *viṣyaya*.
- paraśarīrapraveśa* ‘entering into another body’ 545, 546.
- parīkṣā* ‘investigation from all sides’ 24.
- Pātañjala* (one of the *pañcaśis*) VII, 16, 20, 34, 276, 278, 367, 368, 371–377, 501, 628; (referring to Patañjali’s school of yoga) 439, 443, 472, 477–481, 484, 485, 490, 491, 495, 499, 508–512, 515, 521, 524, 529, 533, 535, 544.
- prabhuśakti* ‘Power of Lordship’ 36, 282, 284, 356–364, 419, 500, 620, 628, 631.
- prabhutva* ‘Lordship’ 360.
- pradhāna* ‘unevolved matter’ 30, 212, 214, 216, 226, 294, 296, 326, 328, 396, 403, 407, 408, 421, 425–428, 498, 539, 573, 575, 607, 608, 611, 620–627, 630.
- prākāmya* ‘ability to produce multiple bodies at will’ 41, 328, 330, 535, 538, 620, 630, 635.
- prakṛti* ‘unevolved matter’ 246, 336, 338, 391, 396, 398, 421, 427, 428, 437, 449, 462, 559, 575, 577, 586, 606.
- prakṛtilīna* ‘dissolved into unevolved matter’ (semi-liberated beings) 37, 407 [*līna riṇ prakṛtiloka*], 294, 334, 462, 482, 492, 493, 586, 606, 629, 633.
- prāṇa* ‘vital breath’ 32, 230, 232, 460, 463, 464, 510, 517, 546, 625.
- praṇava* ‘syllable OM’ 351, 502, 550, 634.
- prāṇāyāma* ‘breath control’ VII, 39, 306, 308, 316, 318, 482, 507, 511, 512, 521–523, 526, 529, 547, 629, 634.
- prāpti* ‘attainment of anything at will’ 41, 328, 330, 535, 537, 620, 630, 635.
- praśna* ‘question’ 23, 24.
- pratyāhāra* ‘withdrawal’ VII, 39, 306, 308, 316, 482, 511, 512, 519–521, 552, 629, 634.
- pratyaya* ‘concurrent occasion/cause’ 77, 236, 488, 492, 633; ‘condition(s)’ (arising from the *buddhibhāvas*) 441–448.
- prayogasandhi* ‘secret means/yoga’ 20, 36, 41, 288, 326, 328, 348, 366, 379, 383, 413, 481, 510, 544–550, 552, 624–631, 635.
- pratyakṣa* ‘direct perception/directly perceived’ 29, 26, 196, 198, 206, 208, 236, 238, 244, 290, 334, 338, 344, 347, 385, 387, 444, 552, 553, 564, 566, 569, 600–602, 622, 633; ‘explanation/example’ 570.
- prota* ‘woven lengthwise’ 30, 214, 351, 398–403, 424, 620, 621, 624.
- pūraka* ‘inhalation’ (yogic technique) 40, 316, 318, 521, 522, 629, 634.
- pūrvapakṣa* ‘prior view’ 24, 27, 527, 560, 586, 603.
- pūrvapakṣin* ‘one exposing the prior view’ 11, 301, 345, 378–380, 402, 411, 425, 561, 568, 571, 575, 590–595, 605.
- rāga* ‘passion’ (a *kleśa*) 38, 268, 280, 282,

- 300, 304, 306, 310, 312, 362, 447, 463, 470, 482, 498, 506, 558, 561, 634; 'attachment' (a *kañcuka*) 30, 212, 214, 403, 405, 425–428, 620, 621.
- recaka* 'exhalation' (yogic technique) 40, 316, 318, 521, 522, 629, 634.
- ṣaḍaṅga* yoga 'yoga of the six ancillaries' 477, 510–512.
- ṣaḍrasa* 'six tastes' 31, 222, 226, 625, 629.
- śakti* 'power(s)' 206, 212, 214, 284, 286, 288, 322, 326, 332, 344, 347, 361, 397, 399, 400, 407, 412, 419, 423, 474, 475, 483, 497, 498, 575, 591, 621.
- samādhi* 'absorption' 39, 29, 194, 196, 242, 246, 250, 268, 276, 282, 286, 288, 292, 294, 296, 298, 306, 308, 310, 312, 318, 320, 322, 332, 336, 413, 417, 472, 481–484, 489, 491, 495, 499, 504, 507, 511–513, 525, 526, 529, 536, 539, 541, 543, 551, 552, 623–635.
- sāmānyatodrṣṭa* cf. *anumāna*.
- sambega/saṃvega* 'desire of emancipation,' 37, 298, 476, 496, 497, 619, 629, 634.
- samprajñātasamādhi* 'cognitive absorption' 37, 292, 294, 482, 489–491, 629, 633, 635.
- saṅskāras/saṃskāras* 'impressions' 38, 196, 274, 280, 296, 304, 443, 482, 502–505, 629, 633, 634; 'rite of passage' 14.
- samyajjñāna/samyagjñāna* 'right knowledge' 29, 194, 196, 208, 242, 246, 250, 296, 322, 414, 449, 476, 481, 483, 526, 551, 552, 557, 558, 619, 622, 626.
- saṅyama/saṃyama* 'restraint' (yogic technique) 40, 322, 324, 326, 328, 482, 528–534, 539, 630, 634, 635.
- sarvajña* 'omniscient / omniscience' 29, 196, 200, 212, 214, 282, 300, 320, 336, 344, 353, 356–358, 380, 397–400, 407, 474, 500, 501, 527, 528, 619–621, 627, 629, 631, 634.
- sarvajñatā* 'omniscience' 36, 284, 362, 363.
- sarvajñatva* 'omniscience' 358, 362, 411, 485, 501, 526.
- sarvakāryakartā* 'omnipotent / omnipo-
- tence' 29, 196, 214, 300, 336, 353, 357, 358, 397–400, 407, 500, 619–621, 627, 629, 631, 634.
- ṣaṭkośa* 'six sheaths' 31, 228, 459, 625.
- sātmaka* 'identical' (to the Lord) 30, 210, 212, 282, 298, 413, 414, 417, 552.
- sātmya* 'identity' (with the Lord) 413, 417, 418, 429.
- sayodya/sayujya* 'unity' (with the Lord) 413–415, 418, 500.
- smṛti* 'memory', 'remembering' 37, 290, 292, 449, 482, 485, 489, 493, 495, 504, 633.
- Śrīkaṇṭha (form of Śiva) 20, 21, 22, 35, 280, 369, 377, 378, 501, 587, 628; (one of the Vidyēśvaras) 378, 620.
- svabhāvavāda* 'doctrine of self-origination' / 'inherent efficacy' 581, 582, 590, 593–595.
- taijasa* 'consisting of passion' (type of *ah-āṅkāra*) 30, 216, 220, 451, 452, 622, 623.
- tarka* 'reasoning' (one of the *aṣṭasiddhis*) 33, 256, 258, 445, 447; 'reflection' (ancillary of *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) 499, 511, 512, 552, 629, 631; 'logic' (philosophical system) 354, 563.
- tayā/taya* 'non-existence' / 'there is not' 196, 198, 200, 202, 206, 270, 286, 332, 334, 336, 345, 346, 387, 562, 570–572, 576, 579, 581, 584–590, 597, 605, 606, 611.
- trikāya paramārtha* 'threefold paramount body' 7, 34, 268, 628.
- triśakti* 'the three powers' 362, 363.
- tuṣṭi* 'contentment' 33, 242, 252, 254, 256, 264, 441, 445, 447, 449, 622, 627, 628.
- tutur* 'remembering' / 'conscious(ness)' 37, 214, 230, 270, 272, 274, 276, 278, 290, 292, 296, 300, 304, 326, 328, 380, 400, 415, 416, 451, 495, 499, 504, 548, 552, 607, 608, 634.
- uddeśa* 'label', 'preliminary listing' 24.
- upasargas* 'obstacles' 40, 41, 326, 472, 482, 536, 539, 541, 542, 544, 546, 630, 635.
- ūta* 'woven crosswise' 30, 214, 351, 398,

- 401, 402, 424, 620, 621, 624, 625.  
*vaikṛta* 'modified' (type of *ahaṅkāra*) 30, 216, 220, 451–453, 622, 624.  
*vāsanās* 'latent impressions' 34, 40, 268, 272, 274, 443, 463, 470–472, 476, 499, 539–542, 559, 619, 628–631, 635.  
*vaśitva/vaśitā* 'control of the elements' 41, 328, 330, 346, 359, 419, 535, 538, 620, 630, 635.  
*vibhuśakti* 'Power of Pervasion' 35, 282, 356–364, 397, 401, 419, 500, 620, 628, 631.  
*vibhutva* 'pervasion' 360.  
*vicāra* 'refined reflection' 482, 490.  
*vicārasamādhi* 'refined reflective absorption' 37, 292, 489, 633.  
*videha* 'disembodied' (semi-liberated being) 37, 294, 296, 462, 482, 492, 629, 633.  
*vidyā* 'awareness' (*tattva/kañcuka*) 30, 212, 214, 403, 406, 422, 425–428, 437, 440, 621; synonym of *Māyā* 13, 422–424.  
*Vidyēśas/Vidyēśvaras* (eṣṭad of Rudras) 35, 63, 282, 366, 370, 377, 421–424, 620.  
*vighnas* 'hindrances' 302, 304, 332, 482, 502, 543, 629, 630, 634, 635.  
*vikalpa* 'ideation' / 'imagination' / 'deliberation' 30, 37, 290, 292, 444, 453, 482, 485, 486, 553, 557, 633.  
*vikara(ṇa)dharmitva/vikaraṇabhāva* 'acting without physical organs' 36, 284, 360, 363, 532, 628.  
*vikṣipta* 'distracted' (stage of *citta*), 37, 294, 482, 490–492, 633.  
*vimūḍha* 'infatuated' (stage of *citta*) 37, 294, 482, 490–492, 633.  
*viparīta* 'contrary to, upside-down' / 'wrong' / 'unconscious' (cf. *viparyaya*) 270, 292, 446, 466, 487, 543, 544, 551, 557–561, 566, 571, 608, 611, 625.  
*viparyaya* 'error, misapprehension' 33, 37, 242, 252, 290, 441, 442, 445, 447, 482, 485, 557, 622, 627, 628, 633; 'contrary to': cf. *viparīta*.  
*vitarka* 'reflection' 482, 489–491.  
*vitarkasamādhi* 'reflective absorption' 37, 292, 489, 490, 633.  
*vṛttis* 'conditions' / 'functions' (of *citta* or *buddhi*) 18, 20, 32, 36, 242, 260, 268, 290, 292, 443–448, 480–485, 488, 505, 622, 627, 629, 633.  
*yamas* 'general commandments' 15, 39, 308, 310, 312, 450, 482, 511–515, 526, 629, 634.  
*yatrukāmāvasāyitva* 'ability to satisfy one's own desires' 41, 328, 330, 535, 538, 620, 630.

## SAMENVATTING

Dit proefschrift bestaat uit een uitgave, vertaling en studie van een uniek Oudjavaans-Sanskrit Śaiva geschrift—de *Dharma Pātañjala*—dat slecht bewaard gebleven is op één codex van West-Javaanse oorsprong, die teruggaat tot de 15e eeuw. Dit geschrift, hier voor het eerst gepubliceerd, is om twee redenen belangrijk: ten eerste, omdat het bewaard is gebleven op een codex die behoort tot een zeldzame traditie van handschriften van Java, die aanzienlijk ouder is dan de meerderheid van Balinese handschriften met Oudjavaanse teksten; ten tweede, omdat het een tekst betreft uit een oude corpus van speculatieve teksten (*tattva*), dat tot nu toe alleen vertegenwoordigd werd door twee Oudjavaanse teksten, namelijk het *Vṛhaspatitattva* en het *Tattvajñāna*.

De sociaal-culturele en doctrinaire achtergronden van de tekst, evenals de codicologische en filologische aspecten, worden in deel I opgevoerd. Deel II is een geannoteerde diplomatieke uitgave van de tekst met facsimile reproducties van de codex op tegenoverliggende pagina's, gevolgd door een kritische editie en een geannoteerde Engelse vertaling. Deel III vormt een systematische studie, die zich richt op de interpretatie van de leringen van de *Dharma Pātañjala* door vergelijking met verwante teksten in het Sanskriet afkomstig van het Indiase subcontinent en enkele Oudjavaanse geschriften uit de Indonesische Archipel.

Deze studie toont aan dat de auteur van het *Dharma Pātañjala*, omdat hij gebruik heeft gemaakt van een *Pātañjala* vorm van yoga in plaats van de Śaiva vorm van yoga (dat gebruikelijk is in andere Oudjavaanse teksten), een syncretistisch systeem heeft uitgewerkt. Waarschijnlijk volgde hij daarbij een nog onbekende commentariële traditie, die met het Sanskriet *Yoga-sūtra* gerelateerd is, doch geenzins identiek is aan die van de *Bhāṣya*. De *Dharma Pātañjala* vertegenwoordigt een vorm van Śivaïsme die getypeerd kan worden als een vroege Saiddhāntika, één waarin meer archaïsch, pre-Saiddhāntika (d.w.z. Pāśupata) elementen bewaard zijn gebleven als waren het doctrinaire 'fossielen'. De *Dharma Pātañjala* vult dus een leemte in onze kennis van die Śivaitische theologie en filosofie in Indonesië vóór de komst van de Islam, maar kan tevens licht werpen op de oorsprong en ontwikkeling van het Śivaïsme op het Indiase subcontinent.

## SUMMARY

This dissertation is an edition, translation and study of an Old Javanese-Sanskrit Śaiva scripture—the *Dharma Pātañjala*—preserved on a single codex of West Javanese origin dating back to the 15th century AD. This previously unpublished scripture is doubly important: first, because it has been preserved on a codex belonging to a rare tradition of manuscripts from Java, which is significantly older than the majority of Balinese manuscripts containing Old Javanese texts; and second, because it documents an early tradition of speculative texts (Tattva), which was previously known to us only through two Old Javanese scriptures, namely the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and the *Tattvajñāna*.

The cultural and doctrinal background of the text, as well as its codicological and philological aspects, are introduced in Part I. Part II presents an annotated diplomatic edition of the text with facsimile reproductions of the codex on facing pages, followed by a critical edition with English annotated translation. Part III is a systematic study focusing on the interpretation of the doctrines taught in the *Dharma Pātañjala* in comparison with related Sanskrit texts from the Indian Subcontinent and Old Javanese scriptures from the Indonesian Archipelago.

My study demonstrates that the author of the *Dharma Pātañjala*, having adopted a Pātañjala form of yoga instead of the Śaiva variety that is common in other Old Javanese texts, elaborated a syncretic system. In so doing, he followed an hitherto unknown commentarial tradition to the Sanskrit *Yogasūtra* that is related, albeit by no means identical, to that of the *Bhāṣya*. The *Dharma Pātañjala* also documents a form of Śaivism that may be regarded as early Saiddhāntika, but in which more archaic, pre-Saiddhāntika (i.e. Pāśupata) elements have been preserved as doctrinal ‘fossils’. The *Dharma Pātañjala*, therefore, fills a gap in our knowledge of Śaiva theology and philosophy in pre-Islamic Indonesia, but also cast light on the origin and development of Śaivism in the Indian Subcontinent.

## CURRICULUM VITAE

Born in Parma, May 17, 1981. Secondary education at Liceo Classico 'G.D. Romagnosi', Parma, 1995–2000. Studied Oriental Languages and Civilizations, with focus on Sanskrit and Indology, at the University of Rome 'Sapienza' from 2000. *Laurea* degree (roughly equivalent to a Dutch *Doctoraal*) awarded in 2005 (*cum laude*). Holder of a *Darmasiswa* scholarship at Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta from mid-2004 to mid-2005. Studied Languages and Cultures of Southeast Asia and Oceania, with focus on Javanese Studies (Old Javanese), at Leiden University from September 2005. Master degree (MA) awarded at the same university, June 2006. Attached to the Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS, now LIAS, Leiden Institute for Area Studies) as AIO/Junior Researcher from September 1, 2006 to August 31, 2010. Attached to the International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden as a J. Gonda fellow from September 1, 2010 to March 1, 2011.